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MEMBERS OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

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VOL. V.

CONTAINING

LIFE OF DEBORAH BELL.—LIFE OF WILLIAM PENN.—LIFE OF JOHN GRIFFITH.
MEMOIR OF JOHN CAMM AND JOHN AUDLAND.

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INDEX TO VOL. V.

A.

Audland, John, Memoir of, p. 475.

Advice to children by William Penn, 294 to 308; by John Griffith, 440.

B.

Bell, Deborah, Memoir of her, 1; testimony of her husband concerning her, 2; visits Cumberland, 6; the North of England and Scotland, 8; her marriage—visits Lancashire and Cheshire, 11; letters to a young woman, a member among the Baptists, 13, 14, 15; visits the Southern counties of England, 16; removes to reside in London, 17; visit to Ireland, 18; Supplement to her life, by her husband, 21.

Baptism, the Scripture doctrine of, stated, 218, 288.

Bread and wine, 289.

C.

Christ Jesus, the true and saving light of the world, 30, 34, 35, 36, 49, 212, 215, 233, 261, to 270, 281; his divinity and atonement, 30, 31, 215, 233, 272, 273, 274, 281; death and sufferings owned by the Quakers, 30, 31, 49, 215, 233, 273, 274, 281, 288; is the Mediator, 31; all men are enlightened by him, 212; the manifestation of it in man is not whole Christ or God, 213, 290.

Civil government approved, 219, 288.

Camm, John, Memoir of, 468.

D.

Divinity of Christ and his atonement asserted, 30, 34, 35, 36, 49, 51, 215, 233, 272, 273, 274, 281, 288.

Days and times, views of Friends on the observance of them, 48.

Discipline and practice of the Society of Friends, 240; remarks on it, 460.

E.

Education, Society of Friends not opposed, but favourable, to it, 208.

F.

Fox, George, William Penn's account of him, 243.

G.

Griffith, John, Journal of, 329; convincement, 331; appears in the ministry, 335; first religious visit, 337; visits New-England, 340; death of his wife, 343; second visit to New-England, 345; embarks for Great Britain, 347; captured and carried into Spain, 348; arrives in England, 354; visits his mother, 355; goes to Ireland, 370; returns to England, 373; visits Wales, 374; remarks on the state of Society, 372, 377, 379, 393, 397, 411; returns home, 380; goes back to England to settle, 381; second marriage, 382; religious service in England, 383–4, 386–7–8; travels with John Churchman, 392; second visit to Ireland, 398; attends London Yearly Meeting—committee appointed to visit the meetings, 403; his labours on this service, 404 to 416; religious visit to America, 419 to 436; returns home, 437; Testimony concerning him, 438; Advice to parents and children, 440 to 445; On the necessity and nature of the new birth, 445 to 450; Remarks respecting true worship, 450; On true and false ministry, 456 to 460; On church discipline, 460.

H.

Hicks, Thomas, William Penn's controversy with him, 52.

Hall, David, letter to John Griffith, 365.

J.

Justification, doctrine of, 271, 281, 289, 290.

L.

Loe, Thomas, his ministry helpful to William Penn, 25, 27; his last expressions to W. P., 32.

Light of Christ Jesus the true guide to happiness and glory, 15, 26, 30, 36, 48, 51, 53, 58, 89, 212, 215, 233, 261 to 270, 289.

Liberty, spiritual, examined, 152.

M.

Mead, William, tried with W. Penn at Old Bailey, 39.

Ministry, qualifications of that owned by Friends, 239, 275, 456 to 460.

P.

Penn, William, Life of him, 23; birth and parentage, 24; religious impressions—sent away from his father's house—goes to France—remarkable incident at Paris, 25; goes to the university at Saumur—further account of his religious exercises, 26; enters a student of law at Lincoln's Inn—goes to live in Ireland—joins Friends and is arrested at a meeting, 27; expelled again from his father's house—comes forth as a minister—letter to a young acquaintance, 29; appears as an author in a work called "Truth exalted," 30; dispute with T. Vincent, 33; imprisonment for writing the Sandy foundation, 35; writes Innocency with her open face, 36; goes again to Ireland, 37; letter to the young convinced, 38; returns to England—trial of him and W. Mead at Old Bailey, 39; death of his father and remarkable expressions to him—dispute with J. Ives, 43; committed to prison for being at a meeting—writes his Tract called The great case of liberty of conscience, &c., 46; his marriage, 50; controversy with Faldo, 51; controversy with Hicks, 53; writes against J. Perrot, 57; his letter to the council of Embden, 61; publishes his Treatise on oaths, 62; correspondence with R. Baxter, 63; engages in the affairs of East-Jersey, 64; visits the continent on a religious errand, 65; Epistle to the churches of Jesus throughout the world, 77;

letters to the Princess Elizabeth, 83, 113; visits A. M. Schurmann, 96; letters to Friends concerning the separating spirit, 100; his Summons to Christendom, 121; Tender advice and counsel to those who are sensible of the day of visitation, 130; letter to John Pennyman, 145; speech to the committee of parliament, 146; second speech to the committee of parliament, 147; his Address to Protestants, 149; examination of spiritual liberty, 152; letter to Friends under persecution at Bristol, 159; joins in the purchase of East-Jersey—applies for grant of Pennsylvania, 160; obtains it, 161; letter to settlers in Pennsylvania, 163; liberty of conscience granted to all by him, 164; death of his mother—goes to Pennsylvania, 165; letter to his wife and children, 166; preamble to the laws, 170; visits New-York and Long-Island—goes to see lord Baltimore in Maryland—letter to a person in reply to some unkind reflections, 171; notice of the Indian treaty at Shackamaxon, 173; lays out the city of Philadelphia, 176; description of the province of Pennsylvania by him, 178; dispute with lord Baltimore about the boundary of their respective provinces, 184; Epistle to the people of God in Pennsylvania, 185; returns to England—Epistle to Friends on leaving Pennsylvania, 187; persecuted on the charge of being a Jesuit, 190; correspondence with Tillotson, 191; goes to the continent and visits the Prince of Orange, 194; speech to King James, 195; Address of Friends, 196; travels in the work of the Gospel, 197; letter to him respecting the suspicions of his being a Jesuit, 200; reply to it, 202; appoints Blackwell governor of Pennsylvania—grants a charter to the Overseers of the public school, 207; is arrested and discharged, 209; retires from public notice for two or three years—letter to T. Loyd, 210; his Address to Friends—his Key to distinguish Quakerism from its perversions, 211; death of his wife—his account of her, 225; his Rise and Progress of the people called Quakers, 228; remarkable Address to Friends, 247; letter to John Gratton, 254; visits the Western counties, 255; second marriage—death of his son and account of him, 257; Primitive Christianity revived, 259; visits Ireland again—writes Gospel truths, 281; Epistle to Yearly Meeting at London, 282; Testimony to the Truth as held by Friends, 287; Epistle to Yearly Meeting at Bristol, 294; Advice to his children, 295; deprived of the government of Pennsylvania, 309; it is restored to him, 310; embarks for Pennsylvania, 311; writes a farewell Epistle to Friends, 312; arrives in the Province, 313; speech to the assembly, 317; returns to England, 319; confined to the rules of the Fleet prison, 321; Expostulation with the people of Pennsylvania, 323; illness and death, 326; Testimony concerning him, 327.

Propitiation of the Lord Jesus Christ owned by Friends, 30, 31, 206.

Perfection in this life necessary to be attained, 214, 290.

Penn, Springett, account of, 257.

Primitive Christianity revived, 261.

R.

Resurrection, the doctrine of the, owned, 31, 53, 219, 291.

Rewards and punishments, 31, 53, 291.

Regeneration, the nature and necessity of, 445 to 450.

S.

Scriptures of Truth owned by Friends, 31, 51, 52, 214, 288.

Sandy Foundation, origin of the work, 33; letter to Dr. Collenges respecting it, 34.

T.

Trinity, Holy Scripture, or Three that bear record in heaven, owned by the Society of Friends, 30, 31, 34, 35, 49, 215, 281, 290.

W.

Word of God, term used by Friends according to Scripture authority, to denote Christ Jesus and not the Bible, 52.

Worship, Gospel, 275, 450 to 456.

ERRATUM.

In the bottom line of the first column of page 24, instead of 1664 read 1644.

A SHORT JOURNAL

OF THE

LABOURS AND TRAVELS

IN THE WORK OF THE MINISTRY, OF THAT FAITHFUL SERVANT OF CHRIST,

DEBORAH BELL.

And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy. *Acts* ii. 17.

Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased. *Dan.* xii. 4.

PREFACE.

THE author of the following short journal, was daughter of John and Deborah Wynn, of Bradford, in Yorkshire. Her father, when a soldier under Oliver Cromwell, being convinced of the ushering in of a dispensation which abolished the use of carnal weapons for the destruction of men, laid down his arms and was discharged.

He was soon after called into another warfare, and in those times of hot persecution, fought with undaunted courage and holy zeal under the banner of the Lamb. He became an able minister of the everlasting Gospel of peace and purity, and travelled much, with good success, for the promotion thereof.

For this daughter, the only child left of seven, his care was great, to watch over and restrain her from evil, and to inform her, so far as her infant years were susceptible, in things relating to religion and a future state; wisely guarding against suffering the affectionate part to indulge her in any thing of a tendency to her own hurt, or which would bring a reproach on the testimony given him to bear to others.

These early endeavours, through the divine blessing, made deep and lasting impressions on her mind; and although when very young she was deprived of the help of so worthy a parent, he being removed by death when she was not quite eleven years old; yet she kept near to and in an humble dependence on Him who is a father, and more than a father to the fatherless, whereby she gradually witnessed, under his renewed and continued visitations, a growth in the work of regeneration; and earnestly desiring, that in all things she might be perfectly resigned to answer the Divine requirings; after many deep baptisms and refinings, about the nineteenth year of her age a dispensation of the Gospel was committed to her; for the publishing whereof she became eminently qualified, and in a short time gave proofs of a truly evangelical minister. Her appearance in the work was with awfulness; her testimony to the unrighteous was as fire amongst stubble; but to the humble, afflicted travellers towards Sion, it ran in a free stream of encouragement and Divine consolation.

She was sometimes led, clearly and with great authority, to speak of a day of trial which would come upon this nation, wherein their sandy foundation would be shaken, and their polluted rest broken, and a decision made between the nominal professors of religion and those who were in the life and practice thereof.

Her conversation in the world corresponded with this high calling; in her family she kept a tender and watchful eye over those under her notice. She was quick in discerning and prudent in admonishing; some reaped the advantage thereof, who still retain it in remembrance.

For further information concerning this worthy deceased Friend, the reader is referred to

her husband's testimony, and to the journal itself; the serious perusal whereof, is especially recommended to those who are young in the ministry.

ROBERT BELL.

John Bell's Testimony concerning his wife, DEBORAH BELL.

DEBORAH BELL, wife of John Bell of Bromley in Middlesex, late of Grace-church street, London, daughter of John and Deborah Wynn, was born at Bradford in Yorkshire; and being carefully educated in the way of truth by her pious and faithful parents, she sought the way of the Lord, and the knowledge of his blessed truth, when very young, and was mercifully favoured to partake of that virtue and Divine goodness which maketh fruitful towards God, as she frequently expressed herself. In her minority she often earnestly desired the Lord would be pleased to enable her to come up in doing his will, and that in all things she might be perfectly resigned to answer his holy requirings, and be fully given up in heart in all sincerity, and by his grace devoted to serve and obey him, according to the ability received. He in mercy and loving-kindness heard her humble petitions, and granted the early visitations of his love and goodness, in the pourings forth of his holy Spirit, and gradually, by the work of his own Divine power, so prepared and sanctified her heart, that she was made a vessel of honour. For as she became acquainted with his Divine and living word, when very young, she grew in experience of that work which is wrought by the power of Christ, by which alone salvation and perfect redemption is witnessed; and being an humble follower of Jesus Christ our Lord, and through the operation of his grace, cheerfully given up to follow these manifestations of the Divine light and workings of the Spirit, which are inwardly revealed, she was so fitted for her Master's use and service, as early to become a branch in Christ Jesus, the true and living Vine, bringing forth fruit to the praise and glory of God the good Husbandman. Being led through deep travail, and close exercise and affliction of mind, she thereby gained great experience, and was made sensible of various states and conditions, which tended to qualify her for that great and weighty work whereunto she was afterwards called.

About the nineteenth year of her age, the Lord saw meet in his wisdom to commit a dispensation of the everlasting Gospel to her to preach; in which service being faithful, she grew in the knowledge of God, and had great experience of his dealings, and like the wise scribe, who was well instructed to the kingdom, "Brought forth out of the good treasury of her heart, things both new and old," so that she became an able minister thereof, to the comfort and edification of the churches where she came. Many who were unacquainted with the work of the blessed Truth in themselves, were reached by her powerful and lively ministry; in the service of which, she often appeared strong when in bodily weakness, which frequently attended her, to the admiration of those who had the knowledge of her outward infirmities.

She laboured faithfully in word and doctrine, and visited many of the meetings of Friends in most parts of England, Wales, Scotland, and was twice in Ireland, and had good service where she came, for she duly regarded the guidance of Truth in all her services; and in an especial manner, when under a concern to travel on that account, she earnestly desired to be fully satisfied of being rightly called, and to see her way clearly opened, both as to the time when, the places where, and the people to whom, it was her duty to minister, and was ever very careful to return when she found her mind clear and easy. She would often say, which I mention for the instruction of others, That there was great danger in exceeding the commission, by staying abroad beyond the right time. She greatly desired that all the ministers of Christ, who found themselves concerned to travel in the service of the Gospel, might take due care not to miss their way on that hand, neither when in their travels, be drawn aside out of the right line opened to them by the Truth, through the persuasion of unwary inconsiderate people, but wait for the power of Christ our Lord, to preserve them steady in mind in all their services for the promotion of the blessed Truth; frequently repeating, That she had observed divers, whom she believed to have been rightly drawn forth, who yet through weakness and instability had missed their way in those particulars, and thereby received hurt and lessened their service.

When she was under a concern to go abroad to visit the churches, the weight of that exercise brought her very low, both in body and mind; for she waited diligently for the counsel of God, and full satisfaction in herself, before she made her concern known to any; for her whole dependence was in great humility on Christ our Lord, to put her forth, and go before her, and to give her strength and wisdom, to discharge herself faithfully to her own comfort and peace, the edification of the people, and his honour. But though she was strong in the Lord, and zealously concerned

for the cause of Truth, yet by nature, she was of a weakly constitution, and through hard travail and close exercise, which often was upon her for the Truth's sake, her bodily infirmities increased before old age came on.

Towards the latter part of her time, being often infirm, she frequently rejoiced in the Lord, and expressed the great comfort, peace and satisfaction, which she had in having devoted her youthful days to his service, and being freely given up faithfully to obey his holy requirings, whilst a degree of health and strength were granted, and she was able to undergo such service; often saying, An early devotion was very acceptable to God, and the strength of youth could never be so well and profitably employed, as in faithfully serving the Lord in humility and sincere obedience, in whatsoever work he in his wisdom may be pleased to qualify them for, and call them into; for where it happened, that any such lived to be attended with the infirmities of old age, the comfort and peace they would enjoy, would be abundantly more to them than all the comforts of this life; and she could by living experience say, That nothing in this world was worthy to be compared with it. She often earnestly desired that the sense thereof might lay hold of our youth; that they might give up their minds to seek the Lord early, and devote the strength of their time to his service, that in the end they might be made partakers of the same comfort and peace, which was her greatest joy and real cause of rejoicing, and became more and more so as she drew near her conclusion. And this I publish for their perusal, that if by any means they might be prevailed on, and stirred up to consider, how necessary and truly profitable it is to begin early in that great duty recommended by the wise man; "Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth, while the evil days come not, nor the years draw nigh, when thou shalt say, I have no pleasure in them."

Being under a concern to visit a few meetings in Hertfordshire, and as far as Huntington, though in a weak state of health, she undertook that journey, which proved her last, towards the middle of the seventh month, 1738. She was from home ten days, and had six meetings, and although weak in body, yet she appeared strong in her ministry, and had good service, much to the satisfaction and comfort of Friends where she came; and when she came home, she rejoiced much and said, She was humbly thankful to the Lord, who had enabled her to perform that journey, and had given her strength to discharge herself faithfully of the concern she was under; and that her heart was filled with that peace and comfort, with which he is pleased to favour his obedient servants; and that she apprehended her day's work was nearly finished, for she saw no more work her great Master had for her to do; and she had no desire to live, but to serve and glorify him.

The last time she was at the evening meeting at Bromley, about two weeks before she died, she bore a living testimony to the Truth, and was engaged in supplication to the Lord in a particular manner, praying in great fervency for the preservation, growth and settlement of the youth amongst us, in the living eternal Truth, to the affecting and tendering of many hearts. When she came home from the meeting, she was filled with Divine comfort, and said, "It is now finished, I do not expect you will have me with you at that meeting any more." Her weakness of body increased, and she taking cold, it seized her lungs, and occasioned a hoarseness, to which she was often liable. On the 22nd day of the eighth month, being the first-day of the week, we went to London to meeting, but being much indisposed, she was under some difficulty to stay the time of it, and did not go in the afternoon, but waited for me at a Friend's house until meeting ended; and coming home, she continued weakly, though a little better at times till fourth-day evening, but grew much worse again that night and had the advice of a physician, but it had not the desired effect. On sixth-day morning a pleurisy came on, which much affected her breathing; and though means were used to remove it, she found no relief; the pain grew more violent, so that her affliction was great, and in an humble submission she earnestly desired the Lord, that he would give her strength to bear her pain and affliction patiently. Her petition was fully granted, for she was endued with patience to an uncommon degree, and bore her affliction with a firm resignation and thankfulness of heart, and with tender love and condescension to all about her; and abundance of sweetness she still enjoyed, as appeared by many precious and lively expressions, which deeply affected, and often tendered the hearts of all about her. When her pain was very great, she expressed herself at times after the following manner; "This is hard work indeed; one had need to have nothing else to do at such a time as this. I am sure it is as much as I am able to endure to bear the afflictions of the body; one had need not to have terror of mind besides." And appealing to a young woman standing by her whom she dearly loved, and who had duly attended her in her illness, she said, "Thou knowest I have had very little respite from pain since I was first taken ill; I would have

none put off the great work of repentance till such a time as this; if I had that work to do, what a dreadful thing it would be." At another time, divers young people being present, she said, "I would have our young people be willing to bear the cross in their youth, and despise the shame, for that is the way to have true peace in themselves." And another time she said, "I now feel that which my soul has longed for." Seeing divers young women standing round her bed, for whose growth and settlement in the blessed Truth she had often been concerned, she looked solidly upon them and spake on this wise; "I was early convinced, that unless I was born again, I could not see the kingdom of God. I have witnessed it, and you know I have preached this doctrine to you, and you must know it for yourselves." This she spake with such authority as pierced the hearts of all present, and I believe will not easily be forgotten. At another time, looking steadily upon us, with a composed countenance said, "I have always been sincere, and never had any thing in view but the great cause of God, and that I might be clear of the blood of all men, and I have discharged myself faithfully; for whatsoever my hand found to do, I did it with all my might, and never spared myself; and I am fully clear and easy, and my day's work seems to be done." At another time, observing the distress I was in, she looked earnestly upon me, and said, "The Lord brought us together, and has been with us, and thou must give me freely up to him again, and he will support thee, and take care of thee." At another time, being in great distress of mind, under the consideration of my great loss of so dear a companion, if she should be removed, I asked her, If she had not rather live with me a little longer, if Providence saw meet? She looked pleasantly upon me, and after a little pause, said, "I have no desire or will of my own, I stand in the will of God." At another time, under the sense of her great pain, she said, "I earnestly desire the Lord may release me whilst I have strength and patience to bear my afflictions, but I neither murmur nor repine." And observing the sadness of my countenance, she said, "Why should I not go now? I can never go better." I told her, If Providence pleased to raise her again, she might be with me longer, and be of service, and yet go well; she readily answered, "There may be danger in that, I am now ready." At another time, I told her, when bemoaning myself, if the Lord should see meet to remove her from me at that time, I believed he would receive her into the mansions of glory; she replied, "I never doubt that; I trust through Christ to be removed into eternal bliss, for I am in peace, and perfectly easy." At another time she looked upon me and said, "The Lord gave me to thee, and thou must give me up to him again." And towards the latter part of her illness, being in great pain, and observing the concern I was in for her, she said, "My dear, I am afraid thou holdest me." I answered "no, I have freely given thee up, and stand resigned in the will of God;" she looked pleasantly upon me, and replied, "That is very good in thee." Afterwards her affliction and pain being very great and heavy upon her, she prayed fervently, and said, "Lord, be pleased to grant me a little ease before I go hence and be seen of men no more." And the Lord was pleased to answer her fervent supplication; for the day before her departure, all pain and affliction seemed to be removed, and she continued quiet and easy, in a still sweet frame of mind; and although she spoke not much during that time, which could be perfectly heard, yet she remained very sensible, and her sweet and lively breathings plainly declared she continued in inward prayer and praises unto the Lord, her lips often moving, and sometimes expressions were heard, tending to signify the full assurance she had of an inheritance in eternal felicity and glory amongst the just. Many more precious and weighty expressions she dropped during her illness, which the distress of my mind prevented me from remembering perfectly.

About the fifth hour in the evening, being the fifth-day of the week, and the 2nd of the ninth month, 1738, she sweetly finished her course, and went away like an innocent lamb. And notwithstanding the great affliction and pain she underwent for seven days and seven nights, that brightness and innocency, which Truth had impressed, remained on her countenance when the soul was released and had taken its flight into the regions of bliss and glory.

She was aged about forty-nine years, and a minister upwards of thirty years; she was endued with many eminent gifts and qualifications, an able minister, rightly dividing the word of Truth through that wisdom received from God, which proved effectual to the convincing of divers, and the edifying and reaching of many; she was zealous for the cause of God, and of a discerning spirit and good understanding, so that the enemies of Truth could not stand before her, for her bow abode in strength, and her arrows were often carried to the mark, and were sharp against undue liberty, deceit, and the works and workers of unrighteousness.

She dearly loved the children of the light, and sincerely sympathized with such in their afflictions who were seeking the way to Zion,

and often had a word of comfort to them. Her heart and house were always open, according to the example of her pious parents, to receive the ambassadors of Christ, remembering what he said; "And whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones, a cup of cold water only in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you, he shall in no wise lose his reward." And likewise what he told his disciples; "Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that receiveth whomsoever I send, receiveth me: and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me." And her delight was in the company of those who laboured for the promotion of the Gospel, and through a good degree of experience, she had sometimes a word of advice and encouragement to such.

She was a loving and affectionate wife, and the gift of God to me, and as such I always prized her, a help-meet indeed both in prosperity and adversity, a steady and cheerful companion in all the afflictions and trials which attended us, and a true and faithful yoke-fellow in all our services in the church; for being ever one in spirit, we became one in faith and practice, in discerning and judgment, and our concern and labour was the same; which nearly united us, and a life of comfort and satisfaction we lived, our souls in the nearest union delighting in each other; and the love and presence of God, wherewith we were often favoured in our private retirements, sweetened every bitter cup, and made our passage easy and pleasant to us. But alas! What shall I say, the Lord, who is allwise, and only knows what is best for us, hath called her hence, who is worthy to do whatsoever he sees meet; therefore in humble submission to his will who gave, and hath taken away, as knowing though it is my loss, it is her everlasting gain, I rest, and can in sincerity and Truth bless his name, who is worthy for ever. JOHN BELL.

On the seventh day of the month aforesaid, her body was accompanied from our dwelling-house at Bromley, to the meeting house in Grace-church street, London; whence, after a solemn meeting, many being affected with the removal of so near a friend, it was carried to Friends' burying ground near Bunhill-fields, and buried by her mother, according to her desire.

"Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints."

A SHORT JOURNAL OF DEBORAH BELL.

IN the year 1707, Susannah Saunders came from London into our country on a visit to Friends, and having no companion, with the consent of my mother and some ancient Friends of our meeting, I accompanied her to several meetings in our parts.

The 14th day of the eighth month, we had a meeting at Highflats, where my companion had hard labour in a plain and close testimony. After the meeting, an ancient man who had been of some note among Friends, but falling into reproach, and not taking the advice of the church, had lost his condition and become troublesome, reflected upon the Friend, and told her, she had not a right sense of the state of their meeting, for they were a faithful people; and bid her go into the world and gather a people, and then come and preach to them; and more to that purpose. I was young, and had not appeared in the work of the ministry at that time, therefore sat quietly and heard what passed, though under a great concern, lest what he said should hurt the Friend, and discourage her in her service.

Afterwards he directed his discourse to me, saying, I was of a wrong spirit, or I would not have come along with that woman, for they were a faithful people, and had stood for their testimony in the persecuting times, when others had shrunk and been unfaithful. I told him, I was glad to hear they stood faithful in that persecuting time, and desired they might retain their integrity, and be enabled to stand if such another time should come; that I had not seen much of that persecution, but hoped he had nothing to accuse my parents of in that respect. The value he had for them formerly not being entirely erased, he made me no reply; and the Lord gave me strength to bear testimony against the spirit he was in; and divers worthy ancient Friends present, fully expressed how glad they were of our visit, having true unity with the Friend's testimony, and earnestly desired we might not be dis-

couraged, or regard what that man said, for he was of a contentious spirit, and had given them much trouble and exercise. Truth came over him, and we parted with Friends in peace, and proceeded on our journey with comfort.

We had satisfactory meetings at Burton, Pontefract, Selby, Cottness, Rawcliff, and Fishlock, where we visited Sarah Westerdale, an honest Friend and good minister, who lay very weak. We had a good and comfortable time with her, our great Lord being near to her in her affliction. Thence we proceeded to Thorne, Blyth, Mansfield, and so to John Gratton's, where we had meetings, and also an opportunity of seeing that worthy Friend. We staid one night at his house, and may say, he was a father indeed.

The next day we came to Nottingham, where there was a burial, to which many people came, and our great Master owned us, made way for the testimony of Truth, and favoured us with a good and comfortable time. Next morning we parted in true unity and nearness; for the Lord is gathering a people near to himself, and makes them dear one unto another in that which changeth not; for which, and all his mercies, let him have the praise. My companion proceeded on her journey towards London, and I returned home, where I safely arrived the 30th of the eighth month, in true peace, and found my dear mother well, for which I was truly thankful unto the Lord, and glad that I was accounted worthy to be serviceable to any of his servants.

In the year 1708, Elizabeth Richardson, an ancient and worthy woman, was at York Quarterly Meeting, and having a concern to go into Cumberland, our friend William Ellis, and divers other ancient Friends, being unwilling she should travel alone, proposed to my mother that I should accompany her, who freely consented; and I being inclined from my childhood, to be serviceable in any thing in my power, to the true messengers and ministers of Christ, I gave up to go.

The 19th of the fourth month I set forward, and got to William Ellis's, where I lodged that night, and next day went to Settle, where I met with my companion, and there we had a meeting; we had one also at Kendall; and passing through Shap, came to Thomas Priestman's, and next morning to the Quarterly meeting for Cumberland, where was a large women's meeting. Their affairs were managed in wisdom and great unanimity, and a good meeting it was. Next day was held a select meeting for ministers and elders, where I had the privilege of being present, and it was a glorious meeting; divers living testimonies were borne by some young ministers, and suitable advice given by ancient Friends of great experience, who had been for many years instruments of great good to the churches; after which there was a general meeting, which was very large, and a comfortable time, for truth came into dominion, in a great degree.

After the meeting, my dear motherly companion and I, went to her brother Thomas Drewry's. Next day I visited that worthy minister Robert Atkinson and his family; we then proceeded to Jonathan Bell's near Cockermouth, where we met with our friends Daniel Bell, and John Bell who afterwards became my husband. He had concluded, at the request of my companion's husband, in his return towards London, to take care of her home, having conducted her in his way downwards to Leeds, and there left her; and Daniel likewise inclining for that city, they joined with us in company. They were both entire strangers to me, and I to them. Next day, being first-day, we were all at Pardsay, where we had a large and good meeting, and another at Cockermouth that afternoon, which was very large, our worthy friend James Dickinson, and many others from Pardsay meeting, accompanying us thither; for my companion was much esteemed by Friends there-away.

The next meetings we took were at Windermore and Kendall. We went also to Robert Chambers's, to visit a Friend who was weakly, where we had a sweet and comfortable time together. Next day we were at Preston meeting, where a weighty exercise fell upon me, and a few words livingly opened upon my mind, and a necessity was laid upon me for the first time, to deliver them to the people; and I can truly say, I stood up in much dread and fear, and spoke what I had to say, trembling, but afterwards felt the peace of God, by which I was comforted.

Next day we went to Lancaster Quarterly Meeting, which was very large, and in that great assembly a weighty concern came upon me, and according to the ability received, I discharged myself, and sat down in the enjoyment of peace. It was an extraordinarily good meeting; and here I met with many worthy ancient Friends, with whom I had been acquainted from my childhood, by their frequently being at my mother's house, in their travels on Truth's service, and their fatherly notice was a great comfort and strength to me in that exercising time; and for this I was humbly thankful to the Lord, knowing him to be the fountain from whence all good comes, and I bless his name.

We had meetings at Settle and Airton, and finding we could not reach Bradford after the last meeting, without inconvenience, we concluded to take up at an inn, and rode into the yard. The landlord came to the door and

looked very shy upon us, seeing we were of the people called Quakers, and did not offer to come near us; however we alighted, went in, and were conducted into a room. We sat down, and after some time, called for the landlord, and waited a considerable time before he came. We then ordered supper to be got ready, and when it was brought up, he came into the room, and there being a little pause in silence, he stood by the table and took off his hat, whether with an intention to say something, as their manner is, or not, we knew not; for a Friend in the company, being under a concern, spake a few words in prayer. At first he seemed surprised, but was afterwards much affected, for the power of Truth came over him, insomuch that his countenance changed, and his carriage towards us was afterwards quite altered. We lodged there that night, and next morning, upon our departure, he showed great respect, telling us, If we, or any of our friends, came that way at any time, we might depend on the best accommodation he was capable to entertain us with; so we parted with him in a good disposition of mind, and that morning I got safe home to my dear mother, and found her well, the other Friends being along with me. I was full of peace, and in an humble sense of the Lord's Divine goodness and preserving power, and that his good presence had attended me in that journey, my heart was filled with thanksgiving and praises to him, and made to acknowledge he is everlastingly worthy.

We all went to our meeting, had a comfortable time, and next morning I parted with my motherly companion, and the other Friends, in much love and nearness; for we were truly united in the love of Christ our Lord. They proceeded towards London, and I was left at home, where I continued for a considerable time, in great humility and awfulness of mind, in consideration of the weight of that work whereunto I was called, diligently attending our own meeting; and by waiting upon the Lord for counsel and strength, and often retiring unto Him, upon whom my constant dependency was, I grew in experience, and had strength and wisdom given me to discharge myself faithfully, according to the gift freely bestowed upon me, which gained me a place in the hearts of Friends, who were very helpful to me.

In this year, our ancient and worthy Friend Eleanor Haydock, being weakly, sent a message to me, earnestly desiring I would pay her a visit, saying, If she were able to travel, she would go much further to see me. I consulted my mother about it, whose advice I greatly regarded in all my undertakings, being a faithful woman, and of great experience in the work of Truth, and a tender nursing mother to me, in a spiritual sense, under all my deepest exercises. She advised me to answer the Friend's request; and I undertook that journey, and in my way dropt into an evening meeting, sometimes kept at a Friend's house, who had a son that had taken undue liberties and left Friends, but was present in that meeting, and the power of Truth came over us in a great degree. The young man was reached and much tendered, and came to me after the meeting, trembling, and dropt many tears. I spoke to him what was then given me, with which he was much affected, though but a few words. I afterwards became farther acquainted with him, for he heartily joined with Friends, and a great reformation was wrought in him, by that Divine power which purifies the heart, and in process of time he had a few words in meetings. He did not live many years, but I hope made a good end.

Next day, coming to Eleanor Haydock's, I was kindly received; she rejoiced much that I had answered her request. I stayed with her some time, and had divers good and comfortable meetings there-away, and was also much edified and helped by that good woman's conversation, being a person of great experience, well deserving the name of a mother in Israel. After my stay with her, I returned home again in peace, and spent much time in private retirement, in which I found strength and great comfort, and the Lord was near in all my deep exercises, which were often weighty upon me.

In the winter of this year, we had meetings on first-day evenings, and I being young, and much known in the town, the report of my appearing in the ministry, excited the curiosity of many people of divers persuasions, who flocked into these evening meetings, where they could come without being so much observed as in the day time. This added much to the weight of my present exercise, and I lived a life of humility and great fear, often fervently desiring the Lord would give me wisdom, and guide me by his own spirit, that neither in conduct nor ministry, I might ever do or say any thing that might discourage, or turn any inquiring soul out of the way; and for ever blessed be his name, his ear was open to my secret prayers, for in those crowded evening meetings we were favoured with his presence, and had many comfortable times; for the Truth prevailed, and often came over all, to the praise and glory of God, the Master of our assemblies.

Finding drawings in my mind to attend the Yearly Meeting to be held at Lancaster for the northern counties, the 29th of the First month, 1709, I set forward in company with

Mary Richardson. We took meetings in our way at Skipton, Airton, Settle, Bentham, and Yelland; and on second-day we were at Lancaster Monthly Meeting; on third-day, at the meeting of ministers and elders, and on fourth-day at the general meeting for worship, which was very large; on fifth-day at the Quarterly Meeting for the county, and after the meeting left that town in peace, having had a glorious and comfortable time amongst many of our brethren and sisters, the Lord's power and good presence being witnessed amongst us in a large degree; for which favour we are deeply engaged to be humbly thankful to the God of all our mercies, to whom the praise is due for ever.

We then visited the meetings at Preston, Kendall, Grayrig, Brigflats, Dentshead, Grisedale, Ravensend, Garsdale, and Countersel, and thence to John Routh's; where I parted with my companion. Next day I reached Bowbrighall and Bainbrig, and having spent one day in visiting several Friends in their families, passed on to Esker, Burton, and Scarhouse, where I had meetings; and then to Airton, to our worthy friend William Ellis's, where I staid that night; and next day being the 23d of the second month, I got safe home, through the preserving power of the Lord, in perfect peace, having had a very comfortable journey; for which my soul is humbly thankful unto the Lord, who is near unto his bowed children and faithful servants, and gives the reward of peace into the bosoms of those who cast their care upon him alone, and faithfully answer his call, and follow him fully in all things.

The summer following, a concern came upon me to visit the meetings of Friends in some parts of the north of England and Scotland, and when I had fully weighed the thing, and saw my way clear, I acquainted my mother and some other ancient Friends with it, and they being willing to give me up, I wrote to Mary Richardson, an elderly woman Friend, who had been my companion in another journey, querying of her, If she had any concern or drawings that way? I received for answer, that she was under the like concern to visit the places proposed, and would be glad to join me in that service. So I made preparation for my journey, and towards the latter end of the fifth month had a certificate from our Monthly meeting; and a great concern appeared in the minds of Friends on my account, I being of a very weakly constitution, and brought very low through the great exercise of my mind; but I was freely given up to the service, and my trust and whole dependence was upon the Lord alone for wisdom, strength, and preservation in every respect, well knowing that he is all-sufficient for those who trust in him, and are freely given up to do his will.

The 30th day of the fifth month, my friend John Bell, of London, being lately returned from his travels in Holland, came to pay me a visit, and staid our meeting next day; and on second-day morning, the 1st of the sixth month, after having taken my solemn leave of my dear mother and divers Friends, I set forward on my journey. My friend John Bell accompanied me to Richmond, where I met my companion. We were all at that meeting, and afterwards my said friend took his leave of us and returned towards London. My companion and I proceeded, and had meetings at Larkington, Raby, Darlington and Yarm, where I felt the authority and power of Christ the Lord in an eminent manner, and many hearts were reached and much tendered by the Truth, and overcome therewith. My soul was filled with the goodness of God, and in humble thankfulness, living praises ascended unto Him, who had graciously answered my cry and fervent desires to the full that day. Let my soul trust in Him for ever. We went next to Stokesley, Norton, Stockton, Shatton, Durham, Sunderland, Shields, and Newcastle, visiting their meetings. On second-day we came to James Halliday's in Northumberland, and thence to Allenwick and Embleton. We found the number of Friends very small in that country, yet were comforted with them in their little meetings, witnessing the promise of our great Lord to be fulfilled, for though but a few, his presence being in the midst of us, we had comfortable times.

On sixth-day morning, we set forward from John Doubleday's towards Scotland, and through hard travel and rough ways, we came that evening to Kelsey, and lodged at Charles Ormston's; from whence we went to a Friend's house over the river, and had a very good meeting with a few Friends. Next day we had two comfortable meetings in Kelsey; the number of Friends there was small, but many soldiers and others came in, who behaved soberly, and were very attentive to Truth's testimony. The next evening we reached Edinburgh, and had a comfortable meeting at the house of our worthy ancient friend Bartholomew Gibson, with Friends and others, who behaved soberly. We then crossed the Firth to Parton-crag ferry, and lodged at an inn. Passing through Montross we came to Robert Barclay's at Ury, and had a meeting with Friends there. On seventh-day we had a meeting at Aberdeen, and on first-day a very comfortable one at Kilmuck, for the Lord's power was felt in a good degree to come over all; the largest number of Friends in any one place in that nation, we met with here. In the

afternoon we had a meeting at Inver, Ury, where many people came, who were very sober and attentive. The Gospel of life and salvation was freely preached to them, and I found much room in the people's minds to receive the testimony; for which my heart was humbly thankful to the Lord, who was graciously pleased to favour us with his power and living presence, and enable us to give him the glory.

After the meeting we went to Awarthis, to the house of John Forbes, a good Friend, a living minister, and a generous open-hearted man, where we were received in much love and friendship; but having rode that day upwards of twenty miles, and had hard service in those two large meetings, though I had great peace and comfort of mind, my natural strength was so much spent, that it was with difficulty I sat upon my horse to the end of my journey. We had a comfortable meeting in that honest Friend's house with Friends thereabouts; and having staid there two nights, and recovered my natural strength in a good degree, we returned to Aberdeen, where we had a meeting the day following. Next morning we had a very comfortable meeting at the widow Hall's house, with Friends that came to see us, and we parted in much love and nearness. We came to Kingswells, where our worthy friend Andrew Jaffray lived, and had a very comfortable meeting with Friends, and next morning a sweet and edifying season with those who came to take leave of us. Though Friends in these parts were not numerous, yet I was sensible many of them loved the Truth, and in the love of Christ we were made near one unto another. Notwithstanding it was my first visit and in the time of my youth, I then believed it would also be my last to that country; and during my stay amongst them, my soul was in a deep travail before the Lord, for their preservation in the midst of a dark professing people. We came next to Ury, then to William Neeper's near Montross, and also to the town of Montross, where we had meetings. Then turning our faces towards Edinburgh, we reached Parton-crag ferry that night, and lodged at an inn. Next day afternoon we got to Gingorn, and went on board with our horses in one of their little vessels, in order to cross the Firth. There embarked in the same vessel a man of quality, with divers women in his company, his chaplain, musician, and a considerable number of attendants. They behaved themselves very rudely, making us the objects of their ridicule, the chaplain being the rudest of any of them. The gentleman himself was the only person who behaved with common civility; the women sung, and the musician played, but we sat in quietness of mind, and said nothing in reply to the many banters they put upon us. In a little time the wind arose high, and being contrary, drove the vessel towards the sea, and the boatmen laboured hard to keep her up against the wind and waves, but told us, they feared we should all be lost. Their jollity and mirth then departed, and they were turned into sadness and mourning, being surrounded with great fear and terror. The chaplain went to prayers, and my heart being filled with holy zeal against such hypocrisy, when he had done, I told him, He was not in a fit condition for that great duty; for the prayers of the wicked are an abomination to the Lord; and then had a convenient opportunity to rebuke them sharply, and clear myself of them. The chaplain replied, If they perished, we must die with them. I told him, we had peace of mind, and knew where to retire, the fear of death was taken away from us, and we were resigned in the will of God; and if he saw meet that we should lay down our lives with such a rude company, yet his Spirit bore witness with ours, that we were his children, and he would receive us into glory amongst the spirits of the just. The gentleman himself agreed with me, saying, If their lives were saved, it would be for the sake of these two good women, and rebuked his chaplain severely for his unbecoming behaviour. Through the mercy of God, after about seven hours toil in that short voyage, we landed safe at Leith, where they took up their quarters; but as we intended for Edinburgh, and the night being very dark, the gentleman sent two of his servants to conduct us safely to our lodging, where we arrived in true thankfulness to the Lord, whose preserving arm had been as a wall about us in all our difficulties. He also sent next morning to inquire of our welfare, and I returned a suitable acknowledgment for his favour and kindness.

The day following we had a meeting, to which many came who were sober and attentive; but towards the latter part of the meeting, while my companion was concerned in testimony, some came in who were rude, and threw stones at us into the meeting, one of which had nigh hit my companion; however, they did not much harm, for we had a good meeting. Passing to Borrowstoness, we had a meeting at the house of Daniel Hamilton, with Friends of Linlithgow and thereabouts. On seventh-day, in our way to Garshore, many people who were at harvest-work in the fields, inquired where we intended to have a meeting next day; telling us they had no minister, and had not heard the word of God preached for many weeks. We told them we intended to have a meeting at Garshore; they said they would come, and on first-day morning abun-

dance flocked thither; and Friends concluding their meeting-house was too small to accommodate them, agreed to have the meeting without, which was very large, solid and quiet. The Lord was with us, affording us wisdom and strength to preach the Gospel freely to them, in the power and demonstration of his own Spirit; a comfortable season we had, for the power of Truth came up into dominion over all, and we had great peace and satisfaction, and in humility rendered praise to Him who is worthy for ever. After the meeting we went into an ancient Friend's house, who said, He had not seen such a meeting there, since George Fox was in that country.

We went from thence to Glasgow, and had a meeting in their public meeting-place, where the people were exceedingly rude. They threw stones and dirt amongst us, broke the windows, and made a very great noise whilst my companion was preaching. I sat quietly waiting upon the Lord, not expecting to have any thing to say to such a rude multitude, but a concern coming upon me, I stood up some time before I spoke, in which interval they looked stedfastly upon me, and desired one another to be quiet, that they might hear what I had to say. I then spoke to them in this manner: We are come from another nation in the love of Christ to visit you, and at our return it is likely they will inquire of us, concerning the people of Scotland: and what shall we say, but that you are high in notion and profession of the Christian religion, but in conduct and behaviour worse than the heathen? You are a reproach to your nation, a shame to your teachers, and the more moderate magistrates of your country; if you knew any thing of the Christian religion, you would show it forth. They remaining quiet, I proceeded and cleared myself according to the ability then given. We had a good meeting, and the Lord shall have the praise, who owns his sincere children in all their exercises and difficulties.

But afterwards, not finding ourselves fully clear of that place, we remained under a weighty concern and deep travail before the Lord, that he might open our way to obtain peace, and to the glory of his name. After some time we went to visit some Friends in their families, and in our return, being about the time of their evening service, the sound of their prayers on every side reached our ears as we went along the streets, and struck at my very life, in consideration of the great deceit and hypocrisy of that poor mistaken people. My concern grew weighty upon me, and the distress of my mind very great, not seeing which way to get an opportunity to discharge myself; when we came to our lodgings I retired alone. We lodged at an inn kept by a Friend, an honest man, who not insensible of the concern we were under, proposed to my companion in my absence, to have a meeting in his house that evening, telling her he could lay several rooms together, that would accommodate a great number of people. To which she readily agreed, provided I was willing; and acquainting me with it, I readily joined with her proposition, which afforded ease to my mind. About the time appointed, many people flocked in, and amongst the rest a considerable number of the collegians, with some of their heads, who, we were afterwards informed, had an intention to oppose our ministry, and dispute with us. But the Lord was near to us, and gave wisdom and strength: and I may say in great humility and nothingness of self, the Gospel of life and salvation was freely preached to them, in the demonstration of the Spirit and power, according to the measure of the gift then received. A very large assembly we had, and our intended opposers stood directly before us like men chained. Truth came over all, the meeting was solid and quiet, and we had a good opportunity to clear ourselves. The meeting ended in a solemn manner, the people dispersed peaceably, and we rejoiced in a sense of the great love and favour of God, who was graciously pleased to condescend and own us, poor creatures, in a time of great distress; for which, and all his mercies, let him have the praise, for it is his own work, and can only be carried on by his power to his glory.

After this, we had meetings at Hambleton and Cumberhead; and finding ourselves easy to leave that nation, we set forward for England, and in two days came into Cumberland, to a Friend's house at Jenkins-town. We were humbly thankful to the Lord when we got safe there. The people being very honest Friends, kindly received us after our tedious and fatiguing journey.

In this county we visited the meetings at Sowpart, Sykeside, Egletonby, Scotby, Carlisle, Moorhouse, Wigton, Hartley-hall, the Holme, Pardsey, Crosfield, Broughton, and Cockermouth; and then left Cumberland, having been much comforted among Friends, and had several large and good meetings; for we found a great number of sincere sensible Friends therein, and many faithful elders yet living, whose service was great, and by whose care, through the help of Divine Providence, things were kept in comely order in the church. We then proceeded to Hawkshead, Crook, Windermere, Graithwaite, the Height, Swarthmore, Kendall, Grayrig, Dentstown, Wensleydale, and Garsdale; where we had meetings. At the last place I left my companion to go to her own home, we having travelled together

this long journey in much love and true unity, always being willing, according to the strength given, to help to bear one another's burdens, and in an humble sense of that Divine goodness we had been favoured with, we took leave one of another and parted.

It hath ever been my inclination, the little time I have been concerned to travel on Truth's account, and hitherto it hath been my practice, to make choice of an elderly experienced Friend for a companion; and the help and benefit I have found in it, engages me to recommend it to all young ministers. Having met with our worthy friend Thomas Chalkley, who intended for our county, he undertook to accompany me home. We took Bentham meeting in our way, and the next day being seventh-day, reached my mother's house: she rejoiced at my safe return, which was in much peace of mind; and I bless the worthy name of our great and good Master, who is with his bowed down children; we have great cause to serve him freely with all our strength, for he is a rich rewarder of all his faithful followers.

After my return, being but weakly through hard travel and close exercise, I continued at home, except sometimes visiting a few neighbouring meetings, as I found my mind engaged. The spring following, my friend John Bell and I came to a conclusion to accomplish our intended marriage, and it was with great awfulness and reverence, having a due regard to the peace and freedom of my own mind, that I consented to enter into a married life. After a regular proceeding, according to the good order settled amongst us, on the 31st day of the third month, 1710, a large assembly of Friends and others met at our meeting-house at Bradford, and the Lord in mercy was pleased to be near to us, at our entrance into that solemn covenant, and a quiet solid time it was, notwithstanding the great crowd present; for many of the chief inhabitants of the town came, to whom I was well known, who had not seen any of our marriages before. The whole was managed orderly and with great solemnity. The lawyers and most of the gentry signed our certificate, and very much commended our method. The chief lawyer in those parts went home with us, amongst others, and said publicly in the company, Our method and the manner of accomplishing our marriages, was the most solemn, and preferable to all the methods of marriage in the world.

I tarried at home with my husband some time; and when I found my mind engaged to visit Friends in the east part of our county, acquainted him therewith; to which he freely consented. On the 1st day of the sixth month, I set forward; my husband accompanied me to Stockton, where I met with my cousin Rachel Bell, who was come thither with an intention to be my companion. We had a good meeting with Friends there, and next day went towards Gisbrough, and had a meeting there on first-day. Thence we came to Stokesly, where my husband left us, and returned home; we had a meeting with Friends there, also at Bilsdale, Kirbymoorside, Rowsby, and Whitby. From thence we travelled to Stantondale, Scarborough, Pickering and Malton, having divers comfortable meetings; and so to Bridlington, Shipsey, Owstwick, Hull, Eastend, North Cave, and Cottness, and visited all the meetings of Friends along the east coast; and thence to Selby, York, Wetherby, and Leeds. Then finding myself clear, I left my companion there, and got home to my dear husband and mother the last day of the same month, and found all well. We were comforted in the love of Christ, and my soul was deeply bowed before the Lord, in a sense of his mercy, rendering all praise to him, to whom it is everlastingly due.

I continued about home that autumn and the winter following, and in the spring fell into a weak condition of body, which brought me very low; but when the summer came, finding myself in some degree recovered, and having a concern upon my mind to visit Friends in Lancashire and Cheshire, I acquainted some Friends with it, who were much concerned at my taking a journey in that weak condition; but when they understood my husband inclined to accompany me, it made them easy. We had a certificate at our Monthly Meeting, and set forward the 30th day of the fourth month, 1711, and got to Wycollar in Lancashire, that evening, and next day to Trawden meeting, where we had a comfortable time. The third-day following we set forward for Lancaster Quarterly Meeting, where there was a large appearance of Friends, and we had a very comfortable season together; the Lord's opening power and presence being waited for, was felt to lead Friends into their several services. The church was edified, and humble praises ascended to the great Master of our assemblies.

After that meeting we went to Yelland, next morning to Kendall Quarterly Meeting, and had a precious season. We then visited the meetings at Hawkshead, Swarthmore, and the Height, and returned by Yelland and Lancaster. On seventh-day we came to Richard Coward's, in the File country, and had a meeting appointed at Stammen; it was held in a great barn over against the parish worship-house: the meeting was large and crowded, the people quiet and very attentive, and we found room for the testimony of Truth amongst them. The Lord was with us, furnishing wis-

dom and strength, which enabled us to preach the Gospel of glad-tidings; the meeting ended well; Friends were comforted in our visit, and we truly thankful unto the Lord, who had enabled us to publish his Truth and show forth his glory.

We went thence to Clifton, and Coppel, where we had a very comfortable meeting. Here we met with our worthy friend John Haydock, and went with him to his house; he was free and fatherly, glad of our visit, and accompanied us to divers meetings; his conversation was solid and edifying, as well as affectionate; we were comforted and encouraged in our service by his company, and parted in much love and nearness. We came next to Hardshaw Monthly Meeting, then proceeded to visit the meetings at Biggerstaff, Liverpool, Knowlsby, Sanky, and Franly, in Cheshire; where, it being first-day, we had a large meeting. At the breaking up of this meeting, I fixed my eye upon a young man, and felt a concern upon my mind to go home with him, but he got away out of the meeting-house before I could speak to him. We went into a Friend's house adjoining thereto, where many Friends came to us, divers of whom earnestly entreated my husband to go with them for that night; but he leaving that to my choice, they applied to me; I told them, I had seen a young man in the meeting, with whom I inclined to go if I could find him. They asked me, If I knew his name, or where he lived? I replied, I knew neither; but during this conversation, I saw him passing an entry which went through the Friend's house, and called to him. When he came, I inquired of him where he lived? He said, about three or four miles off. I asked him, If he could accommodate us with a night's lodging, if we should incline to go with him? He answered, Yes, and should be glad of our company. I then became easy, and we went along with him. When we came to the house, we found them a family of honest Friends, but his father in a very low dejected frame of mind. I said little to him, but concluded to have a meeting in the family that evening, and a glorious opportunity it was, for the power of Truth broke in upon us in a peculiar manner, and the ancient Friend was much reached, comforted and strengthened in his mind, and as I was afterwards informed, was never so much overcome with that weakness any more. This passage I mention with no other view, but that all Friends who travel on Truth's account, may diligently wait upon God, and strictly mind their guide, to be opened by his counsel, and rightly led into all their services, both as to what meetings and families they are to go to, for in this I have found safety and comfort. The work is the Lord's, and we had need to depend upon him, and diligently wait for the immediate motions of his holy Spirit, for it is by his own power only that his servants are fitly qualified to be serviceable in his church, rendered a comfort to his people wherever they come, and enabled to discharge themselves faithfully to his glory; and when we do so, the inflowings of peace will be our abundant reward.

We proceeded on our journey to Norton, Middlewich, Newton in the Forest, and Chester, visiting the meetings of Friends, and to Nantwich meeting, to which many people came, not of our profession, who behaved themselves soberly and attentively, divers being reached; for the power and good presence of Christ was with us. As a fresh concern came upon me to visit Friends in North Wales, we in great humility deliberately considered the thing, and in freely giving up to the motion of life, found peace; and our way being clearly opened unto us, we returned back towards Chester again, and came to Wrexham, in Denbigshire, where we had a good meeting with the few Friends there; and then to Dolobran, where we had a large meeting, and though it was through hard exercise, it proved in the end very satisfactory to us and Friends. The next evening we got to Ballough, and the day following being first-day, had a meeting about two miles out of the town, at the house of Robert Vaughan. We found the number of Friends very small, but loving and glad of our visit. Next morning we set forward early, and had a long day's journey over the mountains to Dolgelly, but came safe at night to the house of Ellis Lewis, who received us kindly, and we had a good meeting there next day. After this we went to Humphry Owen's, who lived by the sea side, and the day following had a comfortable meeting at his house, with the few Friends thereabouts. Next morning we proceeded, and had a large and very good meeting next day at the house of the widow Bember. Here we found a considerable number of Friends, and divers who had a little time before been convinced of the Truth, and joined with Friends; we were highly favoured amongst them, for the power of Truth came up into dominion in a great degree; the hearts of the people were melted like wax before the fire, and the young convinced much comforted and confirmed in the blessed Truth, in a sense of the love of God to them; we were also comforted with them, and high praises were given unto God for his blessed visitation renewed to his people that day.

On the first-day following we had a meeting appointed at the house of William Sawley,

there being divers convinced in that part of the country; many Friends met us from several distant parts where we had been, and a number of other professions being gathered together, we had a large assembly, and a full and good opportunity amongst them, great openness appearing to receive the Gospel. After the meeting we parted with them, and in particular with our worthy ancient friend Robert Griffith, who had accompanied us from Dolobran during our stay in Wales, and been of great service to us.

Leaving Wales we came into Shropshire, and visited the meetings there and some in Cheshire; then finding ourselves clear, we pursued our journey homewards, and came to Bradford, where we found my dear mother and all things well, for which we were humbly thankful; and in the enjoyment of that peace which we were filled with in obeying the Lord's requirings, and serving him faithfully, we were made to rejoice and bless his name.

Being but weakly at my setting out, I found myself much spent when my service in that journey was over; and notwithstanding I had been wonderfully supported and strengthened, I found liberty to tarry about home the remaining part of this year; during which time there was a particular visitation of truth to the people about Keighley, and many flocked to Friends' meetings in that town. My husband and I found ourselves often concerned to visit them, and divers being convinced, joined with Friends.

About this time, a young woman who was a baptist, came divers times to a meeting I sometimes visited, and wrote several letters to me, by way of inquiry concerning our principles, which I answered as things opened upon my mind. After several letters had passed between us and she seemed satisfied with my answers, she wrote me another, desiring to be resolved about women's preaching, saying, she thought me a proper person to apply to, being concerned in that service; to which I replied in substance as follows.

"Dear friend,*

"Though we are strangers one to another, as to personal knowledge, yet understanding by some friends, and thy own letters to me, that thou art inclined to virtue and piety, and desirous to know the way of the Lord, which is very commendable in youth, and particularly wants to be resolved concerning women's preaching and praying in public assemblies; and I being concerned that way, and always glad to hear that young people are inclinable to godliness, find the tender love of my heavenly Father flow towards thee, heartily desiring he may open thy understanding, and give thee the true knowledge of himself, and of his way Christ Jesus, whom to know is life everlasting.

"And first I shall observe, that the holy women, under the law, were concerned in carrying on the work of the Lord, when the tabernacle was commanded to be built. And Moses spake unto all the congregation of the children of Israel, saying, this is the thing which the Lord commanded, saying, take ye from amongst you an offering unto the Lord, whosoever is of a willing heart, &c. And they came every one whose heart stirred him up, and every one whom his spirit made willing, and they brought the Lord's offering to the work of the tabernacle of the congregation, and for all his service, and for the holy garments; and they came both men and women, as many as were willing-hearted, &c.

"And all the women, whose hearts stirred them up in wisdom, spun goats hair, &c. And divers services we may find, for the carrying on of the Lord's work, the holy women in that day were employed in assisting in concurrence with the men in the work of the tabernacle; which I look upon was figurative, setting forth something of the inward work of the holy spirit of Jesus Christ, in men and women under the glorious Gospel dispensation. But to come closely to the point, we may observe, that Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a timbrel in her hand, and all the women went out after her, &c. And Miriam exhorted them to praise the Lord; which undoubtedly was approved by Moses, Aaron, and the rest of her brethren. We also find, the Lord hath been pleased to make known his will to godly women as well as men, and to make use of their service in matters of great moment; of which Deborah a prophetess and a judge in Israel, and Huldah, the prophetess, are eminent instances. Hence thou mayest see, the public service of women in the church is no new thing, but was practised amongst the people of God in ancient days.

"I shall now proceed to observe, that the same was to be continued in the latter days, or dispensation of the Gospel; which is thus expressed by the prophet Joel, personating the Almighty: 'And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, &c. And also upon the servants and upon the handmaids in those days will I pour out my spirit, and I will show wonders in the heavens and in the earth,' &c. So if daughters have the Spirit of the Lord poured

*Several excellent letters written by Deborah Bell, will be found in the memoirs of Joseph Pike, Vol. II. of Friends' Library, pages 405, 406, 407.

forth upon them, as well as sons, why may they not preach, pray, or prophesy, when led and moved thereto by the Spirit, as well as sons?

"Passing now from the Old Testament to the New, we find a notable instance in Anna the prophetess, who gave thanks and spoke of the Lord Jesus Christ unto all them who looked for redemption in Jerusalem. Here was a woman preacher, who taught or prophesied in the temple of the Lord; an early preacher of the Son of God, the Saviour of the world. But I suppose the chief objection in thy mind against women's preaching, arises from that saying of the apostle Paul in his first epistle to the Corinthians; 'Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law. And if they will learn any thing, let them ask their husbands at home: for it is a shame for women to speak in the church.' It appears to have been only to some married women at Corinth, the apostle gave that charge; and none can justly draw from his words, that he thereby meant to prohibit all women from preaching and prophesying in public assemblies; for it is plain from the text, that those Corinthian women were not such as prophesied, or had a word of exhortation to give; but busy-bodies, asking questions which disturbed and troubled the church. But those amongst us, whom the Lord has concerned to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and delare the glad-tidings of life and salvation by him, to poor captivated souls, are not found asking questions to trouble the church; but labouring in the gift God has given them, that people may come to be turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God; which was the concern of Gospel ministers in former days. Such women as the apostle speaks against, were to learn of their husbands at home; which implies, they wanted such instruction as their husbands might be able to give. We read, Philip had four daughters, virgins, who did prophesy, and though Paul and his company tarried there about a year after he had so written to the Corinthians, yet we do not find, that he in any wise disapproved the prophesying of those godly virgins. We may justly conclude, that if women's preaching or prophesying had been put an end to by the coming of Christ, and was not to be allowed in the Gospel dispensation, Philip, an evangelist, would not have suffered his own daughters to prophesy, who were virgins under his own care, as may reasonably be supposed. Nor did the other apostles, in their general epistles to the believers, give any such commandment to the churches; which, no doubt, they would have done, if in the Gospel dispensation the Holy Ghost had prohibited women being so concerned. Besides, such a prohibition would have been a plain contradiction to the prophecy of Joel, before mentioned. It also appears very clear, that the apostle Paul never intended such a limitation, who gave suitable advice how women should behave themselves when exercised in praying and prophesying, as thou mayest read. They that conclude the apostle intended to exclude all women from praying and prophesying, make him inconsistent with himself, to prescribe a way in one place how to perform orderly and decently, what he disapproved in another. But the same apostle is very clear when he saith, 'For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ.' 'There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.' Then if there be no difference between male and female, but all are one in Christ, why may not all be like partakers of the gift of his grace, thereby to be made to speak in his name, and exhort all to believe in him and obey him? And it is likewise to be observed, that in the same chapter the apostle advised the women at Corinth not to trouble the church, he saith, 'Ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted.' From whence it may be as strongly argued, the apostle meant they might prophesy, though not required of them by the Lord so to do; as to say he forbad women to prophesy, though the Lord required it of them. For saying 'You may all prophesy,' included the women of Corinth as well as the men, if moved thereto by the Spirit of the Lord. And though the apostle saith, 'Let the women learn in silence with all subjection, but I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence,' &c. Respecting this I shall observe, that those women, upon whom God hath poured forth of his holy Spirit, and filled their hearts with his living word, so that they cannot hold their peace, but a necessity from the Lord is upon them to preach the Gospel of glad-tidings, to those who are captives to sin, that they may come under the government of the law of the spirit of life, that sets free from the law of sin and death, having been made living witnesses of the work of God in their own hearts, and experienced a blessed change wrought therein, and a concern raised to call others to seek after the Lord, and fear him; these can direct into the way that leads to true peace, because they have known their feet to be turned into it, by the mighty arm and power of the

Lord, which has wrought a willingness in them to follow and serve him, according to the ability he gives. And this agrees with that saying, 'Thy people shall be willing in the day of thy power.' And he has, by his power, enabled a remnant to walk in his way, though a way of self-denial, step by step; and these, whether men or women, have witnessed a learning in silence, as they have thus waited and rightly come to learn of Christ Jesus, their heavenly husband; he has opened his everlasting way and Truth unto their souls, and even constrained them, by his overcoming love, to declare of it to others, which has been done at times in fear and trembling, and much self-denial. Such women are not of those the apostle had occasion to reprove. For we are far from usurping authority over the men, but remain in true subjection, depending upon the Lord our strength, and waiting for the authority of his holy power, which calls to this great work, and carries it on, both in sons and daughters, to the praise of his great name, and the comfort and encouragement of poor longing souls, that they may come also and enjoy for themselves, that which will nourish up unto everlasting life. Such women as these the law allowed of, and the apostle allowed of, as might be more fully proved out of the holy Scriptures. For they who allow not women's prophesying, preaching or praying, must consequently conclude, that the Lord's regard to them is lessened, and his love in measure withdrawn from them; for it is evident, by the texts I have mentioned, he made his mind known to women in ancient days, and they spoke in his word to his people; and as their counsel was taken, the Lord enabled his people to overcome their enemies. But blessed be the name of the Lord, there is a remnant in this day, who have been made partakers of his mercy, and can say he is the same that ever he was, in regard and love to all his people, male and female; God unchangeable, blessed in himself and in his Son Jesus Christ for ever.

"I might enlarge on this subject beyond the bounds of a letter, should I observe, how Jesus Christ our Lord conversed with, and used the service of women before he was offered up; how his first appearing, after his resurrection, was unto a woman; and also how Paul commended divers women, and tells how helpful they were to him, and entreated his true yoke-fellow to help those women who laboured with him in the Gospel; which for brevity I omit, and shall draw towards a conclusion, earnestly desiring the Lord may open thy understanding, both in this thing, and in all others which concern thy everlasting well being. If I had room, I should be willing to tell thee a little of my own experience in several respects, but am more desirous to have a little conversation with thee, if opportunity admits. So with sincere desires in my heart, for thy welfare and growth in the knowledge of God, and establishment in the blessed Truth, I conclude thy truly loving friend, willing to satisfy thee in what I can.

"Deborah Bell."

A considerable time after, this young woman came to a meeting where I was, and when it ended, told me she was the person who had written me divers letters, and received my answers, desiring to have some conversation with me, which I readily agreed to, and we spent some hours together to our mutual comfort. She confessed to the Truth, and was much tendered through the visitation of the love of God to her; and some time after, finding my heart opened in the love of God, earnestly desiring her preservation and settlement in the Truth, I wrote and sent her the following letter.

"Dear friend,

"In the love of my heavenly Father, I dearly salute thee, earnestly desiring that peace, which passes the understandings of men, which the world can neither give nor take away, may plentifully abound in thy heart, which no doubt will, as thou comes to yield sincere obedience to that of God in thy own conscience, which thou art in some measure acquainted with, as it hath manifested to thee several things which are contrary to the will of God; and not only so, but hath likewise let thee see what thou shouldst do to obtain peace in thy soul; and that which is required of thee is, that thou obey, from the bottom of thy heart, the manifestations thereof. Though at first it may seem to be but a small light, shining in a dark place, discovering those things that are evil to the soul; yet as there is a diligent attention to it, it will shine brighter and brighter, and discover more and more, till every thing that is evil be manifested thereby; and in due time, thy soul will come to a perfect knowledge of the will of God, and experience that the path of the just is as a bright and shining light, which shines more and more until the perfect day.

"Dear heart, I know the love of God is largely extended to thee, and he has blessings in store for thee, if thou wilt but wait to be so wrought upon by his heart-changing power, as to be made fit to receive them. I do earnestly entreat of thee, as thou desires peace of conscience, and a resting place in eternal joy for thy soul, that thou beware of doing or

joining with any thing that brings trouble upon thee, and breaks thy peace with the Lord. Be sure to mind what makes for thy peace, and that do; though it may be through hard exercise, and under the cross. This is the right way that all God's faithful children and people have trodden in all ages; and truly, it seems to me, that thou must have a great share of the cross to bear; but be not discouraged at this, for it is but a cross to that part which never can inherit the kingdom of heaven. So that it is for the benefit of our souls, to have that part crucified and slain which is an enemy to us, and would hinder us from entering into eternal felicity; and I have further to say for thy encouragement, that those who have the greatest share of exercises and tribulations, shall, if they abide stedfast, receive a more exceeding recompense of joy and consolation of soul from the Lord.

"Dear child, keep true in heart unto God, and eye him above all, who hath been so large in his love, as to work upon thy heart by his power, in thy young and tender years. It is in order that thou mayst be made a fit instrument in his hand, for the glory of his holy name; and I believe he will carry on his work gloriously in thy soul, as thou art truly obedient, and subject to his workings there, even to the filling of thy heart, not only with admiration of his dealings with thee, but also with great reverence and thankfulness to him, for his mercy and goodness. My pen is not able to set forth one half of the comfort those enjoy, who are given up in heart to follow the Lord fully, and turn their backs on all the glory of this perishing world; but thou shalt be a witness thereof thyself in the Lord's time, if thou truly loves him above all, and denies all for his sake. Therefore, I beseech thee, take care of resisting the good Spirit of God, whilst it is striving with thee; for this is the day of thy visitation, wherein life and death are set before thee; and the Lord will not compel any, but he offers his love freely to all; and for ever happy wilt thou be, if thou joins in with it. But on the contrary, if thou looks out at the glory of the world, and prefers it before peace with the Lord, or looks at the exercise and difficulties thou mayst have to encounter withal, and art thereby prevailed upon to let thy spiritual concern drop, it had been better for thee thou hadst never known the mind of the Lord, nor had his will manifested unto thee. I can tell thee by experience, that God is no hard Master; and though many things appear to us, that may seem impossible to be overcome, yet as our eye is to the Lord, with sincere desires in our hearts to answer his will, we shall find he is all-sufficient to support and enable to overcome. Nothing is too strong for him, though all the powers of hell combine together against him, to hinder his work from being carried on in the soul. If the soul dwells but under the government of his holy power, and waits for his heavenly teachings, from whence Divine wisdom cometh, which wisdom the Devil with all his subtlety can never beguile; such from experience shall have cause to say, the power of God is above all powers whatsoever. O cleave close to the Lord, and he will never forsake thee, nor be wanting for thy help in the most needful time of trouble. But let me say once more, take heed of slighting this the day of God's love, or delaying; for thy soul is at stake, and thou mayst never have the like visitation again. I have been very much concerned for thee, and have suffered in spirit with thee since I saw thee, and it is for no by-ends at all, but for the discharging of my conscience of that duty I owe, and in pure love to thy never-dying soul, that I send these lines, heartily desiring they may have the desired effect upon thee; and I believe the day will come, wherein thou will be made sensible, that it is in the love of God these lines are written. I shall now draw towards a conclusion, having enlarged beyond what I at first intended; for I find my heart opened in love to thee, and shall remain one who travails for the good of souls, and that many may be brought into true acquaintance with the living God, and know their peace to be made with him, before time to them here shall be more.

"DEBORAH BELL."

Having felt drawings in my mind for some time, to visit meetings in the southern counties of England, and the city of London, the spring following, I acquainted Friends with it, and had a certificate. Rebecca Cowell offered to be my companion, and on the last day of the first month, 1712, we set forwards, and had meetings at Balby, Blyth, Collingham, Swinehead, Spalden, Gedney, Wisbich, Upwell, Lynn, Fakenham, Wells, Holt, Lammas, and Norwich; where I was kindly received, particularly by our worthy friend John Gurney, senior, who was an intimate acquaintance of my dear father's, and he related to me many affecting passages of his labours and service in that city and county in early times. During our stay there, his fatherly care over me was very engaging, and I believe will never be forgot whilst my memory is strong enough to retain it.

We had a meeting in that city on a week-day; then went to Yarmouth, and had a meeting with the few Friends there; but not being

fully clear in my mind, I parted with my companion and came back to Norwich, and staid the first-day meetings, which were very large: I had a good time amongst them, and we were comforted together. Next morning we parted in a sense of the love of Truth, and I came to Taisbrough meeting, where joining my companion again, we visited the meetings at Tivetshall, Diss, Thetford, and Ixor. Then leaving Norfolk, we went to Bury, and were at the meetings there on the first-day, where many people came in. We had a good opportunity amongst them, for Truth owned us in our service; for which my soul is humbly thankful unto our great Lord and Master. From thence we went to Mildenhall, Bayton, Mendlesham, Needham, Woodbridge, and Layson, visiting those meetings; and at the last place had a good and comfortable season amongst a tender inquiring people. We also found a sober tender people at Branston, and had a good time amongst them. We then proceeded to Walton, and Ipswich, visiting their meetings. Then leaving Suffolk, we visited Friends at Colchester, Birch, Kelvedon, and Chelmsford. On the 16th day of the third month we reached London, and went through all the meetings in that city, where we had many precious seasons.

The Yearly Meeting drawing on, my husband came up and met me there, where I saw many of my worthy friends, and had comfortable meetings with them. After which, my mind being clear and fully easy, I parted with my companion; and my husband and divers friends accompanying me, we left that city, and taking a meeting at Albans, we proceeded homewards, where we arrived safe, and found my dear mother and all well.

I enjoyed great peace in giving myself freely up to the service of Truth, and humble thankfulness remained on my mind to the Lord for his mercy, in granting a sense of his living presence and power to the support and comfort of my exercised soul, in all my travels for promoting the Gospel.

My husband having been inclined for a long time to remove to London, the place of his former residence, had proposed it to me, and left it under my consideration, where it remained for some years; he leaving it with me without the least importunity. It was a serious thing to me, and I often besought the Lord to know his will therein; for I considered I was the only branch of the family left to come up in my dear father and mother's places, in their divers services in the church, greatly desiring I might not miss my way; and great fear was upon my mind. My heart was sincere before the Lord; and in process of time, patiently waiting for the counsel of God, I saw the way clearly, and had a certain evidence that the Lord would be with us, and own us in that undertaking. This removed all doubts, and I freely consented. We then acquainted Friends with our intention; upon which they were much concerned, for we had a place amongst them, they thinking us of service; and also being cautious lest we should miss our way, were very loth to part with us; however, after divers consultations, they left us to our liberty. We prepared for our removal, and about the middle of the seventh month set forward for London, brought my dear mother along with us, and settled in the city.

Being afterwards drawn in my mind to visit Friends in Kent, the 31st of the tenth month 1715, and having my dear friend Margaret Ollive for my companion, we visited the meetings, and finding ourselves easy, came safe home, after a difficult journey though but short; for the weather was extremely cold, being a hard frost and a deep snow, during the whole time. Upon coming home, our hearts were filled with thankfulness to the Lord, who had accompanied us in our service, and preserved us from any harm.

A concern having rested upon my mind for a considerable time, to visit some of the meetings of Friends in the north of England and Ireland, which growing weighty upon me, I acquainted my husband and mother with it, who readily consented to give me up to that service. My former companion, Margaret Ollive, agreed to accompany me; and having the consent of Friends, and certificates of their unity with us, the 16th day of the twelfth month 1716, we set forward, being accompanied to Albans by my husband and divers other Friends, where we had a meeting that day; after which, my husband took his leave of us and returned home. We then proceeded to Market street, Newport-pagnel, Northampton, Braybrook, Leicester and Nottingham, where we had meetings. Thence we travelled directly to Bradford, in Yorkshire, and had a very good open meeting amongst my dear friends and former neighbours, who rejoiced to see me once more at the place of my nativity. A very comfortable opportunity it was to many; for which I was truly thankful unto our great Lord and Master, and more and more confirmed that he is worthy to be followed and obeyed in all his requirings.

From thence we went to Satterforth and had a meeting; then to Settle Monthly Meeting, where we had an opportunity of seeing many of our friends from several meetings, and had a comfortable time with them. From thence we came to Kendal, where we had two comfortable meetings, which strengthened us in

our service, and the church was edified in the love of Christ. We went next to Windermere meeting, and so to Cockermouth, and it proving a very snowy day, and I being weakly, was hard set to bear it over the mountains; however, through the favour and protection of Providence, we got that night to our worthy friend Peter Fearon's. His wife, my particular friend and acquaintance from my childhood, received us kindly, and her motherly care was great over us.

Next day we went to Pardsay meeting, and had a good time amongst Friends there; after which we returned to our lodging, but the wind and snow were so very severe, we could scarcely sit on our horses. We staid there four nights, the snow being so deep and the weather boisterous, that it was judged very unsafe to travel. On the first-day we had two very good meetings at Cockermouth. Next morning leaving my companion with Friends there, I set forward towards Carlisle, to visit my husband's father, and some other relations in that part of the county, where I had divers comfortable meetings; and being much pressed in mind for Ireland, intended to return to my companion in order to proceed in our voyage; but the wind continuing contrary, and their Quarterly Meeting drawing on, Friends persuaded me earnestly to stay that meeting. On deliberate consideration, I found freedom in my mind to consent thereto, the wind still continuing contrary. The meeting being to be held at Carlisle, my companion met me there, and many Friends came. A large and good meeting it was, being overshadowed with the power of Truth in a good degree, though much disturbed by several who were possessed with a ranting unruly opposite spirit. But the governor of the city understanding how they disturbed the meeting, sent his officers to take them away. Next day they came again, and began to disturb the meeting as before, but were soon carried away by the forementioned authority, only one John Robinson, escaping the officers' notice, continued in the meeting; while a Friend was declaring the Truth, he sat still, but when he had done, began to reflect upon Friends with railing accusations. I being under a weighty concern stood up, and in the dread and power of the Lord began to declare of the free grace and universal love of God to mankind. At which he cried out, Disorder; but a man of considerable note in that city, commanding him to be silent, or he would take him out of the meeting, he sat down, and I went on in the authority of the Lord's power, my heart being filled with the love of Christ, which flowed freely to that exercised people, and the Gospel of life and salvation was preached to them, and many hearts were reached and much affected with the Truth. A glorious meeting it proved, and my soul was deeply bowed in humility before the Lord, who owns his poor weak ones that faithfully serve him, in every needful time, who shall have the praise of his own work.

When the meeting ended we took our solemn leave of Friends, being near to us in the unity of the one spirit, which makes the children of God truly one all the world over; and a worthy ancient Friend said, when I took my leave of him, Heaven had favoured them, in detaining us to attend that meeting; we now had staid till the right time, and they could freely part with us. So we came away in perfect peace, and were greatly comforted in a sense of the love of God; for I never left that part of the country with so much ease of mind before.

We travelled twenty miles that afternoon to Cockermouth, and early next morning, as the wind continued fair, we rode to Whitehaven, and finding the ship ready to sail, went on board immediately, being the seventh-day. We had a tedious passage by reason of contrary winds; and very mean accommodation; however, through the favour of Divine providence, we got safe to land on the fourth-day evening, and went to Dublin that night, where we were kindly received by our friend Joseph Gill. Next day we had a meeting in that city amongst the scholars in the school-room, and on sixth-day a large meeting with Friends and others, in their meeting-house. On first-day we had large meetings, where the testimony of Truth had free passage. We were comforted one in another, and blessed the Lord, who is making his people who abide in his own spirit, dear to one another, of whatsoever nation they are.

We staid about ten days in Dublin, and had seven meetings, wherein we had good and comfortable opportunities; and leaving that city, we went to John Barcroft's on a seventh-day; the day following to Edenderry, and had two comfortable meetings; from thence to a place about seven miles distant, where we had a meeting; thence to Mountmelick, and visited that meeting, and had next a very solid meeting at Mountrath. About four miles from thence we came to a widow woman's house, where we had a very sweet and comfortable meeting, and returned back again to Mountrath. We spent the seventh-day in visiting Friends, divers of them sick. Then visiting Ballynakill, and Kilconner, we came to Newgarden, where the testimony of Truth went forth in a sharp and close manner, against public disorder and secret sins; things were opened so clearly in my mind, that I could safely have said, "Thou art the man;" for the

Lord is opening secret things to his faithful servants, in this day as in days past; blessed be his name, saith my soul, for ever! for those that trust in him are helped by him, and need not lean on the arm of flesh; for nothing can do God's work but his own arm and power.

From thence we went to Ballitore and had a meeting, and so to Castledermot to the province-meeting for Leinster, and were at the meeting of ministers and elders, where we were glad to see many of our dear friends and brethren, and were sweetly comforted and refreshed in the Lord, and one in another in the love of Christ. Next morning was held a very large public meeting for worship, wherein we had a good opportunity, and in the afternoon the meeting for business. On first-day we had a very large meeting, the power of Truth was with us, and I had strength given to discharge myself faithfully. It was a satisfactory time, our elder brethren giving us the right hand of fellowship, and prayers were put up to the Lord, for our help and prosperity in his work, who is the giver of every good and perfect gift, for they were sensible of the weighty concern we were under. Indeed it is a very great thing to travel to promote and publish the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and loudly calls for the greatest humility, reverence and awe, ever to remain upon the minds of all those concerned therein.

After meeting we returned in great peace towards Dublin, and the day following there was a marriage, and the greatest number of people together that I had ever seen on the like occasion; a brave opportunity it was to publish the Truth, and great openness I found upon my mind to that people, and the Gospel of salvation was freely preached to them. They were quiet and orderly, and many very attentive to the testimony of Truth, who had never been at any of our meetings before: others who had not heard a woman preach, went away well satisfied, and we were comforted. We staid in Dublin till the first-day following, having several meetings amongst Friends in the mean time, and on first-day had two very large meetings; for the Lord in his goodness and mercy, was pleased to open things to their states, and we found our minds clear and easy.

On the third-day following began their Half-year's Meeting, wherein many living testimonies were borne to the comforting of the faithful, and warning and stirring up the careless to more diligence and circumspection. The meeting held several days, and the Lord, who had been with us in our public services, was graciously pleased to own us in taking leave of one another, to our confirmation and comfort, which was in a select meeting of ministers and elders, seasoning our spirits with his love, in which we parted. Being fully clear we left Dublin that afternoon, and had a number of good meetings amongst Friends. Many people came, and the Lord's power and good presence were with us in our service, and we were much comforted in his love, and remained humbly thankful to him.

From thence we went to Coothill, and had two large meetings on a first-day; many Friends living thereabouts, and divers sober neighbours coming in, we had very open and comfortable meetings. We travelled on to Ballyhagan, Old-Castle, and the Moate, and had satisfactory meetings. At the last place was the province-meeting for Leinster, where the testimony of Truth came up in dominion over all deceit and false shews, and we had opportunities to discharge ourselves, and came away with satisfaction and peace. From thence we went to Waterford and Birr, and visiting the meetings, came to John Ashton's, and had a meeting which was large, many people coming in; there was great openness in that place to receive the testimony of Truth, and some convincement. We then proceeded to Limerick, where we had three meetings, and the Lord was graciously pleased to give sufficient ability to go through with the service in that town; and having discharged ourselves faithfully, we came away in peace; for which we were humbly thankful to the Lord, upon whom our whole dependence was, and we were never disappointed.

We came next to Charly-field, were at that meeting, and thence to Cork, where we staid some time, I being reduced very low in my bodily strength, through travel and close exercise, which was my lot in this journey, brought on such infirmities as rendered me unfit for much more travel at that time. We had divers large and good meetings in that city, there being a considerable body of sensible zealous Friends. After a few days we went to Youghal and Bandon, visiting the meetings, and returned to Cork again. After some stay there, my weakness increasing, I saw my way clear to return home, but waited some time for a passage; we had divers precious meetings, and often the company of our dear and worthy friend Joseph Pike, and other ancient Friends then living, who were pillars in the church, whose conversation was very comfortable, edifying and profitable to us.

A ship being ready to sail, we took our leave of Friends there in a solemn manner, and in a lively sense of the goodness of God to his people, came on board; we had a good passage, and in two days landed safe at Swanzey, in South Wales. We then travelled to Bristol, where we met with our friend Joseph Ollive, whom we were glad to see, he being

come thither, in order to conduct us home. We had several large and good meetings in that city, to ours and Friends' satisfaction. We then came to Bath, and had two good meetings with the few Friends and others in that place; from thence to Reading, where I met my dear husband and divers Friends from London, who had come to meet us. We had two meetings in that town, the last of which was very large, and an extraordinary time; for the power of Truth came over all, and we were much comforted in the Lord.

Next morning we set forward for London, got safe home that night and found all well; for which I was humbly thankful to the Lord, who had been pleased to call me forth from my habitation, to visit his people in the nation of Ireland, and divers other places, in his service, and hath been pleased to accompany me with his living presence, whereby I was enabled to go through the work he required of me, and have also been preserved through all dangers and perils, both outwardly and inwardly, to his own praise and my comfort; for which my soul is under deep obligation freely to follow him in all his leadings, who is worthy for evermore.

Having a concern upon my mind again to visit some meetings of Friends in Ireland, and to attend their Half-year's meeting, I acquainted my husband and mother therewith, who freely consented to give me up to Truth's service; and having Friends' certificate, towards the latter part of the first month 1720, I set forward in the stage-coach for Bristol, and being there informed a ship lay at the Pill ready to sail, and a young woman suitable to accompany me in that voyage was gone down, in order to embark, I looked upon it as a providential opportunity; so I hastened to the Pill that evening and met with her. We lodged there that night, and next morning set sail with a fair wind; but being afterwards becalmed, were six days in the voyage before we reached Cork, where we arrived safely through Divine mercy, and many of my dear friends and I were glad to see one another once more.

A few days after came on the province-meeting for Munster, where I had the opportunity of seeing many Friends from divers parts, and Truth owned us in that meeting to our comfort. I staid in and about Cork twelve days, and had ten meetings amongst Friends and others, some of which were seasons worthy to be remembered.

Leaving Cork I came to Kilconner, where I met with Elizabeth Pease, to whom I had written to accompany me in that journey, if she found freedom in her mind. We had a good meeting with Friends there, and were at Clonmel meeting next day, which was very large on account of a marriage, and the Lord, in whom my trust and dependency was, furnished us in an eminent manner, to the information of those who were strangers, and the comfort and satisfaction of his own children; for which I am deeply bowed in thankfulness to him, and made to say, Let my soul trust in the Lord and serve him for ever, for his power is over all, and therein his poor weak children and servants know victory and dominion; blessed be his holy name for ever and ever.

From thence we went to Cassell, Waterford, Wexford, Lambs-town, Cooladine, and so to the general Monthly Meeting in the county of Wicklow, which was large. We had a good opportunity, and were comforted in the enjoyment of the Lord's goodness.

Next day we went to Dublin, where on seventh-day was held the meeting of ministers and elders for that nation, and next day began the Half-year's Meeting. We had two very large and open meetings that day; for the great Lord and Master of our assemblies did not only open a free Gospel-spring in his living ministers, but also prepared the hearts of the hearers to receive it. During our stay in that city, we had twelve meetings, some of which were very glorious and precious seasons, for which my soul magnifies the Lord, who granted the desire of my heart, which was, That the power and virtue of Truth might arise into dominion, so as to reign over that spirit and power which stood in opposition to the holy Spirit of Christ. As soon as I lifted up my eyes to behold that city, when I drew nigh to it, a great weight of exercise laid hold of my mind, and I groaned under it, both day and night, and fervently breathed to the Lord, in whom I trusted, that he would be graciously pleased to make way for carrying on his own work, and give me strength and wisdom to discharge myself faithfully of the weight I groaned under for the Seed's sake, which I was sensible suffered in that place. Notwithstanding, the Lord has a true and sincerely concerned people there, who seek his honour, with whom my soul was truly comforted, and had good unity, and in that I parted with them in much love and sweetness, being fully clear and easy. Blessed be the name of our God, who is with his servants and hand-maids, and makes his children and people, who are baptized into the one spirit, dear one unto another in the fellowship of the Gospel of peace.

Leaving Dublin we came to John Ashton's, and had a very good meeting amongst a tender newly convinced people, with whom I was truly comforted, and took my leave of them in abundance of love, and came to Limerick,

had a meeting there, and from thence returned again to Cork. On first-day following, began the province meeting, and the next day the men's and women's meetings. On third-day, a general public meeting for worship was held, to which many people came who did not profess with us, and the Lord was pleased to open many things suitable to their states, for their information concerning the way of life and salvation; and his Divine power and presence was with us in a large degree, to the great comfort and joy of the sincere-hearted, as well as the tendering of divers who had lived at a distance from, and in disobedience to, the blessed Truth. But, oh! the great condescension and love of our compassionate Lord is such, that he is reaching a hand of help unto all, and would willingly have the rebellious to turn to him, by unfeigned repentance, whilst the door of mercy is open. My soul is deeply bowed before him, in admiration of his undeclarable love to poor lost mankind, and a deep travail is in my mind, that the visitations of his love may prevail upon all, and draw them after himself, that they may be gathered into the fold of eternal rest and peace.

This meeting being over, I parted with my companion in true love and nearness, in which we had for some time travelled together. She returned home, and I finding myself fully clear and easy to leave this nation, waited at Cork for an opportunity to embark for England; but the wind being contrary, occasioned my staying there several days, and I had comfortable seasons amongst my dear friends there.

The wind coming fair, and a ship ready to sail, I took my solemn leave of Friends, came on board, had a good passage, and by the protection of Providence got safely to Bristol, where I staid four days, and had three good meetings with Friends. I then took passage in the stage-coach, and came to London in two days, where I found my dear husband and mother and all well. We rejoiced to meet once more, and my heart was filled with peace, and solid satisfaction abounded in my soul, having discharged myself of my duty, in giving up freely to the service of Truth in this journey. I am humbly bowed in spirit before the Lord, whose love and goodness never fail those that trust in him and obey his call, for he is attending such with his living presence, in their goings out and comings in; for which my soul, with many more, is under deep obligation to follow him in all his drawings and leadings forth, though it be in a cross to our own wills; and I greatly desire his heavenly will may ever be freely submitted unto, for he is for ever worthy, and for all his preservation and truth I humbly praise his name.

A SUPPLEMENT, BY HER HUSBAND.

Besides the foregoing account of her labours and travels, she went several other journeys, wherein I was mostly her companion, but she omitted keeping a particular account.

During our residence at Bradford, she accompanied me twice into Cumberland, and also into several parts of Westmoreland and Lancashire, where her service was very acceptable to the churches. After our removal to London, she was divers times at Bristol, Bath and some other meetings thereabouts; once at their Quarterly Meeting at Bristol, where she had good opportunities, and was of great service, as divers of them afterwards told me. She had many invitations to pay them another visit, and spend some time with them, alledging, she might be of great service to their youth, with whom she had great place; but she was steady, and ever careful not to be drawn by any thing but the openings of Truth. Her concern was, to be led into all her services by the spirit of Christ, which only can enable ministers, and make them serviceable in his church; often observing to me in our private conversation, what a weighty thing it was to travel to publish the Gospel, and preach the doctrines of the kingdom of God; and that all ministers had need to be very steady, and often retire and wait diligently upon the Lord, to see their way clearly opened in the light of Truth, and to be led into all their services by the holy Spirit, that certain guide, by which none were ever led astray; and she had observed, for want of this care and steadiness, other motives had prevailed with some, and they had suffered loss.

In the year 1730, we took our journey in order to visit some meetings in the north of England, and travelled by Royston and Huntington to York, and had two meetings in that city, where she had good service. From thence to Leeds, Bradford, and Carlisle, and visited meetings in that county. Then returning by Wigton, Pardsay, and Cockermouth, we had comfortable meetings amongst our dear friends and former acquaintance. Leaving Cumberland, we came to Kendal, and were at their meetings on first-day, where she had good opportunities. From thence to Settle Monthly Meeting, and next day to Skipton meeting; then to Bradford, where we had a large meeting, many people coming in of her former acquaintance, and the power of Truth was with us, and in the authority thereof, she preached the Gospel of

life and salvation. Many were affected, and much reached and tendered, for her heart was opened, and she was largely drawn forth, and enabled by the Truth to lay open to them, and zealously to recommend and press home, the doctrines of Christ our Saviour, in the power and demonstration of his own Spirit, to the great satisfaction and comfort of Friends.

We came from thence to Leeds, had a good opportunity with Friends, and proceeded to Nottingham, where we staid the first-day meetings. In the afternoon the meeting was very large, and she had an excellent opportunity, being enabled through Divine assistance, to preach the Gospel of glad-tidings and salvation, through faith in Christ, freely to them. All were quiet and attentive to Truth's testimony; the power of the Lord came over all, and it was a comfortable season. From thence in three days we came safe to London, with peace and satisfaction.

In the year 1736, after our Yearly Meeting at London, we went to Banbury Yearly Meeting, and had a meeting at Hitchin in our way. She had divers good opportunities at that Yearly Meeting, which was large. We set forward next morning towards Northampton, and had a meeting at Bugbrook that evening, where many professors came, and she was enabled to preach the Gospel to them, and declare the way of life and salvation, as it was made freely manifest by the light of Christ shining in the heart. It was a good opportunity, and Truth's testimony had an affecting reach upon many.

Next morning we came to Northampton Quarterly Meeting, where many Friends met, and she had divers excellent opportunities there, particularly at the meeting of ministers, greatly to the comfort and satisfaction of the few ministers in that county, and others met with them. Being fully clear, we set forward for London, and came safe home in peace.

Having drawings in her mind to visit her native country once more, the latter end of this summer we set forward in company with our friend and cousin Thomas Story. We had meetings at Albans, Sherrington, Wellingborough, Leicester, Nottingham, and Sheffield, where she had good opportunities, and discharged herself faithfully. Thence we came to Leeds, and were at that meeting. Thomas Story leaving us there, travelled northward, but we staid some time longer, and then went to Bradford, and were at that meeting on a first-day. A large assembly of Friends and others came together, having notice of our intention of being there, and her heart was wonderfully opened amongst them; many Gospel truths were set in a clear light, and declared in the power and demonstration of the Spirit of Christ; an open door appeared to receive the testimony, and many were affected and reached by the Truth.

We staid thereabouts some time, and she visited many of her friends and former acquaintance; and also attended the meetings at Rawden, Gildersome, and Brighouse, where she had good service. From thence we went to Manchester, being accompanied by our dear friend Tabitha Hornor, where we had divers meetings to good satisfaction. My wife desiring to see that worthy Friend and servant of Christ, Benjamin Bangs, (for she ever dearly loved those who had faithfully served the Lord in the prime of their time, and retained their integrity in old age,) we went to Stockport, in Cheshire, and he received us with open arms, like a father in Christ. We had a meeting where he was present, and she had good service, and we were much comforted in his company.

From thence we returned by Manchester and Halifax, and afterwards went to Leeds. We spent some time with our friends there, to their satisfaction and our comfort, and were several times at their meeting, where she had good service. We also went to their Monthly Meeting held at Bradford, where she had an excellent time; and afterwards to the Quarterly Meeting at York, where she had good opportunities.

When that meeting was over, she took her solemn leave of her friends in that country, in much tenderness, for the Lord had wonderfully owned us together with his goodness, in that her last visit to them, which greatly strengthened the bands of that true love and nearness, which had subsisted from her minority. It proved a parting time indeed, and her last farewell to most of them. We then set forwards towards home; came to Mansfield on first-day morning, staid both meetings, and to Nottingham that night; next day to Leicester, and so got safely to London the fore part of the eighth month, through some hardship and difficulty, the weather being very wet and turbulent. We came home in perfect peace, with thankful hearts before the Lord, for his preservation and good presence, that had attended and made our journey truly comfortable and satisfactory to us; for which he shall have the praise, who is for ever worthy.

In the year 1737, she inclining to be at the Yearly Meeting at Tenbury, in Worcestershire, to be held for the western counties, we set forward in company with our worthy friend Joseph Ollive, and were at the meeting at High-wickham; after which we proceeded to Worcester, and went in company with many

Friends from thence to Tenbury. We had several large meetings in that place, wherein she had divers opportunities and good service. We thence returned to Worcester, and had a meeting with Friends there; from thence to Eversham, and visited that meeting; and so to Warwick, and were at their meetings on first-day, which were large; wherein she had good opportunities to declare the truth. Next day we had a meeting at Coventry, which was large, and the power of Truth was with us, and she had good service for the Lord in that place. Then being clear and easy, we came directly home, with thankfulness in our minds to the Almighty, for his mercy and goodness, who is always near to his depending servants, that are truly devoted in heart to him, and through Divine assistance are answering his requirings.

Having had for some time drawings in her mind to visit Friends at Royston, and Huntington, in the seventh month we undertook that journey, though she was then very weakly; for through hard travail and close exercise, and her often infirmities, her natural strength was much decayed, yet not very perceptible in her public service. In our way we had meetings at Ware and Hertford; then coming to Huntington, we were at that meeting on a first-day, which was pretty large, divers Friends coming from parts adjacent. She had a good opportunity to discharge herself of the concern that was upon her, and we had a satisfactory and comfortable time. In the evening we had a meeting at Godmanchester in the school-house, where many people came, and she was enabled to preach the Gospel of life and salvation, in the power and authority of the Spirit of Christ, to the comfort and satisfaction of many.

In our return from thence, we had a meeting at Royston, where we were comforted in the enjoyment of the love of God amongst Friends. In our way home we staid Tottenham meeting, and then came to our outward habitation, she being perfectly clear and easy, having faithfully performed this her last journey; and how it fared with her afterwards, I refer to the testimony I have written concerning her.

MEMOIRS OF

THE

LIFE OF WILLIAM PENN,

AN EMINENT MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL OF CHRIST IN THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

BY ENOCH LEWIS.

INTRODUCTION.

Although several lives of William Penn are already before the public, yet none of them appeared to comport fully with the design of the Friends' Library, and it was therefore deemed expedient to compile another.—In performing this task, it is not expected that much which is new will be brought to light, the design being chiefly to place more prominently in view the religious life of this eminent and worthy man.

Nor does it comport with the purpose of the present undertaking, to enter into an elaborate defence of William Penn, from the numerous and unfounded calumnies, which envy or malevolence have arrayed against him. The best refutation of them, is the life he led, the death he died, and the lasting memorials he has left of the exercise of those Christian virtues which ennoble and adorn the character of man. Some of these slanders however, are noticed and briefly refuted; and they will serve to confirm the observation so often made, that men who have been conspicuous for the

purity and integrity of their lives have, for that very reason, been marks for the envenomed shafts of those who felt their own conscious defects reproved, by the silent but forcible testimony of a holy and unblameable conduct and conversation.

If the memoirs do not present the attraction of novelty, it is believed that they will furnish the reader with much that is valuable and instructive, as well as interesting, in a dress somewhat different from any other compilation, and will repay him for the labour of a careful and serious perusal.

MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE OF WILLIAM PENN.

The subject of the following memoir occupied a conspicuous station in civil and religious society. As an eminent and faithful minister of the Gospel, and a consistent and pious Christian, he was justly honoured and beloved by his brethren, while the liberal and enlightened views of his enlarged mind on the subject of human rights and liberty, which he steadily advocated through life and carried out in founding the government of Pennsylvania, have gained for him the esteem and admiration of mankind.

William Penn was honourably descended; his paternal ancestors for several generations having been persons of high respectability and considerable note in the world. His grand-father, Giles Penn, was a captain in the English navy, and for a time held the office of British Consul in the Mediterranean. His father, William Penn, at an early age, became a distinguished naval officer, and passed rapidly through the successive grades of promotion, so that at the age of thirty-one he was created Vice Admiral. He was a man of good understanding, and a thoughtful turn of mind; though his opinions on the subject of religion were widely different from those embraced by his son. Accustomed to the exercise of absolute control over others, he could not endure opposition; and though his temper was neither cruel nor morose, its irritability sometimes hurried him into measures which his more sober judgment condemned. To the habits of undisputed authority and impatience of contradiction, growing out of the nature of his employment, rather than to a want of paternal affection, we are to attribute these acts of severity toward his son, which the biographers of the latter have had occasion to record.

William Penn was born in London, on the 14th of the eighth month, (now the tenth,) A. D. 1664. Of his very early years but little is known. Being the heir to a considerable estate, and a youth of promising abilities, his father appears to have spared no expense to confer upon him the best education which the country could afford. He received the rudiments of learning at Chigwell school, which was near Wanstead, in Essex, then the country residence of his father. Although he left this seminary at the age of twelve years, yet he appears while there to have received some serious impressions in regard to the concerns of religion. The Lord, who designed to make him an instrument of good to many souls, visited his mind by his holy Spirit, bringing him under a weighty consideration respecting his eternal well being; and though he then knew not what it was which thus solidly impressed him, yet it had a good effect on his mind.

From the age of twelve to fifteen years, he resided in London, and had the advantage of a private tutor to aid him in the prosecution of his studies.

During this period, his religious thoughtfulness was often renewed, and though the buoyancy of youthful spirits might at times dissipate it, yet there was a work begun, which the enemy of souls could not wholly lay waste, and which, as he advanced toward manhood, began to produce those blessed fruits of the Spirit, by which his after life was conspicuously marked.

At fifteen he went to college, where he entered as a gentleman commoner at Christ's church, Oxford. While there he appears to have pursued his studies with diligence, and cultivated the acquaintance of such of his fellow-students as were distinguished for their talents or their worth; and among his intimate friends at that time, was John Locke, celebrated for his Essay on the Human Understanding. Amid the dissipation and wickedness which abounded in the University, the

Lord, by his invisible power and Spirit, preserved him from corruption; and soon after he entered there, attending a religious meeting appointed by Thomas Loe, formerly a member of the college, but then one of the people in scorn called Quakers, he was so thoroughly reached by his living and powerful ministry, that his previous religious exercise was effectually renewed and strengthened. His desires after the experimental knowledge of true vital religion were earnest and fervent, and his understanding being divinely enlightened to see the emptiness and formality which too much prevailed among all sorts of professors, he longed to come to the full enjoyment of that inward and spiritual work, by which the heart and affections are changed and all things made new, and all things of God. In this seeking state of mind, he was induced, in company with some of his fellow-students whose views were similar to his own, to withdraw from the established worship of the University, and to hold meetings for religious edification among themselves, in which they were engaged in preaching and prayer. This conduct gave great offence to the heads of the seminary, and he and his companions were fined for non-conformity. This, however, instead of reconciling William Penn, only served to increase his zeal for the principles he had imbibed, and believing it his duty to continue the religious practices he had thus begun, he was on that account soon afterward expelled the college.* He returned home, and in his conduct and manners gave evidence of the work of grace which was going on in his heart. "He refrained from associating with the fashionable world, or mingling in its vain amusements, and took great delight in the company of the most grave and sober persons, with whom he mixed almost entirely." His father readily perceived, that if he persisted in this course, those prospects of worldly promotion and advantage, which his own interest at court opened before him, must be blasted, and he endeavoured by argument, entreaty, and eventually by violence, to divert the attention of his son to the brilliant career which his talents, and the influence of his father would enable him to pursue. But the ambition of William Penn led him another way—his eye and expectation were fixed upon heaven and heavenly things, and thither all his hopes and prospects tended; and his father being unable to alter his course, at length sent him away from his house.

How long he remained an exile from the paternal home is not known—but probably it was not long; for his father was in reality much attached to him, and his mother, who was a most amiable and worthy woman, tenderly interceded for his return. There is no doubt, that after the first burst of anger had passed by, his father quickly relented, and we soon find him devising plans for the completion of his education and giving a different turn to his thoughts. With this view he sent him to France in company with some persons of quality, who were making a tour on the continent, and for some time he was a resident at Paris. This gay and licentious metropolis furnished little society calculated to strengthen the pious resolutions of William Penn; and whatever he might acquire of fashionable manners or polite accomplishments, he certainly did not increase in religious stability. While at Paris, he met with an incident which he has recorded, for the purpose of showing the folly of those outward demonstrations of honour, which the pride of man has led him to invent and afterwards covet. "What envy, quarrels and mischief," says he, in a work written after he became a Friend, "have happened among private persons, upon their conceit that they have not been respected according to their degree of quality among men, with hat, knee, or title—even duels and murders not a few. In France I was myself once set upon about eleven o'clock at night, as I was walking to my lodgings, by a person who waylaid me with his naked sword in his hand, and demanded satisfaction of me for taking no notice of him, at a time when he civilly saluted me with his hat, though the truth was, I saw him not when he did it. Suppose he had killed me, for he made several passes at me, or that I, in my defence, had killed him, when I disarmed him; I ask any man of understanding or conscience, if the whole round of ceremony were worth the life of a man, considering the dignity of his nature, and the importance of his life, with respect to God his Creator, himself, and the benefit of civil society." In the issue of this attack, he displayed his humanity and re-

*Clarkson relates in his Life of Penn, that William Penn, in company with Robert Spencer and some others, tore the surplices over the heads of the students who wore them; and attributes his expulsion from college to this outrage. The story appears to have been copied from Oldmixon, and is in part contradicted by the letter of William Penn to the same Robert Spencer, after he became Earl of Sunderland; for it appears by that letter, that their acquaintance was formed at a subsequent period in France.—See Memoirs of Pennsylvania Historical Society, Vol. II. page 244. This gives reason to apprehend that the whole story of the surplices may be an error, especially as Besse, the original biographer, is silent upon the subject, and attributes his expulsion to his continued absence from the national worship.

gard for the life of a fellow-being, in permitting his assailant to pass away unharmed, though he had him completely in his power, and had not at that time wholly laid aside the warrior.

He afterward resided some time at Saumur, where he went for the purpose of receiving instruction from the celebrated Moses Amyrault, a learned Calvinistic minister and professor of divinity, who was then held in high estimation. Under this instructer, he renewed his studies, read the ancient fathers as well as the modern works of theology, and acquired an accurate knowledge of the French language. After leaving Saumur, he proceeded toward Italy, but when he arrived at Turin, a letter from his father reached him, desiring his return home. The admiral having received orders to take command of the fleet under the duke of York, against the Dutch, wished to leave his family in the care of his son. William accordingly returned in 1664, having been absent about two years.

On his return, his father perceived not only that he had become a good French scholar, but that he had acquired a considerable tincture of the characteristic manners of that nation. His new associations had in some degree worn off the seriousness of his demeanour, so that his carriage and behaviour were what would be deemed courtly and polite. He received his son with evident marks of satisfaction, supposing he had gained his point, and for some time nothing occurred to convince him to the contrary.

Soon after this, however, his spiritual exercises and conflicts were renewed. The Lord who loved him, and designed him for usefulness in his church, followed him by the secret but powerful convictions of his Spirit. His worldly prospects were highly flattering to the natural ambition of a young and ardent mind. He possessed a manly form blooming with health, a lively and active disposition, a ready wit, and talents improved by great literary and scientific attainments, and many rich and powerful friends. These, added to his father's interest at court, and his intimacy with the duke of York, presumptive heir to the crown, as well as the solicitations of numerous friends, strongly inclined him to embrace the glory and pleasures of this world, which might be said to court his acceptance. But the glory and joy of the heavenly inheritance had taken a deep hold of his mind, and at seasons his earnest supplications were poured out to the Lord for preservation and right direction. And He who regards the prayer of the sincere seeker, was graciously pleased to hear his cry, and to favour him with a renewed visitation of his own holy power and Spirit, which enabled him to reject all the glittering allurements of worldly grandeur and honour, and with holy resolution determine to follow Christ Jesus in the regeneration, whatever sacrifices, sufferings or reproaches it might cost him.

In giving an account some years after, of his religious exercises and convincement, he remarks, "Yea, it is Christ the true and only Seed of God, who visited my soul, even in my young years, spread my sins in order before me, reproved me and brought godly sorrow upon me, making me often to weep in solitary places, and say within my soul, O that I knew the Lord as I ought to know him! O that I served him as I ought to serve him! Yea, often was there a great concern upon my spirit about my eternal state, mournfully desiring that the Lord would give my soul rest in the great day of trouble. Now was all the glory of the world as a bubble; yea, nothing was dear to me that I might win Christ; for the love, pleasure and friendship of this world were a burden to my soul. In this seeking state, I was directed to the testimony of Jesus in mine own conscience, as the true shining Light, given me to discern the thoughts and intents of my own heart. And no sooner was I turned unto it, but I found it to be that which from my childhood had visited me, though I distinctly knew it not; and when I received it in the love of it, it showed me all that ever I had done, and reproved all the unfruitful works of darkness, judging me as a man in the flesh, and laying judgment to the line, and righteousness to the plummet in me. By the brightness of his coming into my soul, the Lord Jesus discovered the man of sin there, upon his throne, and by the breath of his mouth, which is the two-edged sword of his Spirit, he destroyed his power and kingdom; and having made me a witness of the death of the cross, he hath also made me a witness of his resurrection—so that in good measure my soul can now say, I am justified in the spirit; and although the state of condemnation unto death was glorious, yet justification unto life was, and is, more glorious."

Speaking of an interview with some pious persons, he says, "I let them know how and when the Lord first appeared unto me, which was about the twelfth year of my age, and how at times, between that and my fifteenth, he continued to visit me, and the divine impressions he gave me of himself—of my persecution at Oxford, and how the Lord sustained me in the midst of the hellish darkness and debauchery of that place; of my being banished the college; the bitter usage I underwent when I returned to my father, whipping, beating and turning out of doors; of

the Lord's dealings with me in France, and in the time of the great plague in London; in fine, the deep sense he gave me of the vanity of this world and of the irreligiousness of the religions of it; then of my mournful and bitter cries to Him, that he would show me his own way of life and salvation, and my resolution to follow Him whatever reproaches or suffering it might cost me, and that with great reverence and brokenness of spirit. How, after all this, the glory of the world overtook me, and I was even ready to give myself up unto it, seeing as yet no such things as the primitive spirit and church on earth; and being ready to faint concerning my hope of the restitution of all things.

"It was at this time that the Lord visited me with a certain sound and testimony of his eternal Word, through one of those the world calls Quakers, namely, Thomas Loe: I related the bitter mockings and scornings that fell upon me, the displeasure of my parents, the cruelty and invective of the priests, the strangeness of all my companions, and what a sign and wonder they made of me; but above all, that great cross of resisting and watching against my own vain affections and thoughts."

It is easy to perceive, from his own account, that at this period his mind was the subject of no ordinary religious conflict and travail, and that he was ardently panting after the more full disclosure of divine Truth. At the suggestion of his father, he entered as a student of law at Lincoln's Inn, soon after his return from the Continent, where he continued until the great plague, which prevailed in London in 1665, induced him to abandon the city. The mind of William Penn was now bent on higher and nobler pursuits. He was seeking an acquaintance with the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus, that he might experience it to set him free from the law of sin and death; and pressing toward that city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God. The gravity for which he had formerly been conspicuous, again appeared and increased; he turned his back upon the fashions and follies of the world, and sought the company of the most religious people.

On his return from his naval employments, the Admiral found his son wholly divested of that gaity of manners which he had contracted in France, and the prospect of his becoming a man of the world, fitted to shine among statesmen and courtiers, was as distant as ever. With a view of breaking off his connexions at home, and introducing him into society more suited to his own taste, and more likely to promote his worldly advancement, his father gave him the charge of a considerable estate belonging to him, which lay in the county of Cork in Ireland. Although William Penn, as we have seen, had passed through much exercise, and by the operation of Truth on his mind, been brought to acknowledge many of the principles of Friends, yet he does not appear, previous to his residence in Ireland, to have known much of that Society, or manifested any particular inclination toward them. We find him writing to his father in 1666, in the usual complimentary style; and it also appears, that in the same year he accepted the office of victualler to the king's ships at Kinsale.

In the last quotation from William Penn, he speaks of the visitation extended to him through the ministry of Thomas Loe. It happened about this time, that being at Cork on some business, he heard that this Friend was to be at meeting there; and having on a former occasion been a partaker of the benefit of his ministry, he resolved to go again. Thomas began his testimony with these striking and appropriate words: "There is a faith which overcomes the world, and there is a faith which is overcome by the world." He enlarged with great clearness and authority on the difference between the living faith, which works by love and gives the victory over the world, the flesh and the devil, and that formal dead faith which is confined to the head only, and readily yields to the seductive allurements of time and sense. At this meeting William Penn was fully reached and convinced; the doctrine preached was like seed cast upon the prepared ground, which took root downward as well as sprang upward, and soon brought forth fruits to the praise of the great Husbandman. He embraced the Truth as held by Friends, in sincerity and love, and from that time attended their meetings, notwithstanding the reproaches and persecutions by which he was assailed.

In the autumn of 1667, being again at a meeting in Cork, he was arrested, and with a number of others carried before the mayor. His dress and appearance being different from those usually observable in the Society of Friends, the Mayor was inclined to set him at liberty, but required surety for his good behaviour, which he, knowing that no charge of misdemeanor could be sustained against him, refused to give, and the consequence was, that with about eighteen others, he was committed to prison. The ostensible ground of this prosecution, was a proclamation forbidding all dissenting meetings and conventicles, issued by the ministers of Charles II., in consequence of the violent conduct of a few misguided Anabaptists, usually styled Fifth Monarchy men. Although the disturbance they created did not extend beyond the vicinity of London, and was very soon suppressed, yet it was made the

pretext for vexatious proceedings against the peaceable meetings of Friends in various parts of the kingdom, for many years afterward.

Being intimately acquainted with many of the nobility and gentry of Ireland, William Penn addressed a letter to the earl of Orrery, then Lord President of Munster, in which he exposed the injustice and illegality of the proceedings, and in a firm but respectful manner, solicited the interposition of the earl's authority for the release of his fellow prisoners and himself. Though suffering for his religious principles, he had not at this time so fully joined himself to Friends, as to adopt their simple and scriptural language, but addressed the earl in the usual fashionable style. His request was granted as regarded himself, but his companions, whose imprisonment was as unjust as his own, were continued in confinement.

As the suffering he had previously endured at the University and in his father's house, had not deterred him from the path of apprehended duty, it was not to be expected that this instance of more public persecution would shake his resolution or change his opinions. The contrast which it presented to his mind, between the religion of the state, enforced by the secular arm, and that of the people called Quakers, patiently and meekly supported with unflinching integrity, even under persecution, increased his attachment to the latter, and strengthened him in the resolution to unite himself more closely to them. His open profession of the principles of a society then generally held in contempt, exposed him to scorn and derision from both professors and profane, who could not appreciate the motives which induced a young man of twenty-three, the son of the Vice Admiral of England, to relinquish his brilliant prospects of worldly preferment, to become a humble disciple of a meek and crucified Saviour, and associate himself with a people so despicable in the eyes of the world.

A letter from a nobleman soon acquainted the Admiral with the danger his son was supposed to be in, of becoming a convert to Quakerism, who thereupon directed him to return home, which he promptly obeyed. Although but little change was visible in his general appearance, yet the evidence he gave of solid religious engagement, and his frequenting the company of persons of corresponding sentiments and habits, as well as his disuse of the customary compliments, soon convinced his father of the truth of the report which had reached him. An interview, which took place between the father and the son, is described as particularly pathetic. The father actuated by natural affection and aiming chiefly at the temporal advancement of his son, grieved to see him, when just ripe for promotion, renouncing the world and its flattering hopes, and entreated him to yield to his desire, by complying with the prevailing customs and fashions of the day. On the other hand, the son regarding mainly his eternal welfare, was deeply afflicted to perceive that a compliance with the wishes of his earthly parent was incompatible with his duty to God, and modestly craved permission to refrain from a practice which must wound his conscience. Persuasion being ineffectual, the Admiral threatened to disinherit him, but he humbly and readily submitted to his father's pleasure in that respect, who thereupon turned his back on him in anger, while the son lifted up his heart to God in prayer, for strength to support him in that hour of severe trial.

Finding him firmly grounded in the principles and profession, which on solid conviction he had espoused, the Admiral gave up the prospect of prevailing upon him to conform fully with his views, and inclined to bear with his peculiarities, upon condition that he would consent to appear with his hat off when in the presence of the king, the duke of York and himself. In the eyes of many this might seem a small concession, and it is probable the Admiral viewed it as such. That William Penn was anxiously desirous to comply, as far as he conscientiously could, with his father's wishes, there can be no doubt; and when the proposal was made to him, he asked time to consider it. His father supposing the delay was for the purpose of consulting some of the Quakers, William assured him he would see none of them until he returned an answer. If compliance with the request was a small matter in the eyes of others, it was not so in his view—it was a question of principle, involving as he believed, his obedience to God, and nothing of this character was too small to be carefully regarded by a mind divinely awakened, as was his. Uncovering the head is the mode by which Friends, in conformity with the practice of the primitive Christians, indicated their reverence to the Supreme Being, when they approached him in the solemn act of prayer; and as they believed that the pride of man induced him to claim it as a token of respect to himself, they therefore felt themselves conscientiously restrained from giving it. In this light the subject presented itself to the mind of William Penn. Retiring to his chamber, he humbled himself before the Lord, with fasting and supplication to know his mind and will therein, and for strength to perform his duty at this critical period of his life. The result of this religious exercise was a settled conviction, that his peace of mind was concerned in the matter; and being confirmed in his duty to maintain his testimony against this species of pride and

idolatry, he returned to his father, and humbly signified that he could not comply with his request.

Unable to comprehend the principles upon which his son acted, and probably considering his refusal as the effect of perverseness and obstinacy, rather than religious obligation, in the excitement of the moment the Admiral so far forgot his affection for him, that he again expelled him from his house.* This fresh trial of his faith and allegiance to God was very severe. His tender regard for his father made the thought of incurring his displeasure exceedingly painful; and he was literally giving up all his worldly hopes for the sake of following Christ Jesus in the way of his requirings. He had no estate of his own, had been brought up to no business, and had no other means of subsistence than the charity of his friends, except what his affectionate mother privately sent him. Under these trying circumstances, the conviction that he was in the way of his duty, and the divine consolation graciously vouchsafed to his mind, enabled him to support this afflicting dispensation with patience and firmness. The propriety and uprightness of his demeanour soon won upon his father, whose displeasure in a little time subsided, so that he permitted his return home; and when he became involved in difficulty, in consequence of his faithfulness in attending meetings for divine worship, he privately used his influence in his favour.

About the year 1668, being then in the twenty-fourth year of his age, William Penn came forth in the important work of the ministry of the Gospel. Having passed through many deep exercises and probations, both inwardly and outwardly; having parted with all that the world holds dear for Christ's sake, and been made a partaker of the powers of the world to come, a gift in the ministry of the Gospel of life and salvation was dispensed to him by the head of the Church. Being thus divinely qualified and called to the work, he was engaged in the renewed openings of the holy Spirit, to declare unto others what he had seen and tasted and handled of the good Word of life, and from blessed and happy experience, to recommend the path of self-denial and entire dedication, in which he himself had so steadfastly walked. Being redeemed out of the fallen and corrupt nature by the power of Christ, he was sent to call others to come out from under the dominion of satan, into the glorious liberty of the children of God, that they might receive remission of sins, and an inheritance among them that are sanctified, through faith in Jesus Christ. Animated with an ardent concern for the everlasting welfare of his fellow-creatures, his heart warmed with divine love, and reaching forth in good will toward all without distinction of name or party, he became a zealous, indefatigable and effectual labourer in the vineyard of his divine Master.

The following letter, written about this time to a young person of his acquaintance, who was captivated with the vain customs and fashions of the age, will serve to show his solicitude for others, and the Christian plainness with which he maintained his testimony against what he considered wrong things.

"Navy Office, 10th of the Fifth Month, 1668.

"Friend,

"It was a true word spoken by Jesus Christ, to undeceive the careless, wanton Jews, among whom he manifested his glorious Truth, through that body prepared of God for that very end, That the way which leads to everlasting life and rest, is straight and narrow. My friend, how much it concerns the welfare of thy immortal soul, to reflect upon the course of life and way thou now art walking in, before an evident stroke from heaven call thee hence, and send thy so much indulged flesh and blood into the grave, an entertainment for noisome worms. I beg thee, as thou wouldst be saved from that unspeakable anguish, which is reserved for worldlings, and from whence there is no redemption, to keep thyself from those vanities, follies, and pollutions, which unavoidably bring that miserable state. Alas! how unsuitable is thy life and practice, with those holy women of old, whose time was mostly spent in heavenly retirements, out of that rattle, noise, and conversation thou art in. And canst thou imagine that those holy men recorded in Scripture, spent their days, as do the gallants of these times? Where is the self-denying life of Jesus, the cross, the reproach, the persecution, and loss of all, which He and his suffered, and most willingly supported, having their eyes fixed upon a more enduring substance. Well, my friend, this know, and by these shalt thou be judged, and in it I am clear, That as without holiness none can see God, so without subjection to that Spirit, Light, or Grace in the heart, which God in love hath made to appear to all, that teacheth to deny all ungodliness and

* The fact of his expulsion from his father's house is obliquely, if not directly denied in the life of Admiral Penn, by his great-grand-son, recently published; but the language of William Penn himself, already quoted, sets the fact beyond contradiction. His unquestioned reputation for integrity, as well as his filial affection, exclude the supposition, that he magnified his sufferings at the expense of his father's reputation.

worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world; I say, without subjection hereunto, there is no attaining to that holiness, which will give thee an entrance into His presence, in which is joy and pleasure for ever. Examine thyself, how remote thou art from the guidings and instructions of this Spirit of grace, who canst countenance this age in frequenting their wicked and vain sports, plays and entertainments, conforming thyself to ridiculous customs, and making one at idle talking and vain jesting, wheresoever thou comest, not considering thou shalt account to God for every idle word. And let all thy frolicking associates know, the day is hastening, in which they shall not abide the presence of Him that sits upon the throne. It shall be a time of horror, amazement and distress. Then shall they know there is a righteous, holy Judge of all. As for thee, with pity is thy condition often in my thoughts, and often is it my desire that thou mayst do well; but whilst I see thee in that spirit, which savours of this world's delights, ease, plenty and esteem, neglecting that one thing necessary, I have but little hopes. However, I could not let this plain admonition pass me; and what place soever it may have in thy thoughts, I am sure it is in true love to that which shall be happy or miserable to all eternity. I have not sought fine words or chiming expressions; the gravity, the concernment and nature of my subject, admit no such butterflies. In short, be advised, my friend, to be serious, and to ponder that which belongs to thy eternal peace. Retire from the noise and clatter of tempting visibles, to the beholding Him who is invisible, that He may reign in thy soul, God over all, exalted and blessed for ever. Farewell.

"I am thy well-wishing real friend,

"WILLIAM PENN."

In the same year he appeared before the public as an author, in his first printed work, entitled "Truth Exalted," the principal object of which is to show wherein professing christendom, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, come short of the purity and spirituality of the Christian religion, as set forth by Christ and his Apostles, and to invite them to come to Christ Jesus the true light, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world, that by receiving and obeying Him, they might no longer walk in darkness, but have the light of life, and experience his precious blood to cleanse them from all sin, and obtain the victory over the transgressing and sinful nature.

In the same year he published a tract, entitled "The Guide Mistaken," being a reply to Jonathan Clapham, who having drawn up certain articles which he pronounced to be the true Christian Creed, entitled his work, "A Guide to True Religion," and declared that those who did not assent to them, were incapable of salvation, and inveighed especially against the Papists, Socinians and Quakers; treating these last however, with most severity. William Penn's reply is divided into four chapters, the first showing the errors of the Guide's system, the second reproving his aspersions, the third detecting his hypocrisy, and the fourth exhibiting his contradictions.

In replying to the Guide's charges against the principles of the Society, he has the following paragraphs, viz.

"Thou must not, reader, from my querying thus, conclude we do deny (as he hath falsely charged us) those glorious three, which bear record in heaven, the Father, Word and Spirit, neither the Infinity, Eternity and Divinity of Jesus Christ; for we know that he is the mighty God; nor what the Father sent his Son to do on the behalf of lost man, declaring to the whole world, we know no other name, by which atonement, salvation and plenteous redemption comes; but by his name, are according to our measures, made sensible of its mighty power."

"His next accusation is, That they extol the light in all men, as the only sufficient rule to walk by, to the apparent slighting of Scriptures, and preaching.

"Reader, If yet thou art a stranger to this Light he thus explodes and villifies, let me beseech thee once to observe it in thyself, and tell me then if it has not that Divine quality to discern between the precious and the vile, and manifest every thought, word, and act; whether it is well-pleasing, or the contrary, to the great God? If it be criminal to own those Scriptures he falsely says we slight, the case is changed, otherwise, we all confess that God is Light, and that he hath enlightened every man; by heeding and obeying the dictates of which, we may be preserved in that capacity, as the same Scripture says, which shall bring us into the pure fellowship, and that the blood of Jesus shall cleanse us from all sin. Nor do they own a principle in the clouds, but above all people, have demonstrated the power and authority of their principle by that redemption it has wrought for them, and the alteration it has made from that condition which nakedly exposed their immortal souls to the snares and entanglements of this world's perishing glories, to experience the blood which cleanseth from all iniquity, the unspeakable peace of perfect reconciliation with God.

"And for his confident affirming we slight both Scriptures and preaching, I have this to say, That as there is not any who discover more respect for them, by a conformity of life to what they require, so do they both read, and as often quote them in preaching, or declaration, as any who profess them for their rule. And, reader, that thou mayst be the better informed concerning the esteem we have them in, take but the pains to visit our assemblies, and that shall be a sufficient vindication of our innocency."

"His fifth reflection is; Our openly denying the doctrine of the Trinity: But methinks it would become him who is reproving others for not paying that respect they ought unto the Scriptures, to be a little more exemplary in using their unquestionable phrase, and sound expression, for I am altogether ignorant of any Scripture that mentions that word Trinity; and it is his own opinion, that fundamentals should not be drawn from dubious and obscure places, but rather that the Scriptures were evident and perspicuous, as to what was necessary to be believed; yet if by Trinity he understands those three witnesses in heaven, Father, Word, and Spirit, he should have better acquainted himself with what we disown, than thus ignorantly to blaze abroad our open denial of what we most absolutely credit and believe.

"His next slander runs thus: The person of Jesus Christ, as to his human nature, with all his offices assigned to him by his Father, they utterly reject, though this is an arcanum that is kept hid from their novices.

"Fain would he here insinuate to people, by his most invective impostures, hard thoughts concerning an inoffensive people, whilst in reality they own no other name by which salvation is obtainable than the Christ of God; and all the offices that ever were assigned him by his Father, are by them acknowledged; and so remote are they from hiding their sentiments, or being jealous of exposing them to all, that whosoever will but give himself the time of frequenting their meetings, or perusing their books, will soon perceive how very far this character is wide of Truth.

"His next report is, we call not upon God in the name and mediation of Jesus Christ. But, reader, that thou mayst not thus be dogmatized upon, but better satisfied in thy sober inquiries, assure thyself, the Quakers never knew any other name than that of Jesus Christ, through which to find acceptance with the Lord; nor is it by any other, than Jesus, the Mediator of the new covenant, by whom they expect redemption, and may receive the promise of an eternal inheritance.

"He further says, they trust not in his death for pardon and salvation, but in a pretended sinless perfection.

"They are so far from disowning the death and sufferings of Christ, that there is not a people on the earth that so assuredly witness and demonstrate a fellowship therewith, confessing before men and angels, that Christ died for the sins of the world, and gave his life a ransom. Perfection from sin they hold attainable because he that is born of God sins not, and that nothing which is unclean can enter the kingdom of God; no crown without victory; the little leaven leavens the whole lump; the strong man must be cast out. Paul prays they might be sanctified wholly; be ye perfect as God is perfect; be perfect, be of good comfort; unto a perfect man; as many as be perfect; that the man of God may be perfect; the God of peace make you perfect in every good work; the God of all grace make you perfect; let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of flesh and spirit; perfecting holiness in the fear of God; leaving those things behind, let us go on unto perfection; and this will we do if God permit. If perfection were unattainable, it would be strange that the Scriptures should speak of such a state, and very preposterous, that Paul, Peter, &c., should so solicit and pray for the ancient saints, that they might come thither, even to the spirits of just men made perfect; nay, he positively avouches to have arrived there, at the heavenly Jerusalem, at the church of the first born, &c. And notwithstanding, that this excellent state should never be enjoined, seems to me no less than a giving the apostles' doctrine the lie, and tacitly impeaching them of gross dissimulation and contradiction.

"The doctrine of the resurrection of the just and unjust, last judgment, heaven and hell, as future rewards; they believe and confess:— And, as my faithful testimony both to their life and doctrine, I am necessitated to declare, and be it known to all that ever knew me, that when the unspeakable riches of God's love visited me, by the call of his glorious light, from the dark practices, wandering notions, and vain conversations of this polluted world, and that my heart was influenced thereby, and consequently disposed for the more intimate and sincere reception of it; those very habits, which once I judged impossible, whilst here, to have relinquished, (as well as I was unwilling) and did allow myself a liberty therein, because not openly gross or scandalous, I thought myself excusable, became not only burdensome, and by that light were manifested to be of another nature than that which I was called to the participation of; but in my faithful adherence to its holy counsel and instructions, I was immediately endued with a power and authority that

gave dominion over them. And being in measure redeemed from that to which the curse is pronounced, I sensibly enjoyed the blessings that attended a reconciliation. And never since I have been conversant with their principles, have I found one article that did not receive a full and satisfactory assent from that very grace, spirit, or light of God, which first called me from the gross impieties, vain entertainments, tempting glories and will-worships of this generation. As I have the seal of God's eternal spirit of love upon my soul, as an infallible assurance; so, since my first frequenting of them and their assemblies, I have observed that holy, innocent, and righteous conversation, which harmonizes with the severity, circumspection, and self-denying life of the Gospel; and testify, (as revealed from God) that since those centuries, in which the apostacy eclipsed the beauty of the primitive light, there has not been so glorious a discovery of spiritual, pure, and evangelical worship, life and doctrine, as God hath, in his loving kindness, raised the so much despised Quakers to own, practise and declare amongst the nations; as the good old way of holiness, that leads from intemperance, vanity, pride, oppression, and the love of this world's perishing glories, to that everlasting joy and rest which is reserved for the people of the most high God. In short, they are sound in principle, zealous for God, devout in worship, earnest in prayer, constant in profession, harmless and exemplary in their lives, patient in sufferings, orderly in their affairs, few in words, punctual in dealings, merciful to enemies, self-denying as to this world's delights and enjoyments; and to sum up all, standards for the God of heaven, against the pride, cruelty, lust, avarice, &c., of this Godless generation—whom the unborn shall call blessed, when their testimonies are finished, and they gathered into the unspeakable solace and possession of God's eternal presence."

About this time he visited Thomas Loe, who was then on the eve of his departure from a world in which he had laboured faithfully to promote the extension of the Messiah's peaceful reign. This eminent minister, we may remember, had been the messenger of good to William Penn while at Oxford, and it was by his powerful ministry, that he was afterwards effectually reached and convinced. It is therefore probable, that he was regarded by the latter with something like filial affection. In this interview he addressed William to the following import: "Bear thy cross, and stand faithful to God; then he will give thee an everlasting crown of glory, that shall not be taken from thee. There is no other way which shall prosper, than that which the holy men of old walked in. God hath brought immortality to light, and life immortal is felt, this love overcomes my heart. Glory be to his name for evermore." This dying testimony of his honoured friend, must have furnished a strong confirmation to the mind of William Penn, of the solidity of the religion which he had embraced, and toward which his attention had been so forcibly attracted by the labours of the dying Christian.*

About the same time William Penn was involved in another controversy, which occasioned him no small share of trouble. The seventeenth century is known to have been a period remarkable for the dissentions which existed in England among the different professions of religion. An extraordinary interest in relation to the concerns of salvation, seemed to be awakened, and many were earnestly seeking after the knowledge of the Truth as it is in Jesus. Public disputes on doctrinal subjects were very common, and were too often managed with an acrimony and rudeness, inconsistent with that divine charity which is peaceable, gentle and easy to be entreated. The Society of Friends, then in its infancy, had greatly increased in numbers and attracted considerable attention. Its doctrines were but little understood and much misrepresented, and its members were therefore frequently engaged in defending themselves from the aspersions of their enemies, often in public disputes. Possessing an active and uncommonly vigorous mind, and ardently attached to the religion of his choice, it was not to be expected that William Penn would remain an idle spectator of the prevailing commotions. He considered the spreading and defence of the Truth, an object of the first concernment, and zealously vindicated it from the assaults of its opponents. Hence he was often involved in controversies, and the one about to be noticed took its rise in the following manner. Two of the hearers of Thomas Vincent, the pastor of a Presbyterian congregation in Spitalfields, going one day to a meeting of Friends, were convinced of the truth of their doctrines, and joined the Society. Vincent took offence at this, and showed his displeasure by charging the Society with entertaining "the most erroneous and

* Clarkson, in his Biography of William Penn, represents his visit to Thomas Loe, as being subsequent to his release from the tower; but this I conceive to have been an error. His letter to Lord Arlington is dated the 1st of fifth month, 1669, in which he states, that he had then been imprisoned six months; and as the whole time of his confinement was about seven months, he must have been discharged near the end of the fifth, or beginning of the sixth month, 1669; and Sewel informs us, that Thomas Loe died on the 5th of October, [eighth month,] 1668.

damnable doctrines." William Penn coming to the knowledge of these circumstances, demanded an opportunity of clearing the Society of the accusation, where it had been made, and after some difficulty, the promise of a conference in the Presbyterian meeting-house was obtained.

At the time appointed, the two Friends appeared, but Thomas Vincent had taken care to have the house pre-occupied by his usual auditory, and had three of his clerical brethren to assist and support him in the expected discussion. As Friends had been publicly charged with holding erroneous and dangerous doctrines, George Whitehead attempted, soon after the opening of the meeting, to explain to the audience what their doctrines really were. To this Vincent objected, and insisted upon deducing their principles from their answers to such questions as he should propound to them. Being supported in his plan by the company, who were chiefly his own hearers, he began to catechise them. A protracted and desultory discussion ensued; in which much was said but nothing settled. Many of the company behaved rudely, manifesting by their levity and abusive language, not only a want of religious sobriety, but of common civility. After the dispute, for such it soon became, had continued till late at night, Thomas Vincent suddenly fell to prayer, in the course of which he charged the Friends present with being blasphemers against God; and as soon as he had finished, he requested the company to disperse, setting them the example by retiring with his three associates.

As William Penn and George Whitehead had not obtained the desired opportunity of vindicating themselves and their principles, they disregarded this request, and a number of the company remaining together, they spoke for some time in defence of their principles, and in reply to the charges which had been brought against them. Thomas Vincent finding the company had not dispersed, returned to them, and urged a dismission of the assembly. To this demand Friends acceded, upon his promising to afford them another meeting.

After waiting some time for the fulfilment of his promise, William Penn and George Whitehead went to his meeting on a lecture day, and having waited till the service was over, requested an opportunity of clearing themselves from the aspersions which had been cast upon them. But Vincent would neither retract the charges he had made, nor afford them the opportunity of vindicating themselves.

William Penn therefore wrote a pamphlet, which he entitled "The Sandy Foundation Shaken," giving an account of the proceedings at the before-mentioned meeting, and the efforts subsequently used to procure an opportunity of rebutting the charges against the principles and doctrines of Friends.

Of this controversy and the essay which grew out of it, we may observe, that the method Thomas Vincent adopted to establish his charges of erroneous doctrines against Friends, was to bring them to deny some of those opinions which he and his fellow-professors held to be fundamental truths. The dispute therefore turned, not so much on the doctrines of Friends, as upon those of the Presbyterians, or at least upon those which Thomas Vincent and his co-adjutors proposed. The object which William Penn designed to effect by the pamphlet in question, consequently, was to prove that the doctrines, as stated by his opponent, were not sound and Scriptural, rather than to illustrate his own. He was then a young man, about twenty-four years of age, had but recently become a professor in the Society of Friends; was well versed in the learning of the schools, possessed a very acute, discriminating mind, and having embraced the religion of the Quakers with all his heart, was full of zeal; it is therefore not surprising that he followed his opponent upon the ground which he took, and exposed his absurdities and contradictions by arguments and illustrations, which have very little, if any, connection with the doctrines of Friends.

The opinions advocated by Vincent, and which it is the object of the pamphlet to refute, are thus expressed in the title page, "The Sandy Foundation Shaken, or those so generally believed and applauded doctrines of one God subsisting in three *distinct* and *separate persons;* the *impossibility* of God's pardoning sinners without a plenary satisfaction; and the justification of *impure* persons by an imputative righteousness, refuted from the authority of Scripture testimonies and of right reason."

Upon the first of these topics it may be fairly admitted, that the arguments advanced, partake more of the metaphysical than the evangelical character. But they were elicited by the questions and arguments of his opponents. From the narrative of this dispute, as well as the general practice of Friends, it is manifest, that if William Penn and George Whitehead had been permitted to give their own exposition of their doctrines, in their own way, we should have heard nothing of these metaphysical subtleties. In a subsequent period of his life, we find William Penn expressing very clearly his disapprobation of the practice to which the theological disputants of that day were too much addicted; and of which

the course pursued by Thomas Vincent and his co-adjutors is a striking example.

Being intent upon the exposure of Thomas Vincent's notion of *distinct* and *separate personality*, he directed his attention in the body of the work, strictly to that object. Yet, as if he was apprehensive that his manner of treating the subject, might incur the imputation of denying the Scriptural doctrine of the three that bear record in heaven, toward the conclusion he distinctly repels this imputation, in these words; "Mistake me not—we never have disowned a Father, Word and Spirit, which are One; but men's inventions."

With regard to the other two subjects embraced in the title, it may be observed, that the stress of the arguments lay in the *impossibility* of pardon being extended to sinners, without a plenary and rigid satisfaction, and in the justification of sinners by imputed righteousness, *while they continued in their sins.* To these points William Penn directed his arguments, without, in the smallest degree, invalidating the virtue or benefits, to the penitent and returning sinner, of that most acceptable propitiatory sacrifice, which our Saviour offered upon the cross for the sins of mankind. This is apparent from the work itself, in which he quotes several passages of Scripture, where this precious doctrine is clearly enforced; but the following extracts from a letter which he wrote in 1673 to Dr. John Collenges, in reply to some exceptions he had taken to the Sandy Foundation Shaken, will place all the subjects in their true light.

"The matter insisted upon, relating chiefly to us on this occasion, is, *that we, in common with Socinians, do not believe Christ to be the Eternal* Son of God; and I am brought for proof of the charge. To this hath been already answered, that my book, called, 'The Sandy Foundation Shaken,' touched not upon this, but Trinity and separate personality, &c. But this will not serve thy turn, thou must both accuse us, and then wring and rack our books to maintain it. I have two things to do; first, to show I expressed nothing that divested Christ of his Divinity; next, declare my true meaning and faith in the matter. I am to suppose, that when any adversary goes about to prove his charge against me, out of my own book, he takes that which is most to his purpose: now, let us see what thou hast taken out of that book, so evidently demonstrating the truth of thy assertion. I find nothing more to thy purpose than this, that I deny a *Trinity of separate persons* in the Godhead. Ergo—what? Ergo—William Penn denies Christ to be the only true God, or that Christ, the Son of God, is from everlasting to everlasting, God. Did ever man yet hear of such argumentation? Doth Dr. Collenges know logic no better? but (which is more condemnable in a minister,) hath he learned charity so ill? Are not trinity and personality one thing, and Christ's being the *Eternal Son of God* another? Must I, therefore, necessarily deny his Divinity, because I justly reject the popish school personality? This savours of such weakness, or disingenuity, as can never stand with the credit of so great a scribe to be guilty of."

William Penn, then instances the cases of Paulus Samosatenus and Sabellius, and proceeds to give the following declaration of his faith: "And now I will tell thee my faith in this matter; I do *heartily believe*, that Jesus Christ is the only true and everlasting God, by whom all things were made, that are made, in the heavens above, or the earth beneath, or the waters under the earth; that he is, as omnipotent, so omniscient, and omnipresent, therefore God. This is confessed by me, in two books, printed a little before 'The Sandy Foundation Shaken,' viz: 'Guide Mistaken,' page 28, and 'Truth Exalted,' pages 14, 15; also at large, in my 'Innocency with her open Face.'"

"What dangerous inquiry and wanton curiosity is that, which cannot set down with this Scripture definition, 'There be three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit?' It is more truly religious, if not to deride, at least to reject human inventions and pagan philosophy, the chief ingredients that make up the school definitions, and acquiesce in the naked text of holy writ; unless the comment were more clear and unquestionable: clear it is not, and for unquestionable, the present Protestant nation, call it popery; as if it were an infallible mark of sound doctrine, to cry up the fallibility of all doctrine; a piece of new-fashioned divinity that is not two removes from atheism."

"For 'satisfaction,' thou knowest, or oughtest to do, that is a term belonging to the civil law, and was never read in Scripture. I have this to say, that the Friend took me right; namely, that I chiefly opposed the impossibility of God's otherwise pardoning, &c., and thou showest great acquaintance with some late writers, and such, too, as go for no small divines;" [here he inserts their names] and proceeds—"He that would not have me mistaken, on purpose to render his charge against me just, whether it be so or no, may see in my apology for The Sandy Foundation Shaken, that I otherwise meant than I am charactered. In short, I say, both as to this and the other point of justification, that Jesus Christ *was a sacrifice for sin*, that he was

set forth to be a propitiation for the sins of the whole world; to declare God's righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, &c., to all that repented and had faith in his Son. Therein the love of God appeared, that he declared his good will thereby to be reconciled; Christ bearing away the sins that are past, as the scape-goat did of old, not excluding inward work; for, till that is begun, none can be benefitted, though it is not the work, but God's free love that remits and blots out, of which, the death of Christ, and his sacrificing of himself, was a most certain declaration and confirmation. In short, *that* declared remission, to all who believe and obey, for the sins that are past; which is the first part of Christ's work, (as it is a king's to pardon a traitor, before he advanceth him,) and hitherto, the acquittance imputes a righteousness, (inasmuch as men, on true repentance, are imputed as clean of guilt as if they had never sinned,) and thus far justified; but the completing of this, by the working out of sin inherent, must be by the power and Spirit of Christ in the heart, destroying the old man and his deeds, and bringing in the new and everlasting righteousness. So, that which I writ against, is such doctrine as extended Christ's death and obedience, not to the first, but this second part of justification; not the pacifying [of] conscience, as to past sin; but to complete salvation, without cleansing and purging, from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, by the internal operation of his holy power and Spirit."

The work when it was published gave great offence. Among the offended persons were some of the prelates, of whom the bishop of London was the most conspicuous. By these men it was made a subject of public animadversion, and an order was procured for the arrest of the author and his imprisonment in the tower.

In his new habitation he was treated with great severity. He was not only kept in close confinement, but his friends were denied access to him. He was informed that the bishop of London had resolved that he should either publicly retract his opinions or die a prisoner. But William Penn possessed too much of the spirit of the martyrs to be shaken by such a menace. He boldly replied, that his prison should be his grave before he would retract his opinions, for he owed his conscience to no mortal man. That great and good things were not attained without loss and hardship. That he would weary out the malice of his persecutors by patience, the never-failing companion of those who suffer for Christ's sake. That those who would reap without labour, must perish in disappointment; but he reposed on the assurance, that a hair of his head would not fall without his heavenly Father's notice.

His zeal for promoting the cause of religion was not abated by imprisonment, and he employed his time and talents in writing. His first work was entitled No Cross, No Crown.

No adequate idea could be formed of this excellent treatise, from any analysis of which the limits of these memoirs would admit—and as it has already appeared in the first volume of the Library, it seems unnecessary to attempt it. It is a work adapted to all times and to every denomination of professors, and may justly be ranked among the best performances of the author. It sets forth, in a lucid and impressive manner, the absolute necessity of daily taking up the cross of Christ to every inclination, thought, word and deed, which is opposed to the purity of the Christian religion, if we expect to be made partakers of the crown of eternal life, which He graciously confers on his obedient followers; and administers a just reproof to the vain and sinful practices, in which many, even of the professors of religion, indulge themselves. It manifests great depth and maturity of reflection, as well as extensive acquaintance with books and men, and is replete with edifying and instructive matter, which will richly reward the labour of a serious perusal. For those who are desirous of walking in the narrow but safe path, which leads to eternal life, and of regulating their conduct by the standard of Christian purity and holiness, and especially to the young, it forms a manual which cannot be too often or closely consulted; being especially calculated to counteract that temporizing policy, which would fritter and explain away the plain and obvious precepts of the Gospel, to suit fleshly ease and accommodate times and circumstances. Had he left no other fruit of his pen, this would justly entitle him to rank among the first Christian authors.

He also wrote a letter to Sir Henry Bennett, lord Arlington, then principal secretary of state, by whose warrant he was committed to prison. In this letter he denies the charges which had been brought against him, attributes the zeal shown by his persecutors to malice and ignorance, and requests that he may be restored to his liberty, as being imprisoned without just cause, or proper examination of his case. He then demonstrates, in a forcible manner, the absurdity of attempting to correct the errors of opinion by the application of force, and shows that the practice of the rulers in that respect, fell below the example of the wiser ancient Heathens. He requests the liberty of presenting

his case to the king, and of clearing himself before him of the accusations of his enemies; and finally, if that request should be denied, that Sir Henry Bennett himself would allow him an opportunity of vindicating his innocence, so that if he must remain a prisoner, he might at least understand why he was thus detained. The style of the letter is firm, yet respectful, strongly marked with the plainness of conscious integrity and innocence.

From its tenor, and from a tract soon afterwards published, it appears that his commitment was altogether arbitrary—that he was detained as a state prisoner, and not even informed of the accusation on which his imprisonment was founded. His request to be brought before the king, or the secretary of state, to be informed of the offence laid to his charge and permitted to vindicate his innocence, was disregarded. Having waited for some time in expectation of the desired opportunity, he resumed his pen and produced a small tract, by way of apology or explanation of The Sandy Foundation Shaken. This he entitled Innocency with her open Face. In that tract he reviewed the subjects discussed in the former, and explained himself more clearly on some points which had been misunderstood.

Of the cause of his confinement, he remarks:

"That which I am credibly informed to be the greatest reason for my imprisonment, and that noise of blasphemy which hath pierced so many ears of late, is my denying the Divinity of Christ, and divesting him of his eternal Godhead; which most busily hath been suggested, as well to those in authority, as maliciously insinuated amongst the people." He then enters into an argument of considerable length, to prove the Godhead of Jesus Christ, which he thus concludes:—"In short, this conclusive argument for the proof of Christ, the Saviour's, being God, should certainly persuade all sober persons of my innocency, and my adversaries' malice. He that is the everlasting Wisdom, Divine Power, the true Light, the only Saviour, the creating Word of all things, whether visible or invisible, and their upholder by his own power, is, without contradiction God—but all these qualifications, and Divine properties, are by the concurrent testimonies of Scripture, ascribed to the Lord Jesus Christ; therefore, without a scruple, I call and believe him, really to be, the mighty God. And for a more ample satisfaction, let but my reply to J. Clapham be perused, in which Christ's Divinity and eternity is very fully asserted."

On the other points, he says;

"As for the business of satisfaction, I am prevented by a person, whose reputation is generally great among the Protestants of these nations; for since the doctrine, against which I mostly levelled my arguments, was the impossibility of God's forgiving sin upon repentance, without Christ's paying his justice by suffering infinite vengeance and eternal death for sins past, present, and to come, he [viz. Stillingfleet,] in his late discourse about Christ's sufferings, against Crellius, plainly acknowledges me no less, by granting both the possibility of God's pardoning sins as debts, without such a rigid satisfaction, and the impossibility of Christ's so suffering for the world, reflecting closely upon those persons, as giving so just an occasion to the church's adversaries to think they triumph over his faith, whilst it is only over their mistakes, who argue with more zeal than judgment." He winds up this subject in these words: "However positively I may reject my adversaries' unscriptural and imaginary satisfaction, let all know this, that I pretend to know no other name by which remission, atonement, and salvation can be obtained, but Jesus Christ, the Saviour, who is the power and wisdom of God."

"As for justification by an imputed righteousness, I still say, that whosoever believes in Christ, shall have remission and justification; but then it must be such a faith as can no more live without works than a body without a spirit; wherefore I conclude, that true faith comprehends evangelical obedience."

His belief is summed up in the following declaration: "I sincerely own, and unfeignedly believe, by virtue of the sound knowledge and experience received from the gift of that holy unction and Divine grace, inspired from on high, in one holy, just, merciful, Almighty and eternal God, who is the Father of all things; who appeared to the holy patriarchs and prophets of old, at sundry times, and in divers manners: and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the everlasting Wisdom, Divine Power, true Light, only Saviour and preserver of all; the same one holy, just, Almighty and eternal God, who in the fulness of time took and was manifest in the flesh. At which time he preached, and his disciples after him, the everlasting Gospel of repentance, and promise of remission of sins and eternal life to all that heard and obeyed; who said, 'He that is with you, (in the flesh,) shall be in you,' (by the spirit); and though he left them, as to the flesh, yet not comfortless, for he would come to them again, in the spirit: for a little while and they should not see him, as to the flesh; again a little while and they should see him, in the spirit: for the Lord Jesus Christ is that Spirit, a manifestation whereof is given to every one to profit withal.

In which holy Spirit I believe, as the same Almighty and eternal God; who, as in those times he ended all shadows, and became the infallible guide to them that walked therein; by which they were adopted heirs and co-heirs of glory; so am I a living witness, that the same holy, just, merciful, Almighty and eternal God, is now, as then, (after this tedious night of idolatry, superstition and human inventions, that hath overspread the world) gloriously manifested to discover and save from all iniquity, and to conduct unto the holy land of pure and endless peace; in a word, to tabernacle among men. And I also firmly believe, that without repenting and forsaking of past sins, and walking in obedience to his heavenly voice, which would guide into all truth and establish there, remission and eternal life can never be obtained; but them that fear his name and keep his commandments, they, and they only, shall have right unto the tree of life. For his name's sake I have been made willing to relinquish and forsake all the vain fashions, enticing pleasures, alluring honours and glittering glories of this transitory world, and readily to accept the portion of a fool, from this deriding generation, and become a man of sorrows and a perpetual reproach to my familiars: yea, and with the greatest cheerfulness can obsignate and confirm, with no less seal than the loss of whatsoever this doating world accounts dear, this faithful confession, having my eye fixed upon a more enduring substance, and lasting inheritance; and being most infallibly assured, that when time shall be no more, I shall, if faithful hereunto, possess the mansions of eternal life, and be received into everlasting habitations of rest and glory."

Soon after the publication of this work, the author was discharged from the tower, after being detained there, upon terms of unusual severity, about seven months. His discharge came suddenly from the king, who had been moved to it by the intercession of the duke of York. Whether the father of William Penn applied to the duke for his interference, or whether the act was spontaneous on the part of the latter, is not now known. It is, however understood, that his enlargement was owing to the friendly offices of the duke. This and other acts of kindness, are sufficient to explain the reason of William Penn's friendship for James, when he became involved in trouble, without imputing to the former any improper motives.

CHAPTER III.

1669. At the time when William Penn was discharged from his confinement in the tower, his father's asperity towards him was considerably softened. The mortification which he felt on discovering that his son was firmly united to the Society of Friends, then almost universally villified and despised, must have rendered him averse to an open reconciliation. Yet the severity with which he saw him treated, the malicious efforts which were used to destroy his reputation, and the tedious imprisonment to which he had been subjected, could hardly fail to excite his sympathy: while the patience with which he sustained his complicated trials, the firmness with which he maintained his principles, and the innocent boldness with which he vindicated his character, excited his respect, and tended to satisfy his father, both of the sincerity of his intentions and the soundness of his religious principles. He allowed him to reside at his own house, though he did not see him, and caused it to be signified to him, through his mother, that he might return to Ireland, to execute a commission for him.

He accordingly left London in the seventh, and arrived at Cork in the eighth month of this year. It had happened when he was returning from Ireland, nearly two years before, that a person belonging to the Society of Friends, was a passenger in the same vessel. The religious conversation of this man, was at that time a strength and encouragement to him, being then recently convinced. Upon taking passage at this time, he found himself again in company with the same Friend. But their relative situation was now materially changed. The Friend had the discernment to perceive, that William Penn was much his superior in religious experience and weight. This discovery brought him to reflect seriously on his own want of faithfulness, and he expressed with many tears, his concern to pursue his journey heaven-ward with greater vigilance in future.

Upon his arrival at Cork, he immediately visited his friends who were imprisoned there, and the next day had a meeting among them, in which their spirits were mutually refreshed. Having remained a few days, he went from thence to Dublin, and on the 5th of ninth month, attended the National Meeting of Friends, which was held at his lodgings. At that meeting, an account of the sufferings of Friends was prepared, which a few days afterwards he presented to the lord-lieutenant.

During his continuance in Ireland, he usually resided either at Dublin or Cork; and although the care of his father's estate occupied a large part of his time, he was careful to attend religious meetings, in which he was frequently engaged in Gospel ministry. His

solicitude for the promotion of true religion, and his sympathy with those who were suffering on that account, led him often to visit those who were in prison, and to hold meetings among them. He was also very active in bringing their sufferings to the knowledge of those in power; and soliciting their release. His efforts were so far successful, that he obtained an order from the proper authorities, in the fourth month, 1670, for their discharge.

But his zealous and active mind did not rest satisfied with the exercise of his ministry, and his labours for the relief of his suffering friends; he also wrote several tracts to promote the cause of religion, one of which, viz. "A Letter to the Young Convinced," was afterwards published in his printed works. The general object of this letter, which is a very pathetic one, is to fix the attention of those to whom it is addressed, more closely upon that light of Christ and grace of God, in the heart, by which they had been convinced and measurably enlightened; that by walking in this light, and following the teachings of this blessed Spirit, they might be enabled to make their calling and election sure; and to support the trials unavoidably attendant upon a life devoted to the cause of Jesus, in that age of licentiousness and persecution.

Some idea of the character and spirit of this production, may be formed from the following extracts, viz.;

"In the tender love of Jesus Christ, I earnestly entreat you, let us no more look back upon our ancient pastimes and delights, but with holy resolution press on, press on; for they will steal away our precious souls, beget new desires, raise the old life, and finally ensnare and pollute our minds again; and what will be the end of such rebellion, but woes and tribulations from the hand of the just God, world without end. Neither let us enter into many reasonings with opposers, for that is the life which God's power is revealed to slay; it is the still, the quiet and the righteous life, which must be exalted over all. And this I say in a sound understanding, through the mercies of the Lord, that deadness, darkness and anguish of spirit, will be the end of such disputing, pragmatical Christians, whose religion consists much more in words than works, confessing than forsaking, and in their own will-performances and external observations, than in the reformation and conversion of their souls to God. And we who have known something more of the Lord, may also reduce our good conditions to an utter loss, by seeking to comprehend dubious matters in our understandings, and disputing about them with every opposer, whom the devil, in a way of temptation, shall present to us; which does no way advance our growth and increase in the noble principle of Truth.

"And I beseech you, my dear friends, let not the fear of any external thing, overcome the holy resolution we have made, to follow the Lamb, Christ Jesus, through all the tribulations, trials and temptations, he and his followers meet with. O let us be valiant in God's cause on earth, who have but a few days to live. Let the constancy of the world to the momentary fashions, pleasures and pollutions of it, the more ardently stir us up to express ours, for the honour of our God against them all, who will reward us for whatsoever we bear, suffer, or part with, on his account. Let neither father nor mother, sister nor brother, wife nor child, house nor land, liberties nor life itself, deter us from our holy constancy; but as the faithful ancients did, through deserts, wildernesses, and solitary places, in goat-skins and sheep-skins, endure torments and bitter mockings in this earthly pilgrimage, for the inheritance which is everlasting. So my dear friends, let us do as we have them for our example. Let us however be careful to show all due respect to our relations, not to be exalted nor any way unruly, lest there be just cause taken against us, and the blessed Truth should suffer; but in the still, retired, holy and patient life, which this pure Spirit of light and truth, as seriously and diligently waited on, certainly brings into, let us all dwell and abide; so shall we feel the powerful operation of God's holy Spirit, to the more complete redeeming of our exercised souls, from under the dominion of sin, and to the giving us all a clearer understanding and sounder judgment, of those things that are to be parted from, as the pleasures, cares and customs of the world, that stand in the fallen nature and only nourish the same, but crucify the self-denying Lord of glory; and also of the things of God and his spiritual kingdom, which are to be adhered to, that in his pure wisdom which is from above, we may be all kept and preserved, over all the snares and temptations of the adversary, both on the right hand and on the left.

"And as one who is a traveller in his way, I even beseech, caution and admonish you all in the holy awe of God, that you never forbear meeting and assembling yourselves, with the holy remnant amongst whom we first received our blessed convincement. O forever let us honour the Lord's Truth, and those who sincerely profess the same; but more especially such as were in Christ before us, for this is well pleasing to the Lord. Beware of light-

ness, jesting or a careless mind, which grieves the holy Spirit, that stands ready to seal us unto the day of our perfect redemption; but let us be grave, weighty and temperate, keeping low in body as well as mind, that in all things we may be examples, and a sweet savour for God, who hath loved and called us. And my dear friends, keep in the simplicity of the cross of Jesus, even in plainness of speech, and out of the world's flattering and deceitful respects; for we are as well to be a cross in our garb, gaits, dealings and salutations, as religion and worship, to this vain, adulterated and apostatized generation. In the pure measure of Truth that has been manifested to every particular, and has convinced us of the unrighteousness of the world, and the vanity and emptiness of all its professions of God, Christ and religion, let us stand and abide, that we may feel it to be our refuge and strong tower, when the enemy shall approach, either by inward exercises, or outward bonds and suffering, which may overtake us for the trial of our most precious faith; so shall we sensibly experience that heavenly blood of cleansing, which only can give remission, cleanse from all sin, and finally purge the conscience from dead works to serve the living God."

1670. Having accomplished his visit in regard to his father's business, and rendered a number of signal services to his friends in Ireland, he returned to his native land.

It now becomes the pleasing duty of his biographer to mention, that his father was fully reconciled to him. Though the Admiral was only about forty-nine, yet his constitution had been so much impaired by the hardships of a sea-faring life, and exposure to a variety of climates, that he was then sinking under the infirmities of premature old age. Thus circumstanced, his opinions of the world, its honours and emoluments appear to have been greatly changed. He could then perceive the wisdom of his son's choice, and appreciate the magnanimity displayed by him in his inflexible adherence to the path of apprehended duty. To William Penn himself, it must have been a peculiar satisfaction to find, that after incurring his father's displeasure, and sacrificing all his prospects on the side of the world, for the sake of obtaining peace with God and the hope of final acceptance hereafter, his father's favour was now restored, without any compromise of principle or loss of peace.

In the spring of this year, an act was passed, professedly for the suppression of seditious conventicles, but actually to prevent all meetings for religious worship, in any other way, than according to the liturgy of the Episcopal church. The substance of this act was, that if any person upwards of sixteen years of age, should be present at any assembly, conventicle, or meeting, under colour or pretence of the exercise of religion, in any other manner than according to the liturgy and practice of the church of England, where there were five or more persons present, besides those of the household, in such cases the offenders were to pay five shillings for the first offence, and ten for the second. The preachers and teachers, in any such meeting, were to forfeit twenty pounds for the first, and forty for the second offence. Those who suffered such conventicles to be held in their houses, barns, &c., were also to forfeit twenty pounds.

Though this act was principally aimed at the Presbyterians, who were considered as the political opponents of the court, its weight fell chiefly upon Friends, because they supported their principles without flinching, and openly attended their meetings for divine worship; believing with the apostles, that they ought to obey God rather than man. Other professors frequently held their meetings in private, but Friends continued to assemble at the usual times and places, notwithstanding the perils which awaited them. It was not therefore to be expected, that William Penn, who was now become one of the conspicuous members and ministers in the Society, could long remain undisturbed.

Friends being forcibly excluded from their meeting house in Grace-church street, met as near it as they were permitted, and performed their worship in the street. William Penn attending a meeting held there on the 14th of the month, called August, and being engaged in the ministry, was arrested by a warrant from Sir Samuel Starling, mayor of the city, and committed to Newgate. At the next sessions held at the Old Baily, he was indicted, together with William Mead, for being present at and preaching to an unlawful, seditious and riotous assembly. In the trial that ensued, he maintained his civil rights with the greatest firmness and self-possession, and manifested throughout a protracted and exceedingly vexatious prosecution, the magnanimity and patience of a true Christian.

This trial, as a specimen of the arbitrary conduct of the courts of that day, and the firmness with which William Penn defended his civil and religious rights, is too important to be omitted. To give the proceedings in all their detail would be to swell this work beyond its intended limits. I shall therefore endeavour to present it to the reader in an abridged form. This trial came on the 1st of the seventh month, (September) 1670.

The persons on the bench were, Samuel Starling, mayor; John Howell, recorder;

Thomas Bludworth, William Peak, Richard Ford, John Robinson, Joseph Sheldon, aldermen; Richard Brown, John Smith, James Edwards, sheriffs. The jurors empannelled to try this cause, were Thomas Veer, Edward Bushel, John Hammond, Charles Milson, Gregory Walklet, John Brightman, Wm. Plumstead, Henry Henley, James Damask, Henry Michel, Willam Lever and John Baily.

The indictment stated that William Penn and William Mead, with other persons to the number of three hundred, with force and arms unlawfully and tumultuously assembled together on the 15th day of August, 1670, and the said William Penn, by agreement made beforehand with William Mead, preached and spoke to the assembly; by reason whereof a great concourse and tumult of people continued a long time in the street, in contempt of the king and his law, to the great disturbance of his peace, and to the terror of many of his liege people and subjects.

On the first day they were brought to the bar, and required to plead guilty or not guilty to the indictment. They both answered not guilty, having been previously promised an opportunity of making their defence, and that a fair hearing would be allowed them. They were afterwards kept waiting while some other prisoners, charged with felony and murder, were tried.

On the 3d of the month they were again brought into court. As they came in, one of the officers pulled off their hats, upon which the mayor in an angry manner, ordered him to put them on again. The recorder then fined them forty marks apiece for an alledged contempt of court, in not pulling off their hats. This arbitrary proceeding immediately met with a merited reproof from both the prisoners. To sustain the indictment, three witnesses were successively examined. The first testified that he saw three or four hundred people assembled in Gracious street, and that William Penn was speaking to them, but he could not hear what he said. He also saw William Mead there, who spoke to the witness. The second asserted that he saw a great crowd in Gracious street and heard William Penn preach to them, on the 14th of August, yet the indictment stated that the offence charged against the prisoners was committed on the 15th, a discrepancy sufficient in law to secure a verdict of acquittal. He also saw William Mead speaking to the former witness, but did not know what he said. Upon being questioned, he acknowledged the noise was so great that he could not tell what William Penn said. The third witness deposed that he saw a great number of people, and saw William Penn make a motion with his hands; he also heard some noise but did not understand any thing that was said. As to William Mead he did not see him there. This was the amount of the testimony produced to establish the guilt of the prisoners.

The evidence being closed, William Penn, instead of taking advantage of its weakness, boldly declared; "we confess ourselves to be so far from recanting, or declining to vindicate the assembling of ourselves, to preach, pray or worship the eternal, holy, just God, that we declare to all the world, that we do believe it to be our indispensable duty to meet incessantly upon so good an account; nor shall all the powers upon earth be able to divert us from reverencing and adoring the God who made us." To this Richard Brown replied, you are not here for worshipping God, but for breaking the law. William Penn immediately affirmed that he had broken no law, and was not guilty of the indictment; he therefore desired them to inform him upon what law the indictment and the proceedings of the court were founded. The recorder answered, upon the common law. William Penn inquired where that law was. The recorder replied, he must not expect him to run over so many adjudged cases which they called common law, to answer his question. William Penn told him if the law was common it ought not to be hard to produce. He was then told to plead to the indictment. He insisted upon having the law pointed out on which the indictment was grounded, and which he was charged with breaking, so that the jury might understand the case and decide upon his innocence or guilt. He told them the answer "that it was founded on the common law," was too general and imperfect, unless they knew where and what that law was. Where there is no law there is no transgression, and that law which is not in being, is so far from being common that it is no law at all. The recorder asserted that it was *lex non scripta*, indignantly inquiring whether he expected him to tell in a moment what some have studied thirty or forty years to understand. William Penn, in return to this legal bravado, quoted the declaration of lord Coke, that common law was common right, and common right the great charter privileges, confirmed by Henry III., Edward I., and Edward III. The recorder manifested great irritation, while William Penn, apparently quite calm and collected, urged the propriety of knowing upon what law the indictment was founded; declaring plainly, that if they denied the information demanded, and still refused to point out the law which he was charged with violating, they denied him a common right, and evinced a determination to sacrifice the privileges of Englishmen to their arbitrary designs.

Upon this the mayor and recorder united in

ordering him to be taken away and turned into the bale-dock. William Penn replied, these are but so many vain exclamations. Must I therefore be taken away, because I plead for the fundamental laws of England? However, this I leave upon your consciences, who are of the jury, and my sole judges, that if these ancient fundamental laws, which relate to liberty and property, and are not limited to particular persuasions in matters of religion, must not be indispensably maintained and observed, who can say he hath a right to the coat on his back? Certainly our liberties are to be openly invaded, our families ruined, and our estates led away in triumph by every sturdy beggar and malicious informer, as their trophies, but our pretended forfeits for conscience sake. The Lord of heaven and earth will be judge between us in this matter.

William Penn being then rudely turned into the bale-dock, William Mead renewed the demand for an account of the law upon which their indictment was founded, denied the facts stated in the indictment, as well he might, and explained from lord Coke what constituted a riot or unlawful assembly in common law, but was treated with greater indignity than William Penn had been, and turned with him into the bale-dock.

When they were thus arbitrarily driven out of the court, in violation of the promise made at the opening of the trial; the recorder proceeded to give his charge to the jury in the absence of the prisoners, taking care to present the case in a light very unfavourable to the accused. Against this illegal procedure, the prisoners, who though put out of the court, were not out of hearing, both remonstrated, but their remonstrance had no other effect than to bring further abuse upon them.

The jury were then sent to their room to agree upon their verdict. As several of their number were unwilling to bring in such a verdict as the rest were disposed to give, the dissentients, and particularly Edward Bushel, were treated by the bench with contumely and menacing language. At length they returned into court, when the foreman, on behalf of the whole, gave their verdict, that William Penn was guilty of speaking in Gracious street. Efforts were used by the court to extort a declaration that he was speaking to an unlawful assembly, but the foreman declared that the verdict already given was all he had in commission, and Bushel, Hammond and some others opposed the addition, openly testifying that they allowed of no such words as unlawful assembly in their verdict. This verdict being rejected by the court, the jury were again sent out, and returned their verdict in writing, with all their names affixed, that William Penn was guilty of speaking or preaching to an assembly met together in Gracious street, and that William Mead was not guilty of the indictment.

This result exceedingly exasperated the mayor and recorder, who gave vent to their anger in very unbecoming language, and ordered the jury to return to their chamber and reconsider their verdict. The jury protested against this piece of arbitrary authority, declaring they had already agreed; but they were rudely sent back to their room, and kept all night without food, fire or any other accommodations. In the morning they returned and delivered their verdict, that William Penn was guilty of speaking in Gracious street. This verdict was four times returned, but at length, after the jury had been kept two days and two nights without refreshment they delivered a verdict of not guilty, in case of both the prisoners, to the manifest satisfaction of the spectators, but to the great mortification of the bench. The recorder then addressing the jury, expressed his dissatisfaction with their verdict, and informed them that the court fined them forty marks a man, and imprisonment till the fines were paid. William Penn then demanded his liberty, being cleared by the jury, but he and William Mead were still detained, and sent to Newgate, as were also the jury for non-payment of the fines which were thus arbitrarily laid upon them.

Upon this celebrated trial, which William Penn, in his twenty-sixth year, sustained with so much ability, a few remarks may be made.

It appears probable, that the arrest was made in consequence of the Conventicle act, then recently passed, but a prosecution upon that act was not sufficient to gratify the malice of the mayor and his associates. The mayor indeed, on their first arrest, when they were examined before him, treated William Penn in a very indecent and scurrilous manner, threatening to send him to Bridewell and have him whipped, casting at the same time some unhandsome reflections upon his father. This touched the filial affection of the son, who told him he could very well bear his severity to himself, but he was grieved to hear his father abused, who was absent.

The mayor chose to commit them as rioters, and the indictment was apparently framed with a view to involve them and their case in the intricacies of the unwritten law, and to subject them to such penalty as the malice of the court might prescribe. The definition of an unlawful assembly, would appear to have been borrowed from the Conventicle act; for in the fourth section of that act, meetings for religious purposes, not according to the liturgy of the church of England, are reckoned unlawful assemblies, yet we have no account that this

act was quoted or referred to during the trial. The jury were urged to convict William Penn of preaching to an unlawful assembly, without being informed what constituted such an assembly, or what penalty would be awarded. The fact of his speaking to a number of people in the street, being established, if the jury could have been induced to decide that he was speaking to a tumultuous assembly, the court would unquestionably have put their own construction upon it, and decided that the penalty as well as the offence was to be found in the *lex non scripta*.

As the jury, notwithstanding the menaces of the court, eventually delivered a verdict of not guilty, the court did not venture to set that verdict aside, but manifested their haste, as well as displeasure, by setting a fine both on the prisoners, and the jury, in direct violation of the provisions of the great charter.

In regard to the jurymen after their commitment, the biographers of William Penn are entirely silent. Their names deserve to be transmitted to posterity, and the repositories of the law have preserved the pleasing intelligence, that they were not long permitted to languish in prison.

From the history of the trial we readily perceive, that they were not of a temper, particularly Edward Bushel, to be dragooned out of their civil rights, or to be made the passive instruments of injustice in the hands of others. Being conscious that their imprisonment was illegal, they determined not to pay their fines, but to remain in prison till discharged by due course of law. By the advice of council, they demanded their freedom every six hours. But after a short trial of that course, a more effectual one was adopted. The trial of William Penn and William Mead, appears to have closed on the 5th of the month, called September, on which day the jurymen were probably committed to prison. A writ of habeas corpus, was sued out by Edward Bushel, dated the 9th of November, by which he was brought before judge Vaughan, of the court of Common Pleas, for the purpose of trying the legality of his commitment and detention. The return to the writ stated, that the said Bushel and eleven others particularly named, were fined forty marks each, because they being the jurors sworn and charged, at the Old Bailey, on the 31st of August, 1670, to try several issues then joined between the king and William Penn and William Mead, for certain trespasses, contempts, unlawful assemblies and tumults, perpetrated by the said Penn and Mead, together with others, whereof the said Penn and Mead were indicted, did, against the law of the realm, contrary to full and manifest evidence openly given in court and against the direction of the court in matter of law, acquit the said William Penn and William Mead of the said trespasses, contempts, unlawful assemblies and tumults, to the great obstruction of justice, and to the evil example of all other jurors similarly offending. That the said Bushel had not paid the fine, and was therefore detained in the gaol at Newgate.

This return was ably canvassed and its fallacy exposed by judge Vaughan. In regard to the first assertion, that the jurors had acquitted the prisoners contrary to full and manifest evidence openly given in court, he observed, that it was very common for two men, students, barristers, or judges, to deduce opposite conclusions from the same case in law; and that it was equally possible for two men to deduce different conclusions from the same testimony. That what one witness or a number of witnesses declare, may, to the mind of one man prove one thing, and to the mind of another, may honestly appear to prove the contrary. That this was often the case with the judge and jury. It was therefore improper that any one should suffer fine and imprisonment for doing what he could not avoid without violating his oath and integrity. He thence decided that this charge did not exhibit cause of fine or imprisonment. He observed that the verdict of a jury, and the evidence of a witness, were very different things in regard to truth or falsehood. The witness testifies to what he has seen or heard, but the juryman engages to give a verdict according to what he can infer from the evidence by the force of his understanding, to be the facts in relation to the subject of inquiry.

On the second part of the charge, the judge remarked that the words, "the jury acquitted the prisoners against the direction of the court, in matter of law," taken literally were unintelligible; for no issue can be joined of matter in law; no jury can be charged with the trial of matter in law barely; no evidence ever was, or can be given to a jury of what is, or is not law; and no oath to try matters of law, can be administered to or taken by a jury, nor can a jury be attainted for perjury upon such an oath.

But if the meaning of the charge was, that the judge having heard the evidence, was to decide that the law was in favour of the plaintiff or defendant, and require the jury, under pain of fine and imprisonment, to pronounce a correspondent verdict, then the jury was rendered entirely useless in regard to the determination of right and wrong, and became an expensive appendage which they would be better without. He afterwards assigned various reasons why the jurors might be expected to understand the facts of a case more clearly

than the judge, and confirmed the doctrine of lord Coke, that the jury and not the judge, were the arbiters in regard to facts; and that the province of the judge was to point out and apply the law to such facts as are found by the jury.

The issue of the trial was, that the prisoners were ordered to be discharged.

This is reported as the trial of Bushel's case, yet the final decision is expressed in the plural, from which we may infer that the suit was conducted in the name of Edward Bushel, but that some, if not all his colleagues were included in the result.

This celebrated trial was productive of important and beneficial results to the people of England. It awakened their attention to the arbitrary and oppressive proceedings of the courts under the pretended sanction of law, by which the most flagrant violations of justice were often practised with impunity. The able and undaunted manner in which the prisoners contended for their rights and liberties, and the noble stand made by the jurors against the rude and shameless attempts of the court to browbeat and intimidate them, opened the eyes of the people to their true interests, and the necessity of claiming their chartered privileges; and thus the trial was instrumental in establishing them on a firmer basis than they ever were before; the *freedom* of juries being now asserted by a solemn judicial decision.

Two accounts of this trial were soon afterwards given to the world. The first by William Penn, and the second by Thomas Rudyard, a lawyer; in both of which, particularly the latter, the illegality and arbitrary proceedings of the court were fully and clearly exposed.

William Penn being now imprisoned for conscience sake, and in manifest violation of law, wrote very affectionately to his father, expressing his conviction of the goodness of the cause in which he was suffering, intimating a design to bring the legality of his imprisonment before the court of Common Pleas, and requesting that he would not purchase his freedom by the payment of the fine. But the admiral was then fast descending to the grave, and very desirous of the company and consolation of his son; he therefore did not choose to wait the tardy operation of the law, but privately sent the money and procured the discharge of both the prisoners.

Notwithstanding the displeasure and mortification which the union of William Penn with the Society of Friends occasioned his father at the time it took place, he was now entirely reconciled to him. Foreseeing that he must often be subjected to inconvenience from the persecuting laws of the time, he sent one of his friends to the duke of York, with his dying request, that he would endeavour to protect his son, as far as he consistently could, and that he would desire the king to do the same in case of future persecution. The answers both from the king and the duke, were favourable to the wishes of the admiral. Only eleven days were left to Sir William Penn, after the close of the trial at the Old Bailey, for he expired on the 16th of the same month.

In the course of his illness he thus addressed his son:—

"Son William, if you and your friends keep to your plain way of preaching, and keep to your plain way of living, you will make an end of the priests to the end of the world." It is also remarkable, that in his dying admonition to him, he strictly enjoined the very course of conduct which had formerly incurred his displeasure, and risked the loss of all his worldly prospects to maintain. "Let nothing in the world, said he, tempt you to wrong your conscience. I charge you, do nothing against your conscience; so you will keep peace at home which will be a feast to you in the day of trouble."

By the death of his father, William Penn was left in possession of an ample estate, supposed to be not less than fifteen hundred pounds a year, which evidently placed him in affluent circumstances.* But from the general tenor of his subsequent life, it is manifest that he employed his wealth as the means of being more extensively useful in the world, and particularly in his own religious Society, not for the indulgence of those passions which he made it the business of his life to control and subdue.

CHAPTER IV.

It was not long after the decease of his father, that William Penn was involved in another public dispute, in defence of his religious principles and doctrines. A Baptist teacher, of the name of Ives, residing in Buckinghamshire, had taken the liberty, in the pulpit, of casting reflections on the people called Quakers in general and on William Penn in particular. This circumstance coming to the knowledge of the latter, he demanded, and finally obtained an agreement, that a meeting should be held at West Wycomb, where the doctrines, to which exceptions had been taken, were to be examined. William Penn was to appear on behalf of Friends, and Jeremy Ives, the brother of the original assailant, on behalf of the Baptists; the aggressor himself being judged unequal to the controversy.

The doctrine assailed, was the universality

*This may be estimated as equivalent to eight thousand dollars of the present day.

of the divine light, which William Penn was expected to defend, and the Baptists to oppose. According to the laws of disputation then in force on such occasions, it belonged to the assailant to speak first. He had come armed with a collection of syllogisms ready prepared for his purpose; and therefore, went on boldly till he had exhausted his stock, when he stepped suddenly down from his seat and left the place. The object of that strange procedure evidently was to break up the meeting, and thus prevent a reply. But in this he was disappointed, for a small number only, and they such as belonged immediately to his party, followed his example. A great part of the audience remained; to them William Penn addressed himself in reply, and supported the cause which he had undertaken, to the general satisfaction of the assembly. Jeremy Ives, mortified at what was passing, returned and expressed his disapprobation of their conduct. But instead of gaining his object, he excited the displeasure of the assembly, which they did not fail to express. Thomas Ellwood, who was present, communicated the result of the dispute to one of his absent friends in the following laconic epistle:

Prævaluit veritas: inimici terga dedere:
Nos sumus in tuto: laus tribuenda Deo.

Literally—The truth has prevailed: the enemies have turned their backs: we are in safety: praise be rendered to God.

The conduct of Jeremy Ives in this case, as well as that of Thomas Vincent two years before, is a sufficient evidence, that the angry opponents of Friends in that day, found it easier to villify them and their doctrines, in their absence, than to meet them in fair and open argument. It may also be noted as a proof of the sincerity as well as the zeal of our early Friends, that they were always ready to render a reason for the hope which was in them, and seldom, if ever permitted a public attack on their principles or character to pass unanswered.

In the ninth month of this year, William Penn took a short journey, in the course of which he stopped at Oxford. There he found that a number of Friends had been cruelly persecuted by the junior students of the university, with the connivance, if not the actual encouragement of their superiors, whose duty it was to instruct and restrain them. In consequence of this information, he wrote a letter to the Vice-chancellor, remonstrating in energetic terms, against these abuses, and warning him of the judgments which would inevitably overtake the oppressors of the innocent. In the concluding sentence he declared himself above the fear of man, whose breath is in his nostrils, and who must one day come to judgment; because he feared the living God only, who made the heavens and the earth.*

During the winter of this year he resided at the family seat, in Buckinghamshire. A pamphlet falling into his hands, which contained a professed summary of the doctrines held by the Roman Catholic church, he wrote a reply to it, which he entitled, "A seasonable caveat against Popery."

To prevent a misapprehension of his design, he distinctly stated in his preface, that he fully believed many of the Romanists were abused zealots, (ignorantly zealous,) through the idle voluminous traditions of their church, whom he rather pitied than dared to wrong, and that he had no design to incense the civil magistrate against them, for he professed himself a friend to universal toleration in regard to faith and worship.

From the manner in which he treated his subject throughout the essay, and more especially from some observations near the close, it appears that he entertained some apprehension that efforts were then about being made, near the court, to re-introduce the popish religion in its ancient splendour, into England. The history of that time, appears now to prove the position that the establishment of popery and arbitrary power, were the great objects of the policy pursued by Charles and James. As an antidote to the lurking poi-

* It may appear to some readers, that William Penn was unreasonably severe upon the Vice-chancellor, and that the misconduct of the students was not properly chargeable on him. But we find that this man was an active persecutor of the non-conformists, and about this time so far degraded his own character and station, as to employ an unprincipled fellow to travel about the country, and under the assumed character of a religious professor, insinuate himself into the company and confidence of the various dissenters, for the purpose of subjecting them to the penalties prescribed by the persecuting laws of the time. This man thrust himself upon a Friend, under the assumed character of a Quaker, but was suspected and dismissed unentertained. He afterwards insinuated himself into the favour of the Baptists, and drew one of them, who was a man of reputation, into some incautious remarks upon the severity of the times. He then impeached him with having spoken treasonable words, and brought this honest man into danger of losing both his estate and his life. From this danger he was happily delivered by the opportune discovery of some vicious conduct which the prosecutor had practised elsewhere, on account of which he fled from the court and country. A Vice-chancellor of Oxford, who could employ such characters to effect his purposes, could expect but little deference from a man of William Penn's principles and understanding. See Gough's Hist. Vol. II. page 304.

son of popery, this pamphlet would appear to have been written.

The doctrines and practice of the Romish church, are exposed with great freedom and severity. The inconsistency of many of their tenets, with the testimony of Scripture, with right reason, with the opinions of the early Christians, and with each other, are clearly pointed out; and the gross immorality of the clergy, unceremoniously condemned. If we had no other evidence in the case, the publication of this tract would be amply sufficient to refute the calumny of the author being a concealed Papist. The sentiments more than once expressed in this essay, that he did not wish to excite the civil magistrate against them, but was in favour of universal toleration, was quite consistent with his uniform declarations, and what is more to the purpose, with his practice when he was afterwards invested with power.

About the end of the year, it appears he returned to London; and on the 5th of the twelfth month, attended a meeting in Wheeler street. Sir John Robinson, lieutenant of the tower, having obtained information of his prospect, sent a sergeant with a file of soldiers to take him. They took their station near the door, where they waited until William Penn stood up and began to preach, when the sergeant pulled him down, and led him to the door. There a constable and his assistants were standing ready to join him, and they conveyed their prisoner to the tower and set a guard over him. In the evening he was taken before the lieutenant for examination. This John Robinson, we may remember, was one of the members of the bench at the trial of William Penn and William Mead, about three months before, at the Old Bailey. At the time of this examination, there were present, in company with the lieutenant, Sir Samuel Starling, Sir John Sheldon and others.

When the examination commenced, John Robinson inquired his name, pretending he did not know him, notwithstanding their recent acquaintance at the Old Bailey, and the glaring fact that he had a mittimus already prepared, with his name inserted. When they were about to prove, by the oaths of the constables, that he had been taken at a meeting, he requested that the oath might not be administered, for he freely acknowledged he was at the meeting at Wheeler street, and spoke to the people there. The oath however was administered, and the testimony obtained was to the same import as his own acknowledgment; for though the witnesses testified that he was speaking to the people, they could not be induced to declare that the assembly was an *unlawful* one. This appears to have disconcerted Robinson, for he then told William Penn, that he knew the law, and knew that these things were contrary to law, without attempting to explain what laws were violated. William Penn, concluding that the late Conventicle act was the one which he was supposed to have broken, began to explain to the company his reasons for believing that act was not applicable to his case; but John Robinson informed him they were not going to try him upon that act, but upon one passed in 1665, usually called the Oxford act, because the parliament were sitting at Oxford when it was enacted, having removed thither on account of the plague. This act, in its terms, applied to "parsons and others, in holy orders, who had not subscribed the act of uniformity, and yet had taken upon them to preach, in unlawful assemblies, and to instil the poisonous principles of schism and rebellion, in the hearts of his majesty's subjects, to the church and kingdom;" and required that all such non-conformist ministers should take an oath of a prescribed form. In case of refusal to take the oath, they were subjected to certain disabilities, under heavy forfeitures. Any two justices of peace, upon oath made before them of *any offence committed against the act*, were empowered to commit the offender to prison for six months.

William Penn immediately showed them, that the Oxford act did not apply to him, for he had never been in orders at all. John Robinson however, ordered the oath to be read, and inquired whether he would take it or not. He replied, that he was conscientiously restrained from doing all that he was required by the oath to engage not to do, and therefore the oath was to him entirely needless. He informed them that his refusal to swear was not on account of the matter contained in the oath; but was founded on better reasons than they could give for urging him to swear. In the course of the examination, John Robinson told him, he had been as bad as others; on which William Penn demanded of him, when and where. He replied, abroad and at home too. To which William Penn returned the following energetic reply: "I make this bold challenge to all men, women and children upon earth, justly to accuse me with ever having seen me drunk, heard me swear, utter a curse, or speak one obscene word, much less that I ever made it my practice. I speak this to God's glory, who has ever preserved me from the power of these pollutions, and who from a child begot an hatred in me towards them. But there is nothing more common, when men are of a more severe life than ordinary, than for loose persons to comfort themselves with the conceit,

that they were once as they are. Thy words shall be thy burden, and I trample thy slander as dirt under my feet." The following dialogue then ensued.

John Robinson.—Well, Mr. Penn, I have no ill-will towards you; your father was my friend, and I have a great regard for you.

William Penn.—But thou hast an ill way of expressing it. You are grown too high to consider the plea of those you call your forefathers, for liberty of conscience against the Papists, Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Bradford, &c. It was then plea good enough; my conscience won't let me go to mass, and my conscience wills that I should have an English Testament. But that single plea for separation, then reasonable, is now by you, that pretend to succeed them, adjudged unreasonable and factious. I say, since the only just cause of the first revolt from Rome, was a dissatisfaction in point of conscience, you cannot reasonably persecute others who have a right to the same plea, and allow that to be warrantable.

J. Robinson.—But you do nothing but stir up the people to sedition, and there was one of your friends that told me, you preached sedition and meddle with the government.

W. Penn.—We have the unhappiness to be misrepresented, and I am not the least concerned therein. Bring me the man that will dare to justify this accusation to my face; and if I am not able to make it appear that it is both my practice and all my friends, to instil principles of peace and moderation, and only to war against spiritual wickedness, that all men may be brought to fear God and work righteousness, I shall contentedly undergo the severest punishment all your laws can expose me to. And as for the king, I make this offer, that if any living can make it appear, directly or indirectly, from the time I have been called a Quaker, since from thence that you date me seditious, I have contrived or acted any thing injurious to his person, or the English government, I shall submit my person to your utmost cruelties and esteem them all but a just recompense. It is hard, that I, being innocent, should be reputed guilty; but the will of God be done: I accept of bad report as well as good.

J. Robinson.—Well, I must send you to Newgate for six months, and when they are expired, you will come out.

W. Penn.—Is that all? Thou knowest a larger imprisonment has not daunted me: I accept it at the hand of the Lord, and am contented to suffer his will. Alas! you mistake your interest, you will miss your aim; this is not the way to compass your ends.

J. Robinson.—You bring yourself into trouble, you will be heading of parties, and drawing people after you.

W. Penn.—Thou mistakest, there is no such way as this to render men remarkable. You are angry that I am considerable, and yet you take the very way to make me so, by making this bustle and stir about a peaceable person.

J. Robinson.—I wish your adhering to these things do not convert you to something at last.

W. Penn.—I would have thee and all men to know, that I scorn that religion which is not worth suffering for, and able to sustain those that are afflicted for it. Mine is, and whatever may be my lot for my constant profession of it, I am no ways careful, but resigned to answer the will of God, by the loss of goods, liberty and life itself. When you have all, you can have no more, and then perhaps you will be contented, and by that you will be better informed of our innocency. Thy religion persecutes, mine forgives: and I desire my God to forgive you all that are concerned in my commitment, and I leave you all in perfect charity, wishing you eternal salvation.

He was then sent to Newgate, to expiate, by a six months' imprisonment, the offence of preaching the Gospel to his brethren, and refusing to disobey the commandment of Christ.

His imprisonment in this case, though not so manifestly illegal as the former one, was certainly unauthorized by the act upon which it was ostensibly founded. It however, does not appear, that he adopted any legal course to procure his discharge, but waited patiently till the time of his confinement expired.

CHAPTER V.

William Penn did not permit the time of his imprisonment to be lost to himself or the community; but wrote several tracts, chiefly of a religious character, which were soon afterwards given to the world.

The first of these is intitled, "The great case of Liberty of Conscience, once more briefly debated, and defended by the authority of reason, Scripture, and antiquity."

The first part of this tract consists of an Address to the supreme authority of England, dated the next day but one after his commitment. In this Address, he gave a rapid sketch of the sufferings which Friends had endured within the last ten years, which we may observe, was the time since king Charles' restoration, the expectation which had been entertained that the liberty of conscience, so frequently promised, would be granted, and the continued disappointment

which they had experienced. He attributed the oppressions which they suffered, in part, to a want of correct information respecting them and their principles, and requested that a conference might be granted them, in order that the points, in which their opinions were deemed unfavourable to the maintenance of government, might be freely examined and understood. He expressed a belief, that if such a conference as he desired, was allowed them, they would be able to evince the consistency of their doctrines with the peace of the country, and that the toleration for which he argued, would be fully compatible with prudence as well as with Christian benevolence. And finally, if this offer should be disregarded, and persecution continue to be their portion, he expressed a hope, that they would be divinely supported, and enabled, by patient endurance, to weary out their persecutors and obtain a victory more glorious than their adversaries could achieve by all their cruelties.

The tract is divided into six chapters.

In the first, he lays down the proposition, that imposition, restraint and persecution for conscience sake, invade the Divine prerogative, the Almighty alone having a right to control conscience.

In the second, that they are inconsistent with the Christian religion.

In the third, that they oppose the plainest testimonies of Divine writ, which condemn all force upon conscience.

In the fourth, that they are enemies to the privilege of nature.

In the fifth, that they carry a contradiction to government.

In the sixth, that they reflect upon the sense and practice of the wisest, greatest, and best states, and persons of ancient and modern times, as of the Jews, Romans, Egyptians, Germans, French, Hollanders, nay, Turks and Persians also.

These propositions are argued with great clearness and force. The reasons advanced by the early Protestants for separating themselves from the Romish church, are shown to be equally applicable to the case before us. The absurdity as well as impiety, of applying pains and penalties to correct the errors of the understanding, and the scandal which the persecution of one set of Protestants by another, must occasion among the Roman Catholics, are pointed out; and the wisdom of toleration, enforced by quotations from numerous writers, ancient and modern.

The dissertation is closed in these words:

To conclude, "liberty of conscience, as thus stated and defended, we ask as our undoubted right by the law of God, of nature, and of our own country; it has been often promised, we have long waited for it, we have written much, and suffered in its defence, and have made many true complaints, but found little or no redress.

"However, we take the righteous, holy God to record against all objections, that are ignorantly or designedly raised against us, that

"1st, We hold no principle destructive of the English government.

"2nd, We plead for no such dissenter, if such an one there be.

"3d, We desire the temporal and eternal happiness of all persons, in submission to the Divine will of God, heartily forgiving our cruel persecutors.

"4th and lastly, We shall engage, by God's assistance, to lead peaceable, just, and industrious lives amongst men, to the good and example of all.

"But, if after all we have said, this short discourse should not be credited, nor answered in any of its sober reasons and requests, but sufferings should be the present lot of our inheritance from this generation, be it known to them all, That meet we must, and meet we cannot but encourage all to do, whatsoever hardship we sustain, in God's name and authority who is Lord of hosts and King of kings, at the revelation of whose righteous judgments, and glorious tribunal, mortal men shall render an account of the deeds done in the body; and whatever the apprehensions of such may be, concerning this discourse, it was written in love, and from a true sense of the present state of things; and time and the event, will vindicate it from untruth. In the mean while, it is matter of great satisfaction to the author, that he has so plainly cleared his conscience, in pleading for the liberty of other men's, and publicly borne his honest testimony for God, not out of season to his poor country."

As the recent act of parliament under which Friends had been prosecuted, for attending their religious meetings, was, according to the terms of it, an act to *prevent and suppress seditious conventicles*, and the object of the act, as stated in the preamble was, to provide remedies against the dangerous practices of seditious sectaries and other disloyal persons; and further, as the meetings which were prohibited by that act, were those which were held *under colour or pretence of* religion, William Penn subjoined to the preceding tract a postscript, showing by an examination of the correct and legal meaning of those terms, that the act did not apply to the meetings of Friends. They were not seditious, that is, productive of strife and debate, or dangerous to the government.

They were not conventicles, that is, diminutive secret assemblies, contriving or designing evil against the government or against particular persons, but large assemblies, and open to public view.

They were not sectaries; separatists from the body of Truth, and adherents to strange and unsound opinions. Neither did they convene to plot and conspire, *under colour and pretence* of religion, but in deed and in truth for the worship of God.

Hence, as the ingredients which constitute the kind of assemblies described in the act, were wanting in the meetings of Friends, the extension of its penalties to them was a perversion and misapplication of law. This postscript serves to explain and vindicate the declaration which he made on his trial at the Old Bailey, that he had broken no law.

A second tract was entitled "Truth rescued from Imposture," being a reply to a pretended answer to the account of the trial of William Penn and William Mead, then just published. This answer contained among other misrepresentations, a number of severe reflections on the late Admiral Penn. The reply refutes those calumnies, and vindicates the character of the author's father; at the same time that it testifies against the employment in which a large portion of his time was spent.

A third tract was "A Cautionary Postscript," to his first publication, called "Truth Exalted," which was very short, but contained a solemn warning to the people of England, and an encouraging address to such as believed in Christ Jesus, the true Light, were walking in the daily cross, and through good report and evil report, were journeying towards an everlasting inheritance.

A fourth tract was, "A serious Apology for the principles and practices of the people called Quakers," in reply to the aspersions of Thomas Jenner and Timothy Taylor, in their book called "Quakerism Anatomized." This answer is said to have been generally acceptable.

In explanation of the doctrine of Friends on the subject of immediate revelation, we take the following from this work.

"First, By revelation, we understand the discovery and illumination of the light and spirit of God, relating to those things that properly and immediately concern the daily information and satisfaction of our souls in the way of our duty to Him and to our neighbour.

"Second, We renounce all fantastical and whimsical intoxications, or any pretence to the revelation of new matter, in opposition to the ancient Gospel, declared by Christ Jesus and his apostles; and therefore not the revelation of new things, but the renewed revelation of the eternal way of Truth.

"Third, That this revelation is the life, virtue, condition, and very soul of the Gospel and second covenant.

"Fourth, That none oppose this but such as the god of this world has blinded, and that through their ignorance of the spirituality of the evangelical dispensation are, whilst they pretend to be under it, sticklers for a more embondaged state, than that of the ancient Jews."

On the subject of the primary rule of life, he says,

"Methinks this, our demonstration, should satisfy all: when neither man nor Scriptures are near us; yet there continually attends us, that Spirit of Truth, which immediately informs us of our thoughts, words and deeds, and gives us true directions what to do and what to leave undone. Is not this the rule of life? If ye are led by the spirit of God, then are ye sons of God. Let this suffice to vindicate our sense of a true and unerring rule, which we assert not in a way of derogation from those holy writings, which with reverence we read, believe, and desire always to obey the mind and will of God, therein contained; and let that doctrine be accursed that would overturn them."

To the charge that Friends were displeased with others for observing times, days and hours, he says,

"If by set times he means, days set apart, not as more intrinsically sacred, or in themselves more holy than others, but only to assemble upon, to wait upon God, and receive of his heavenly benefits, we are so far from being destitute of them, that as it is impossible for us to perform an action without time, so have we distinct days and times we meet upon, well known throughout the world, where any of us do inhabit. In this sense we cannot be obnoxious; for it is perfect matter of fact, that in that sense we allow of days and times. But as to consecrated days and times, and the superstitious observation of them, as if the holiness of the day called loudly on us for our particular devotion, as being this or the other saints', and not that our devotion rather required a time to be performed in; this we are displeased with, and boldly testify against, as beggarly and Jewish. What said the apostle, urged by his godly jealousy, to the Gallatians? 'But now after ye have known God, or rather are known of God, how turn ye again to the weak and beggarly elements, whereunto ye desire again to be in bondage? Ye observe days and months, and times and years. I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you

labour in vain.' Which is defence enough for us; for if the apostle said it, the Holy Ghost said it; and we are sure, whoever require or practise any thing contrary to this reproof, they are great strangers to the liberty of the Gospel, being yet in bondage to the beggarly elements of weak and antichristian dispensations; for such implicitly deny him [Christ] to be come in the flesh, that hath put an end to them all, who is the everlasting rest and sabbath to his people."

"In short, I do declare, that though we utterly renounce all special and moral holiness in times and days, yet we both believe it requisite that time be set apart for the worship of the Almighty, and are also every where found in the diligent practice of the same. And howbeit we cannot own so strict an institution as to sabbatize the first-day, or that it has any holiness inherent to it, yet as taking the primitive saints for an example, with godly reverence we constantly assemble upon it.

"His charge of our denying family duties, is equally false with all the rest; for we know it is our duty, and it is also our practice, to retire from our external affairs and wait upon the Lord every day, that we may receive strength from him, and feel his heavenly peace and blessing to descend upon us, at our rising up and lying down; that so to Him, over and above all visible things, honour and praise may be returned, who is worthy for ever."

In the sixth chapter he says;

"I am constrained, for the sake of the simple-hearted, to publish to the world, of our faith in God, Christ and the holy Spirit.

"We do believe in one only holy God Almighty, who is an eternal Spirit, the Creator of all things.

"And in one Lord Jesus Christ, his only Son, and express image of his substance, who took upon him flesh, and was in the world; and in life, doctrine, miracles, death, resurrection, ascension and mediation, perfectly did and does continue to do the will of God; to whose holy life, power, mediation and blood, we only ascribe our sanctification, justification, redemption and perfect salvation.

"And we believe in one holy Spirit, that proceeds and breathes from the Father and the Son, a measure of which is given to all to profit with; and he that has one, has all; for those Three are One, who is the Alpha and Omega, the First and the Last, God over all, blessed for ever, Amen."

Being informed that the parliament had it in contemplation, to make some addition to the act for suppressing seditious conventicles, which would be likely to subject Friends and other conscientious dissenters to great imposition and abuse, he prepared an address "to the high court of parliament," stating the injustice already occasioned by the existing law; the plunderings and ruin to which many families had been subjected, the sufferings of the poor, the widows and the fatherless, in consequence of it, and the apprehension which he entertained of the consequences likely to follow the proposed supplementary enactments. To show the injustice of subjecting Friends to the operation of such oppressive laws, he declared;

First, That they owned civil government as an ordinance of God, for the punishment of evil doers and the praise of them that do well; and although they could not comply with those laws, which prohibited them from worshiping God according to their consciences, because they believed it to be his prerogative alone to preside in matters of faith and worship, yet they were ready to yield obedience to every ordinance of man, relating to human affairs, and that for conscience sake.

Secondly, That they renounced as horrible impiety, all plots and conspiracies for the promotion of religion or their own interest, by the blood of those who dissented from them, or even of those who persecuted them.

Thirdly, That in all the revolutions which had taken place, notwithstanding the injuries Friends had suffered from cruel and ungodly men, they had conducted themselves in a pacific manner, and thus given a practical demonstration of the peaceableness of their principles.

Fourthly, That as Friends had always lived peaceably under the various governments which had existed since their first appearance, notwithstanding the injuries they had suffered, so it was their fixed resolution to continue in the same practice; and when they could not actively obey, they should patiently suffer, leaving their cause to God, and thus manifesting to the world, that they loved him above all, and their neighbours as themselves.

Finally, he requested that if the parliament should not abandon their intention of reinforcing their former act, they would permit the subscribers or some other Friends to explain to them, the many important reasons they had to offer against such severe proceedings. And he intimated a hope that the parliament, upon becoming better informed respecting them and their principles, would remove the burdens under which they were labouring. This address was signed by William Penn and several others, who were then prisoners at Newgate.

The sheriffs of London for that year, being men of moderation, William Penn wrote to them, acknowledging the kindness which Friends had received at their hands, and ac-

quainting them with the rude and savage conduct of some of the keepers at Newgate.

A Roman Catholic having written him a letter, in which he manifested considerable warmth, on account of what was contained in his "Seasonable caveat against Popery," William Penn wrote him a calm and dignified reply from his Newgate residence.

In these employments the time of his confinement passed away, and at the expiration of the six months he was released. It appears, that soon after, he visited Holland and some parts of Germany, in the capacity of a minister of the Gospel; but of these labours or the fruits of them we have no particular account.

In the spring of this year, king Charles issued a proclamation, suspending the execution of all the penal laws, against non-conformists. This act is attributed, by historians, to a wish to favour the Roman Catholics, and was considered as a stretch of prerogative. Its practical effect, however, was very favourable to Friends, near five hundred of them, who had been imprisoned upon a premunire and some who had been detained several years, being set at liberty, and the rage of persecution was checked for a time.

CHAPTER VI.

In the beginning of 1672, being then in the twenty-eighth year of his age, William Penn was married to Gulielma Maria Springett, the posthumous daughter of Sir William Springett, who lost his life in the war between king and parliament, in the time of Charles I. His widow was afterwards married to Isaac Pennington. While this daughter was yet young, the family were convinced of the principles of Friends, and became valuable members of the Society. Gulielma was a pious young woman, of amiable manners and highly accomplished. After their marriage, they took up their residence at Rickmansworth, in Hertfordshire.

His marriage, and the consequent cares of a family, did not prevent the exercise of his ministerial gift, for besides the attendance of meetings in his own neighbourhood, he visited Friends in the course of the year, in Kent, Sussex and Surry. His labours in this journey were to general edification, contributing to strengthen Friends and silence opposers, and he and his companions were filled in the performance of this duty with spiritual consolation. He closes his narrative of the journey in the following manner: "The Lord sealed up our labours and travels according to the desire of my soul and spirit, with his heavenly refreshments and sweet living power and word of life, unto the reaching of all, and consoling our own hearts abundantly. Thus hath the Lord been with us in all our travels for his Truth, and with his blessings of peace are we returned, which is a reward beyond all worldly treasures."

In the ninth month of this year, being at home, he wrote a letter to Dr. Hasbert, a physician at Embden, with whom it appears he had become acquainted when he was in that country, cautioning him against taking his rest in a profession of religion, without the experience of its effectual and purifying operation in his own mind, and exhorting him to attend to the teachings of the spirit of Truth in his heart; that by living in the cross, not only to the sins, but also to the righteousness and judgment of the world, he might come to inherit glory, immortality and eternal life.

The sunshine of royal indulgence soon brought from their places of retreat, some of those dissenters who kept out of sight while the storm was spreading its rage on the heads of others. The persecuting laws, which together with the barbarous manner of their execution, have stamped an indelible stigma upon the reign of Charles II., were probably designed by their authors to crush the Presbyterians and Independents, on account of their political opposition to the dominant party. Yet as the religion of many of these people was abundantly more pliable than that embraced by William Penn and his fellow professors, the burden of persecution fell principally, though not wholly on the latter. Their unflinching support of their religious meetings and their constant refusal to take the oaths required of them, furnished employment and plunder for the harpies of the law. Besides, as it was vain to expect a general conformity to the religion of the court among the dissenters at large, while there was one society which openly refused to mould its doctrines or worship to the opinions of the Episcopal church, the principal efforts of the established clergy appear to have been directed to their suppression, from a conviction, that if they were once removed out of the way, the other dissenters would be likely to yield with more facility. But while they thus weathered the storm and sheltered the heads of other dissenters, Friends could not fail to attract the attention of the more sober and considerate class, and a religion which was found capable of supporting its professors under such sufferings as were cast upon them, was very likely to gain proselytes among those who were witnesses of their constancy. Thus the firmness and faithfulness of Friends, carried conviction to the minds of many religiously disposed persons of that day, who were induced to abandon the societies to which they belonged, and unite in fellowship

with them. This sometimes roused the zeal of their former teachers, and occasioned repeated attacks upon the principles and characters of Friends. One of those teachers, about this time published anonymously, a tract called the "Spirit of the Quakers Tried," which brought William Penn again before the public in a reply, entitled the "Spirit of Truth Vindicated."

John Reeve and Lodowick Muggleton, who professed to have been favoured with extraordinary revelations, having excited considerable attention, and drawn a number of people after them, William Penn wrote a tract, in the autumn of this year, detecting and exposing the impostures of these pretended prophets, under the title of the "New Witnesses proved old hereticks." A copy of this treatise was sent by the author to Muggleton, with a letter, severely rebuking him for his presumptuous profession, and exhorting him to repentance, if haply he might yet find forgiveness from an offended God.

John Morse, an Anabaptist preacher of Watford, having published some reflections against the Society of Friends in general and William Penn in particular, he wrote a reply entitled, "Plain dealing with a Traducing Anabaptist."

"Controversy Ended," soon followed, which was the production of Henry Hedworth, another preacher, and which was of a similar stamp with the former. His answer to this was entitled, "A Winding-sheet for Controversy Ended."

John Faldo, an Independent preacher, near Barnet, finding that some of his hearers had united with Friends, was greatly incensed, and gave vent to his displeasure, by writing and publishing a book, entitled "Quakerism no Christianity." To this William Penn wrote a reply, with the title, "Quakerism a new nickname for old Christianity." John Faldo soon after published a Vindication of his former production, which was followed on the part of William Penn, by a rejoinder, styled the "Invalidity of John Faldo's Vindication." In the following year, John Faldo repeated his attack, and William Penn returned a reply, which closed the contest between them.

As these tracts, elicited by John Faldo's attack, form collectively a considerable work, being more than two hundred pages in the folio edition of our author's writings, a brief analysis of them, may probably be acceptable to my readers.

Our author begins by expressing his regret that the predictions of some, who are not friendly to the dissenters, that if tolerated by the government, they would quarrel among themselves, should be so amply verified by this assault upon them. The declared wish of Friends was to live peaceably with all men, but when thus assailed, silence might be construed as an evidence of incompetency to defend their principles. This defence, is therefore a necessary vindication of their doctrines and characters.

He then lays down the doctrine, that although it pleased God, at the opening of the Christian dispensation, to send his Son, a light into the world, yet he was in degree spiritually manifested in all ages, as the Word of God nigh in the heart, and that they who believed in and obeyed Him, obtained remission of sins and eternal salvation. Thus Christ was the Rock which followed Israel, and whose day Abraham saw and was glad. That Christianity is not a mere historical belief of the outward acts which Christ performed in his bodily appearance, but a firm belief in Him that so appeared, had died, rose and ascended, both as testified in the Scriptures of Truth, and as he breaks in upon the soul by his divine discoveries, as the true light enlightening every man.

The testimony of Friends to the divine light or manifestation of the spirit of Jesus Christ in the soul, having been made an occasion to charge them with denying his outward manifestation, the falsehood of this charge is proved, and it is shown, that the latter being universally admitted, while the former was either overlooked or denied, by many of the professors of Christianity, Friends have been specially called to bear testimony to the inward and spiritual appearance of Christ to the soul, a measure of whose spirit is given to all, reproving the unfruitful works of darkness, and leading to a true knowledge of the way of life and salvation.

Christianity having been introduced into the world more than sixteen hundred years before that time, and Quakerism only about the middle of that century, John Faldo infers that the latter is not Christianity; but William Penn shows that the same argument would unchristianize him and all the modern dissenters, and that the revival of the ancient doctrines of Christianity after a long night of apostacy, is no evidence of a new religion.

John Faldo advances the charge, that the Quakers deny the Scriptures, which, upon a little examination, is found to mean nothing more than that they do not admit that they are the Word of God. In explanation of this charge, it is declared that Friends believe the Scriptures to be the words of God, and a declaration of the mind and will of God to those ages in which they were written; that they were given forth by the holy Spirit, moving upon the minds of holy men, and that they ought to be read and believed in the present day, being profitable for doctrine, for reproof,

for correction, for instruction in righteousness; but that the Scriptures apply the term, *the Word, or Word of God*, to Christ and not to themselves. Friends, therefore, apply that term only to Christ Jesus, the living, all-powerful and quickening Word, by which God vouchsafes to disclose his will to man.

To John Faldo's charge, that the Quakers deny the Scriptures to be the primary and principal rule of faith, it is answered, that the Spirit from which the Scriptures emanated, are the primary and proper rule of faith; even the grace of God in the soul of man, of which the Scriptures testify. Yet that the Quakers utterly reject all such as deny the Scriptures to be profitable for doctrine, for reproof, instruction and edification; earnestly contending, *not against the Scriptures*, but for that living experimental knowledge of them, which those witness who are truly taught and led by the Spirit.

To the charge that the Quakers deny a Gospel church, he answers, we believe there is one and but one universal church, the pillar and ground of Truth, and that it is in God, anchored, established and built upon the Rock of ages, and foundation of many generations. And as such, neither is every visible society, making profession of religion nor all of them together, that church; but such alone as are washed in the blood of the Lamb, and engrafted into the true Vine, bringing forth the fruits of holiness, to the honour, glory and renown of Christ the Head, who is over all God blessed for ever.

In regard to preaching and prayer, on which some singular charges had been made, our author declares that Friends believe and preach no other doctrines, than what are contained in the Scriptures. That the true Gospel ministers are called by Christ Jesus, and anointed by him for his own work; and that acceptable prayer is only from the motions of the Spirit of God in the heart.

On the subject of baptism and the supper, our author proves, that the baptism enjoined by our Lord in his final charge to the disciples, was not with water, but with the Spirit; and that those who experience a spiritual communion with the Father and the Son, have attained the substance, of which the bread and wine were a figure.

John Faldo having charged Friends with denying that the actions of Jesus Christ in the flesh had any influence in procuring our justification before God and our salvation; William Penn replies, that justification in Scripture language has a two-fold meaning, viz: remission or non-imputation of sin, upon repentance and faith in the promise of God; and purification of heart, an inward and real righteousness. And that Christ was and is God's free gift, by whom alone remission, justification and eternal salvation can be obtained; and that faith in him, as to his visible appearance, works and death in the world, and obedience to his teachings and leadings by his Spirit in the heart, are necessary.

One of John Faldo's last charges, exhibited in his "Quakerism no Christianity," is that the Quakers do not profess a belief in future rewards. To this William Penn returns a positive denial, and challenges his opponent to name one acknowledged member of the Society, who has ever made such a declaration. The subsequent strictures on the writings of John Faldo, consist chiefly of further explanations of the subjects embraced in the preceding analysis.

About the same time, Henry Hallywell published a work, entitled "An account of Familism, as it is revived and propagated by the Quakers," in which he asserted, that their doctrines were destructive, both of civil government and religion. This drew a reply from William Penn, under the title of "Wisdom justified of her Children," in which the errors and misrepresentations of the assailant are clearly exposed, and the doctrines of Friends on the several points which were drawn into controversy, successfully vindicated.

In the fourth month, 1673, we find William Penn, in company with his wife and George Whitehead, attending the meetings of Friends at Bristol; but of this journey no particular account remains.

His time appears to have been chiefly occupied in writing; and indeed, the works produced by his pen, in this and the following year, were quite enough to engross the time of a man of ordinary industry.

Thomas Hicks, a preacher among the Baptists of London, was among the number of those who laboured to render the Society of Friends, and the principles which they held, odious in the sight of the people of that day. He published a pamphlet, called "A Dialogue between a Christian and a Quaker," so artfully managed, that an incautious reader might readily suppose this pretended dialogue a real one. Having both sides of the controversy to manage, he took care to make his pseudo-quaker talk in a very weak and ridiculous manner, and utter opinions grossly erroneous and objectionable; so that such readers as mistook the caricature for a true portrait of the principles of Friends, could not fail to entertain very unfavourable opinions respecting them. Upon the appearance of this pamphlet, William Penn wrote the first part of his "Christian Quaker, and his Divine Testimony Vindicated."

The object of this work is principally to explain and vindicate the doctrine of the Light of Christ being manifested in the hearts of all men, as the root and spring of Divine life in the soul, to those who receive and obey it, which is a distinguishing characteristic of the faith and testimony of the people called Quakers. The salvation to which this Divine light leads its followers, is shown to be a redemption from sin here, and from its consequence, wrath to come. This light comes from Christ, the Sun of Righteousness, who enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world, and leadeth those that obey him, to eternal salvation. It convinces of sin, and leads those who obey it, out of all sin; and the reason that all mankind are not led by it into righteousness is, that all are not obedient to it. This light was dispensed, though in a much less degree, before the appearance of Christ in the flesh; and the Gentiles as well as the Jews, were favoured with it. He also shows the harmony of this doctrine with the other great fundamental principles of the Gospel; as the divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, his mediation, &c., and the propitiatory sacrifice which he made on the cross for the sins of all mankind. Such are the leading doctrines of the work, and they are illustrated and enforced by numerous arguments, drawn from Scripture and the writings of a number of ancient authors. But the work of Thomas Hicks is not, I believe, any where mentioned in it, though his misrepresentations were obviated.

It was not long until a second pamphlet from the same author, was given to the world, under the character of the "Dialogue Continued," in which he reiterated the false accusations against the Quakers; but the "Christian Quaker," was not noticed.

William Penn soon made a direct reply to these pretended dialogues, under the title of "Reason against Railing, and Truth against Fiction."

In this, he first points out the unfairness of their assailant, manifested by making his pseudo-quaker deliver sentiments which Friends had never uttered, instead of making them express their real opinions, and then refuting them if he could. He next shows, that where unsound doctrines are professedly deduced from the declarations of Friends, their meaning has been perverted. He afterwards proceeds to vindicate the sufficiency of the Divine light in the heart of man, to lead in the way of life and salvation, and to show, in opposition to the objections of his opponent, that the degeneracy of man in faith and worship, is no evidence of the insufficiency of this Divine light; and that an argument against its sufficiency, derived from this consideration, would be equally available to show, that the Scriptures and all other means divinely afforded for the salvation of man, are inadequate to their object. Neither can it be fairly inferred, that because other means, promotive of the same end, have been dispensed to us, the Divine light is insufficient. The acknowledgment of Christ Jesus, as the light and life of man, does not lead to a denial of his appearance and work in the prepared body, nor of the important benefits conferred upon mankind, by what he performed and suffered in that outward manifestation, but confirms them; yet the work of man's salvation is pre-eminently to be ascribed to the Word which was in the beginning with God, which is God, and likewise, the light and life of men. This Divine teacher and Word of life, is proved to be the primary rule and guide of saving faith. The doctrine of justification by an imputed righteousness, without actual purification from sin, is refuted, and its dangerous tendency exposed. Thomas Hicks charged Friends with denying the resurrection of the dead and eternal recompense, because George Whitehead had quoted the saying of the apostle, "Thou fool, the body which thou sowest is not the body which shall be, but God giveth it a body as it pleaseth him." To which William Penn replies, that we acknowledge a resurrection in order to eternal recompense, and rest contented with the body which it shall please God to give us, without vainly inquiring what body that shall be.

Of this tract, as of many other controversial writings of that day, it may be justly observed, that there is more severity of language than we should now consider becoming a defence of the doctrines of a meek and crucified Saviour. But in forming a judgment upon this subject, we ought not to overlook the manners of the times. The period in which these works appeared, was one in which strong emotions were not unfrequently expressed in corresponding language. And the sincerity, which was a remarkable characteristic of our primitive Friends, naturally led them to express their sentiments without disguise or concealment. It may also be remembered, that if their language was sometimes harsh, their actions appear to have been uniformly inoffensive.

Thomas Hicks, not yet satisfied, issued a third pamphlet as a further continuation of the dialogue, which drew from William Penn another reply, entitled "The Counterfeit Christian detected, and the real Quaker justified." This tract consists principally of the exposure of Thomas Hicks' perversions, either of the words or meaning of those passages in his

writings or those of other Friends, which he professed to quote. To this Thomas Hicks made no reply. The controversy however did not end here. Thomas Hicks had made so many misrepresentations of the character and principles of Friends, and particularly of William Penn and George Whitehead, that a complaint against him was presented to his fellow professors, in and about London. A meeting was, in consequence, appointed to be held in one of their houses, avowedly for the purpose of examining into the truth of the charges which were exhibited against him. But the time of this meeting was fixed, either from accident or design, when both William Penn and George Whitehead were absent, on a religious visit to a distant part of the island. When notice of the intended meeting was left at their lodgings Friends informed the Baptists that they were too far from the city to obtain intelligence, either by letter or express, in time to attend the meeting, and requested its postponement until they could be present. This request was not granted, but a large attendance of those who were favourable to Hicks was obtained, and but few of those who could expose his calumnious charges being present, he was readily acquitted.

When William Penn returned to London, he laid his complaint of these partial proceedings before the public, and demanded another meeting of the Baptists, in order that the complaint of Friends might be heard. To this demand, after considerable opposition and delay, they assented, and a meeting was appointed to be held in their own house at Barbican, London.

When the parties met, Thomas Ellwood undertook to read the charges against Thomas Hicks, which, not without considerable difficulty, he at length effected. But instead of entering upon an examination of those charges, the Baptists commenced an attack upon William Penn's "Christian Quaker." As William Penn in that work, as well as others, advanced and maintained the Scriptural doctrine, that the Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, is Christ; they took occasion to infer from thence, that he, and therefore the Society of Friends, denied his manhood, and consequently were no Christians. Friends were therefore drawn into a discussion of that question. The principal disputants on the side of the Baptists, were Thomas Hicks and Jeremy Ives, and on the part of Friends, William Penn, George Whitehead, and George Keith.

It may perhaps be interesting to some of my readers, to see a specimen of the manner in which the opponents of Friends in that day, attempted to unchristianize the Society. The prevailing mode of conducting polemic discussions, at that time, was to reduce the propositions which were intended to be established, into syllogisms, and much of the skill displayed in argument, consisted in the facility of reducing propositions to that form.

Thomas Hicks appears to have commenced the dispute with this argument:

They that deny the Lord's Christ are no Christians.

But the Quakers deny the Lord's Christ.

Therefore they are no Christians.

To this William Penn returned, "I deny the minor, viz. that the Quakers deny the Lord's Christ."

Thomas Hicks replied, They that deny Christ to be a distinct person without them, deny the Lord's Christ; but the Quakers deny Christ to be a distinct person without them, therefore the Quakers deny the Lord's Christ.

William Penn then desired, that Thomas Hicks would explain what he meant by the term *person;* to which he answered, that he meant the man Christ Jesus. William Penn then replied, "I deny the minor, viz. that we deny the man Christ Jesus."

Thomas Hicks replied, "I prove that ye deny the man Christ Jesus: one of your writers asserts, that Christ was never seen with carnal eyes, nor heard with carnal ears." From which Jeremy Ives framed a syllogism. "He that denies that Christ was ever seen with carnal eyes, denies the Lord's Christ, but the Quakers deny that Christ was ever seen with carnal eyes; therefore the Quakers deny the Lord's Christ."

George Keith then replied, that Christ, as God, was never seen with carnal eyes; but as man he was.

Ives replied, But he was Christ as he was man; how then was not Christ seen with carnal eyes?

George Keith rejoined, "We are to consider that the terms Jesus Christ are sometimes applied to him as God, and sometimes as man; yea sometimes to the very body of Jesus: but the question is, whether those names more properly, immediately and originally belong to him as God, as he was before he took the manhood upon him; or to the manhood? We affirm, that those names are given to him most properly and eminently as God; and less properly, yet truly as man; and least properly to his body; yea, to his dead body."

This brought from Jeremy Ives, an expression which excited considerable disgust among the audience: but William Penn besought them to treat the subject in a manner becoming Christians, which appears to have

quieted them, and George Keith proceeded to show that the term was applied to the dead body, from the expression of Mary, "They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him;" and from that of the angel, "Come see the place where the Lord lay." And that he was Christ before he took flesh, from the saying of the apostle; "who created all things by Jesus Christ."

Jeremy Ives still urging the opinion, that a declaration that Christ cannot be seen with carnal eyes, and was never seen by wicked men, was a denial of the Lord's Christ; William Penn explained the subject, by stating, that wicked men might see him in his bodily appearance, and yet not see him to be the Christ of God. They might see his manhood but not his Christship. This was illustrated by the declaration of our Lord to Peter, when he had acknowledged him to be the Christ, the Son of the living God, viz. "Flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven." Hence he inferred that Peter could not, with a carnal eye, have seen the Lord's Christ, much less could wicked men. A further proof was derived from the words of the apostle; "Whom none of the princes of this world knew, for had they known him, they would not have crucified him." He also observed, that seeing and knowing were sometimes used in Scripture as equivalent terms; to which George Keith added the saying of Christ; "He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father," observing that no wicked man had seen the Father, and therefore no wicked man had seen Christ as such.

The Baptists derided this distinction; but Friends still averred, that those who saw Jesus, as the carpenter's son, did not all see him as the Christ of God.

Jeremy Ives then asked, "Is the manhood a part of the Lord's Christ?"

To this William Penn returned the inquiry, Is this to prove the charge of our denying the Lord Christ? It seems we must be here to be catechised, and ye will not answer us one question, yet I shall answer Jeremy Ives' question, if he will promise to answer mine. Jeremy Ives promising that he would, William Penn replied, that they believed that holy manhood to be a member of the Christ of God: and then directing his discourse to Jeremy Ives, he asked, "Was he the Christ of God before he was manifest in the flesh?" "He was," returned Jeremy Ives, "the Son of God." But to the question as stated by William Penn, he would not answer. His silence in that case was attributed to the prevalence of Socinian opinions among them, which William Penn probably designed to make him acknowledge or deny. But he was too cautious to do either. William Penn adduced, in proof of the affirmative of his own question, the declaration of the apostle, "They all drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them, and that Rock was Christ:" and the epistle of Jude, in which, according to some of the Greek copies, it is stated that Jesus brought the people of Israel out of Egypt.

Though Jeremy Ives would not return a direct answer to the question of William Penn, he soon propounded another to Friends, viz. Whether they believed that Christ, in his human nature, was in heaven. This caused George Whitehead to observe, that the auditory had heard the charge advanced against them, and the distinction that had been made between the spiritual saving sight of the Lord's Christ, and the seeing of his outward man, person, or body. In this last sense it could never be intended that it was not visible to the outward eye, but it was the spiritual Rock which all Israel drank of, as he was before Abraham was, and as glorified with the Father before the world began; and as Christ himself said to Philip, "He that seeth me, seeth my Father also," and only saints, or children of light, could truly say, We have seen his glory as the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth. In all which senses of seeing, the Lord's Christ was only seen spiritually and not with carnal eyes.

To this Jeremy Ives agreed—yet he soon repeated the question, whether they believed that Christ was in heaven with his human nature. To which William Penn replied, "We do believe the man Christ Jesus to be glorified in heaven." This answer, not being in the terms of the question, was rejected as insufficient. Upon which William Penn inquired, what difference he made between the manhood and human nature of Christ. None, was his reply, if you answer candidly. To which William Penn replied, "I do mean and speak candidly; we believe that holy manhood to be in heavenly glory."

Night coming on, a proposal was made to quit for that time, and resume the subject at another, but nothing was settled, and the meeting was broken up rather abruptly.

The reader may well wonder why an assembly which was convened to examine the charges which Friends were prepared to offer against one of the Baptist preachers, should be occupied in the discussion of such questions as these. But we may remember, that the object of Thomas Hicks' pamphlets, was to show that Friends were not Christians. He and his brethren therefore, still kept this object in view; and instead of going into the inquiry, whether he had endeavoured to effect his object by misrepresentations and falsehood, they

laboured to establish the original charge. This was evidently evading the demand of Friends to which they had professedly acceded.

But even if the proper business of the meeting had been to establish this charge, it must, in fairness and equity, have been attempted by an exposure of their doctrines, as already declared, either in their acknowledged writings, or in their public testimonies. And having failed in the attempt to establish it in that manner, the charge ought to have been abandoned. But we see, that when the documents relied on for sustaining the charge, were explained, the expedient of asking them questions, and thus endeavouring to convict them by their confession on the spot, was adopted. William Penn had penetration enough to see the object and unfairness of this procedure, but as Friends had no doctrinal opinions which they were afraid or ashamed to avow, they gave candid, though cautious answers to these ensnaring questions.

From the narrative of this controversy, two inferences may be fairly deduced—first, That the only tenable ground upon which the opponents of our early Friends attempted to divest them of the Christian character, was the greater spirituality of their doctrines. And, second, That while they faithfully and fearlessly maintained their testimony to the spiritual nature of the Christian religion, and rejected the gross and carnal constructions so generally given to the declarations of our Lord and his apostles, they never refined away the plain and obvious truths which the sacred volume contains. They in fact, adhered very closely to the letter as well as to the spirit of the Holy Scriptures.

The meeting at Barbican having separated abruptly, Friends endeavoured to procure another for the purpose of examining and establishing their charges against Thomas Hicks; but as he and his supporters declined a compliance with their request, they appointed one in their own meeting-house, at Wheeler street, London, and gave the Baptists timely notice of it. This meeting Thomas Hicks did not think proper to attend; but sent his friend Jeremy Ives, and some others of their party, who were so far from entering into an examination of the charges which Friends had to offer against their fellow-professor, that they would not even suffer them to be heard. The object which Friends had in view, viz. to obtain from Thomas Hicks an acknowledgment of the injustice with which he had treated them, or from his fellow-members a disavowal of his unchristian conduct, was therefore no more answered by this meeting than by the former. The controversy was subsequently continued awhile by Thomas Ellwood, on the part of Friends, and Thomas Plant, one of Thomas Hicks' compurgators, on the side of the Baptists. But William Penn does not appear to have taken any further part in the contest. The effect which Thomas Hicks had encountered all this toil to prevent, was eventually promoted by the controversy; for a number of those who previously adhered to the Baptists, were induced by what they saw and felt, in the course of these proceedings, to abandon that Society, and join in religious fellowship with Friends.

Although John Faldo, after the publication of William Penn's strictures already mentioned, appeared no more in his own name as an antagonist, yet he was the means of prolonging the controversy; for he assembled a council of clergymen, by whose advice his first work, called "Quakerism no Christianity," was republished. This edition was accompanied by a commendatory preface, which was produced by the united labours of this assembly. This drew from William Penn a pamphlet, entitled "A just rebuke to one-and-twenty learned and reverend Divines," (so called.) As this work was not intended to enforce or explain the doctrines of Friends, but rather to expose and refute the errors or misrepresentations of their opponents, it may be justly considered as one of a temporary character. I shall therefore, give no other account of it than to observe, that while it breathes the same spirit of piety which pervades the works of this author in general, and manifests the same desire for the substantial improvement of the reader, we find in it a greater share of keen and piercing wit than in most of the other writings of William Penn. He has evidently considered these one-and-twenty, self-styled, learned and reverend divines, as engaged in an enterprise much beneath their profession, and treated them accordingly. Dr. Henry Moore, who was then considered to be one of the most pious and learned men in the church of England, soon after the publication of this pamphlet, addressed a letter to William Penn, in which he observed, that he found in it such a taste, both of wit and seriousness, and the argument so weighty, that he was induced to purchase and read the tracts on both sides of the controversy; and that he found in the writings of our author, several passages which were nobly Christian, containing a testimony which he highly prized, and on account of which he felt no small degree of esteem for the writer. I do not find that John Faldo or his coadjutors made any reply to this pamphlet. They probably thought of his facts, as well as his arguments, that the less was said of them the better it would be for them and their cause.

Alexander Parker, one of the early members and ministers of the Society, had published, about the year 1657, a tract, entitled a "Testimony of the Light within," of which Samuel Grevill, a priest near Banbury, wrote a pretended refutation. The doctrine thus assailed, being one of great importance, and indeed, lying at the foundation of the testimony which Friends believed themselves called to support, William Penn produced a pamphlet entitled "Urim and Thummim, or the doctrines of Light and Perfection maintained," in opposition to that of Samuel Grevill; proving from Scripture testimony, that the witness for God in the mind of man, is the light of Christ, the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and that this light not only discovers to us what is sinful, but is sufficient as it is followed and obeyed, to lead out of all sin, into the glorious liberty of the children of God. He lays it down as the reason why many of the professors of religion deny the sufficiency of this Divine light or holy Spirit, to lead into entire redemption and to the knowledge of God, whom to know is life eternal, that they have known it only as a reprover, and have not, for want of obedience, experienced the salvation from sin and death to which it leads; and admonishes his readers to try the effect of obedience to its small and tender appearances, before they object to its nature or sufficiency.

We have in his printed works, under date of this year, a doctrinal treatise, entitled "Of the general rule of faith and practice." He describes "the general rule" to be, "that constant measure or standard by which men, in all ages have been enabled to judge of the truth or error of doctrines, and the good or evil of thoughts, words and actions;" and faith to be "an assent of the mind in such manner, to the discoveries made of God thereto, as to resign up to God and have dependence upon Him, as the great Creator and Saviour of his people, which [faith] is inseparable from good works." The object of this tract is to show the unsoundness of the opinion so generally entertained by the professors of Christianity, that the Holy Scriptures compose the general and primary rule of this faith and practice.

In opposition to this opinion, he lays it down that a rule cannot be general which is limited in its nature. That mankind, in all ages, and long before the Scriptures were written, had some knowledge of God; and that knowledge must have been given by Divine inspiration. The rule of faith by which the righteous walked before any part of the Scriptures were written, was the light of Christ, the law divinely written in their hearts. This is more ancient and more general than the Scriptures. The righteous had this rule of faith before they had the Scriptures, and the faith of God's people in all ages, being of one and the same nature, the rule must be the same. This faith is inward and spiritual, therefore the rule of faith is also inward and spiritual. The Scriptures no where declare themselves to be the general rule of faith, and therefore those who declare them such, deviate from Scripture authority, and make their own interpretation, and not the Scriptures the rule. It is under the enlightening operations of the holy Spirit, that the Scriptures are properly and savingly understood, therefore the former, and not the latter is the primary rule. This is a very brief summary of the doctrines contained in this essay, which are enforced by various arguments and illustrations, and fortified by the testimonies of a number of pious men, in ancient and modern time.

The controversies in which William Penn had been hitherto engaged, were with persons of other religious persuasions; but at the time to which we are now arrived, he was drawn into a contest with some who professed to hold the same fundamental doctrines as he did. The prime mover in this controversy, was John Perot, a man who appears to have possessed more imagination than judgment, and a much higher opinion of himself than his attainments, natural or spiritual, justified. He was one, who at an early day joined the Society, and too soon engaged in the important service of the ministry. Imagining himself commissioned to convert the pope, he procured a man of the name of John Luff to accompany him on this embassy. Arriving at Rome, they were soon arrested and cast into prison. John Luff was confined in the inquisition, where he died, not without circumstances exciting the opinion that he was privately murdered. John Perot was committed to the bedlam, from whence he occasionally found means to transmit letters to England for publication, expressed in a style which seemed to indicate that the place of his confinement was not altogether unsuitable to the state of his mind. After being a considerable time in confinement, his release was procured by the solicitation of some of his friends, and he soon afterwards returned to England. The report of his sufferings at Rome, which common fame had exaggerated, united to the appearance of unusual sanctity, gave him more place than he deserved in the minds of some well meaning but not very judicious Friends. Mistaking the suggestions of his own misguided imagination, for the indications of the Divine Spirit, he declaimed against the practice of taking off the hat in time of prayer, as a piece of formality, inconsistent with the spirituality of the Christian

religion, unless they felt themselves divinely required so to do. And a number of the less experienced Friends were carried away with his notions and adopted his practice.

As Friends had always considered the uncovering of the head, when they approach the Supreme Being in prayer, as an external sign of the homage due to Him, and of the reverence with which they engage in that solemn act, and furthermore the practice of praying vocally with the head covered, is directly contrary to the apostolic admonition; the conduct of John Perot and his followers was disapproved by the most judicious among them. At a meeting held in London in 1666, George Fox laboured to convince those Friends who had fallen into it, of the impropriety of this unseemly practice, and with such success that most of them acknowledged their error, and united with their more experienced brethren. John Perot however, was too confident of the correctness of his own opinions, or too obstinate to change his course, and was at length disowned.—Whether he had, previously to his disownment, manifested any considerable deviations in other respects, certain it is, that subsequently he cast off the profession, fantastically putting on a fashionable dress and wearing a sword, and afterwards removed to America, where he obtained an office in the government, and became a rigid exacter of oaths.

After his disownment, a pamphlet was published, without the name of the author, but attributed to him, with the title of "The spirit of the Hat," to which William Penn wrote a reply with the curious title of "The spirit of Alexander the coppersmith justly rebuked." Shortly after the appearance of the latter, a second anonymous pamphlet, under the title of "Tyranny and Hypocrisy detected" was given to the world. This came out under the character of a reply to "the Spirit of Alexander the coppersmith rebuked;" and like the former, was understood to be the work of John Perot. It drew a rejoinder from William Penn, which he styled "Judas and the Jews combined against Christ and his followers."

This controversy assumes a degree of importance which it would not otherwise possess from the principles involved in it. This anonymous writer took the ground, that those who refused to uncover their heads at the time of prayer, were led to this practice by the light of Truth in their own minds, and that a requisition, on the part of other Friends, of a conformity to the usages of the Society in this respect, was an abridgment of their Christian liberty. Their charge against the Society, is thus concentrated. The Quakers teach that every man is enlightened with a manifestation of the holy Spirit, sufficient to salvation, and that all faith in, and worship of God, ought to depend upon the convictions and leadings of this Divine light; yet they were required by the body of Friends, to do what they had no inward motion to do, but rather to omit; and that upon a refusal to comply with this demand, they were disowned. Hence the sufficiency, convictions and leadings of the light must yield to the decisions of the body, and not the body to the light. Consequently, the body of the Society, not the Divine light in the heart, had become the rule with the Quakers. The consequence of disownment was also exaggerated, as including a denial of the privilege of marriage, burial, trading, &c. This appears plausible, and to put the question at issue in a proper view, William Penn states the doctrine as unquestionably true, that the Divine light is universal and sufficient to lead to salvation, and that every man ought to follow its teachings in matters of faith and worship. The dispute between them was not in regard to the principle, but its application. The following questions are laid down as including the matter at issue:

1. Whether Christ has or has not given to his church, consisting of faithful believers and obedient walkers by the light or spirit of God within, a just sense, relish and savour of those spirits which the great enemy of man may assume, under plausible appearances, to condemn what the church has practiced, or to introduce what the church has condemned?

2. Whether such a society, body or church, may not, after due admonition given to such dissenting or innovating person, lawfully and without deviation from Christian principles, deny their communion to such person or persons, as a testimony against the spirit by which they are actuated?

3. Whether such person or persons may acknowledge the truth of this fundamental doctrine of the Divine light as a leader and guide, and yet be actuated by a wrong spirit to the production of rents and divisions, and then oppose the church under pretence of being guided by this inward light; and consequently whether such persons ought to be judged by any for acting in this manner, seeing it is the duty of all to act according to the dictates of the light of Christ?

4. Whether the body of those called Quakers, or their opposers were that church?

In answer to the first, it is shown that such a power of discernment does belong to the true church, from various passages in Scripture, and particularly from the words of our Saviour; "My sheep hear my voice, and a stranger will they not follow." This stranger may be a false spirit, as well as false doctrine, which the voice of the true Shepherd, the spirit of Christ, detects. Though the stranger

may come in the name of Christ, pretending authority from him, and speaking words that are true in themselves, yet his false covering is detected by those who are really the children of the light and of the true Gospel day. For this end the disciples were admonished to have salt in themselves, the divine anointing and spirit, by which they should discern the spirit of truth and the spirit of error.

The second is also answered affirmatively, both from the testimony of Scripture, and the reasonableness of the case. Alexander the coppersmith is noted, as one who was denied and rejected, notwithstanding his profession of Christianity. From the injunction of our Saviour in relation to those, who, in case of private offences, refuse to hear the church, it is inferred, that such as reject the counsel of the church in matters relating to faith and worship, are to be regarded as heathens and publicans.

In regard to the third question, it is stated, that men may acknowledge and believe the doctrine of the inward light of Christ, and yet mistake the suggestions of their own dark imaginations for the leadings of this divine light; and yet neither the profession nor the belief of being guided by it, can exempt those who are not really led by it, from the just judgment of those who are. If the mere profession of being led by the spirit of Truth, could exonerate those who are strangers to it, from the judgment and censure of such as actually walk in the Spirit, a door would be opened to all kinds of libertinism. Though it is the duty of all to walk in the light, and to wait for it, that by it they may be instructed in the way of life and salvation, yet it is they only who are actually led by it, that can rightly discern between the false spirits and the true.

This work of William Penn's was one of the first, if not the very first, in which the authority of the Society, to testify against those of their members who dissented from them in matters of faith and worship, was publicly proclaimed. And we may perceive that the ground assumed by the author, was the same as that taken by Robert Barclay, in his treatise on church government, published in the following year.

The fourth question was one upon which the application of the principles laid down in the answers to the former three essentially depended. Whether the body of those who were called Quakers, or the few who were joined with John Perot, were the true church, acting under the influence of the divine light? Though the number of those who adhered to John Perot, appears to have borne a very small proportion to the number of those who discarded his notions, yet our author does not build any part of his argument on this basis. He raises it on a much more solid foundation.

According to the concessions of John Perot, the Society at one time was a true church, with a living and powerful ministry; among whom the everlasting Gospel was preached, and by which the church was greatly increased. Now, as the dissatisfaction of John Perot and his party, did not arise from any change in the principles or practice of the Society, but grew out of their own innovations; the Society was the same church still, but they were not the same members. The change was in them, and not in the Society. An adherence to the order and practice which prevailed, when John Perot and his followers united with the Society, could not be denounced as an imposition, or admitted as an evidence of a change of character. Harmony prevailed, and religious refreshment was experienced among them, till the innovation of keeping on the hat in the time of public prayer, was attempted. The change of character, must therefore, be attributed to those who had adopted this innovation, and not to those who refused it.

In these controversies, it is remarkable that various denominations who were very much opposed to each other, united in their opposition to Friends. This was what William Penn intimated by the title of the last mentioned pamphlet. As a postscript to this work, he enumerated the various points of doctrine, in which their opponents were divided against each other. Showing that there was very little agreement among them, except in their opposition to the Society, of which he was a member. Thus Judas united with the Scribes and Pharisees in betraying Christ, and the Jews combined with the heathens in the persecutions of the early Christians.

Besides the works already mentioned, he wrote, in the course of this year, several letters of a religious character, which are still extant.

One to Justice Fleming, deputy lieutenant of Westmoreland, who it appears, had used considerable severity towards Friends in that county. In this letter he first expressed his obligation on account of some kindness shown several years before to Gulielma Maria Springett, afterwards Penn; observing that however he might differ from some others in his opinions respecting the life to come, he knew of no religion that destroyed courtesy, civility, and kindness in this. He then in plain but respectful terms, pointed out the folly as well as injustice, of attempting to change the opinions of men by the application of force, and expressed his conviction, that truth would not suffer by examination, and finally requested that the Justice would accept and peruse some

tracts which he then sent him, in explanation of the principles and doctrines of Friends.

He also wrote to Mary Pennyman, who had taken part in the recent opposition to Friends. In this, he remonstrated with her in great freedom, against the spirit by which she was actuated, and solemnly admonished her to repent of the evil she had done, and the reproach she had brought upon the way and professors of Truth.

One to all the suffering Friends in Holland and Germany, admonishing them to faithfulness, and a full reliance upon the unfailing Shepherd, without whose providence a sparrow falls not to the ground; to dwell in the faith which works by love, and casts out fear; and to remember that the way of Truth would be judged of by many according to their conduct. That by walking in the light of Christ, the just man's path, they might glorify God, and obtain for themselves eternal salvation.

He also wrote one to Friends in the United Provinces. This begins with a very pathetic declaration of his love toward them, and his desire that they might be abundantly replenished with the light and love of God, the everlasting Fountain. They are then admonished not to be turned out of the way by the reproaches of the profane, the cruelty of persecutors, or the treachery of apostates; but as pilgrims seeking a durable inheritance, eternal in the heavens, to pass the time of their sojourning here, in fear and in a godly conversation, that the life and power of godliness might shine through all these dark clouds, with which the envy of their opposers was seeking to eclipse their religious profession, and God be glorified through them. Those who had been recently visited with the evidence of heavenly love, were particularly exhorted to leave the dead to bury the dead, to make no bargains for ease to flesh and blood, which can never enter the kingdom of God; and by consulting with which, they would be in danger of landing in eternal perdition.

One to Friends in Maryland, who were subjected to some difficulties with the proprietor of the province, lord Baltimore, on account of their testimony againt oaths. In that letter he furnished them with some arguments and authorities against the use of oaths.

Lastly, a letter to John Collenges, a doctor of divinity, who had charged Friends with denying the Divinity of Jesus Christ, and cited William Penn's "Sandy Foundation Shaken," in proof of the charge. Extracts from this letter have already been given, showing that what he denied in that work, was not the Divinity of Christ, but the unscriptural dogma of the popish school personality. He there declares that his arguments in "The Sandy Foundation Shaken," were directed against the doctrines of his opponents, and not against those of the Holy Scriptures; and that the objections to the doctrines of Friends, which were generally advanced, arose from their opponents attaching their own consequences to what Friends declared, and then charging those consequences as their principles, when there was in reality no necessary connexion between them.

CHAPTER VII.

1674. The declaration of indulgence to those who dissented from the established church, which was issued by the king, in 1671, was not long permitted to pass unopposed. From the character of the reigning monarch, and the measures of the court, it was inferred that this act of indulgence was not designed for the relief of Protestant dissenters, so much as the protection of Roman Catholics; and at all events, it was obviously an assumption of power under the character of the royal prerogative, which excited the jealousy even of those who would have gladly obtained the same indulgence in a constitutional way. The parliament which met in 1673, complained of this suspension of the penal laws, by the dispensing power of the crown, as one of the grievances to be redressed; and having the power of granting or withholding supplies, they used it in this case, so that their prodigal and needy monarch revoked his proclamation and broke the seals with his own hands.

Though the parliament was then composed of men rather more favourable to toleration than in the early part of Charles II's. reign, yet when the declaration of indulgence was revoked, no effectual measures were adopted to secure a legal toleration; and therefore, the persecuting bigots of the day availed themselves of that revocation to revive the Conventicle act, and to renew the oppression of conscientious dissenters. These unrighteous proceedings soon attracted the attention of our author, and furnished employment for his pen, through a considerable part of the year 1674.

Justice Bowles of Wiltshire, having brought one of his fellow-professors under these persecuting laws, William Penn addressed a letter to him, remonstrating against his conduct, and giving him to understand, that the revocation of the king's declaration was not owing to a desire either in the king or parliament, to restrain the exercise of religious liberty. He therefore requested that he would order the restoration of the goods which had been unjustly seized by his authority, and not so far degrade himself below the character of a

Christian or gentleman, as to be the tool of a crew of ungodly and lawless informers.

In the same year he wrote an Address to king Charles, informing him of the cruel execution of those persecuting laws, which his declaration was designed to suspend, and of sundry extra-judicial proceedings, sustained by perjury, to the great injury of a number of innocent people; by which oppressive measures, several families were nearly ruined and their just creditors deprived of their dues. The object of this address, was to procure some public declaration of the king's disapprobation of these violent measures; but Charles had other concerns to manage, in which he felt more interested, than in the sufferings of an inoffensive and unresisting people.

Some justices of the peace in Middlesex, having used an unexpected degree of harshness towards Friends, who had assembled at a meeting in their neighbourhood, at which, it appears, he was present; he addressed a respectful letter to them, forcibly appealing to their own understandings against the persecuting measures, to which they had given too much countenance.

In that letter he assumed the ground that the king's declaration of indulgence was revoked, not because there was any objection to its principles, but on account of the manner of the grant. He further urged, that the kingdom was then undisturbed, that there was consequently no just cause for the execution of such laws, and that when the reason of a law had ceased, the law itself became obsolete, without a formal repeal; and that it was very questionable, whether the law by which Protestants were burnt for their opposition to the church of Rome, had ever been repealed. Laws, he observed, were either fundamental, and therefore permanent; or enacted upon particular emergencies, and to expire of themselves, when the cause of their enactment had passed away: that their liberty and property were not derived from the Protestant religion, but were of an older date; and that a nonconformity to it, purely conscientious, ought not to deprive them of either. "Be pleased," says he, "to remember, that faith is the gift of God, and that what is not of faith, is sin. Either give us better faith, or leave us with such as we have. For it seems unreasonable in you, to disturb us for this that we have, and yet be unable to give us any other." Again, "I am well assured, it shall less repent you upon your dying bed, to have acted moderately than severely. You cannot but know how fallible Protestants acknowledge themselves to be in matters of religion, and consequently, with what caution they should proceed against any about religion." Subsequently, "Think not that mere persuasion condemns us, it is sin, whose wages is death. I love and honour all virtuous persons that differ from me, and hope God will have regard to every such one, according to his sincerity. And however it shall please you to deal with us, at this or any other time, I pray God to forgive you, open your eyes, tender your hearts, and make you sensible how much more moderation and virtue are worth your study and pursuit, than the disturbance of religious dissenting assemblies, that so far as I know of them, desire to honour the king, love their neighbours as themselves, and do unto all men as they would have all men do unto them."

Accounts being received that Friends in the city of Embden had suffered great persecutions, by banishment, fines and imprisonment, by order of the authorities there, William Penn, near the end of this year, addressed a letter to the senate and council of that city, labouring both by argument and entreaty to incline them to greater lenity.

In this letter he pointed out the inconsistency of these persecuting measures, with the declared principles of their Protestant ancestors, who strenuously opposed and protested against the popish impositions of their time; and showed, that the senate and council, by persecuting those who conscientiously dissented from them, gave encouragement to the neighbouring Roman Catholic powers, to persecute their Protestant brethren. The letter contains a number of noble sentiments. "Have the senate and council of Embden more Christian authority than the chosen witnesses of our Saviour? If calling fire from heaven, was judged by Him who was wiser than Solomon, to be an improper means of converting opposers formerly, it shows little modesty in the authorities of this day, to kindle a fire on earth to destroy them now. Conscience is God's throne in man, and the power of it his prerogative. To restrain it by violence, is to usurp his authority. The Protestants deny the Roman Catholic assumption of infallibility, and yet by persecuting others for their religion, are guilty of an equal or greater presumption; for they either assume an infallibility themselves, or endeavour to compel others to embrace an uncertain belief. The day will come, when one act of tenderness in matters of conscience, shall find a better reward than all the severity by which men attempt to propagate their persuasions in the world; for one flows from the Saviour, the other from the destroyer of men. Imitate the God of nature and grace, whose sun shines upon all, whose rain falls on all, and whose grace visits all. Let his goodness

to you, prevail with you to show clemency to others, that so the great God of the spirits of all flesh, who respects not the persons of the rich, poor, or powerful, in judgment, may show you mercy in the day of his righteous judgments."

Persecution now raging with nearly as much violence as ever, the envious magistrates frequently resorted to their old expedient. When Friends were brought before them, and could not be convicted of any offence, they tendered the oath of allegiance to them; and upon their refusing to swear, they were subjected to the penalties designed for a very different class of people.

To evince to the world that they had substantial reasons for refusing to swear, William Penn, in 1675, published a treatise on oaths; which was addressed to the king and parliament; with a brief introduction, expressing a hope, that inasmuch as it was understood they were going to employ that session in the redress of grievances, the parliament would consider the great injustice Friends were suffering, on account of their conscientious refusal to swear, and apply to those grievances an effectual redress. This introduction was signed by thirteen Friends.

This is a very valuable treatise. The author first shows the reason of oaths to be the degeneracy of man from primitive integrity; and fortifies his opinion by the testimony of a number of ancient writers.

He then assigns various reasons why a Christian ought not to swear.

"1st, As oaths originate in perfidy, they ought to be excluded by a religion that establishes integrity, and therefore takes away the reason of them.

"2nd, They abolish the distinction between men of veracity and those of loose and perfidious characters.

"3d, A fear of rebellion against the discoveries which God has afforded of his ancient way of truth.

"4th, Oaths, by their frequent and familiar use, have lost the awful influence which is the alleged reason for their continuance.

"5th, Those who entertain a just sense of the omnipresence of God, have no need of an oath to confine them to the truth.

"6th, They do not convince the hearers of the truth of any declaration to which they are affixed; for there is no evidence of Divine displeasure usually attendant upon false swearing, as there was in the ancient law of jealousy.

"7th, It is irreverent to appeal to God as a witness on trivial occasions.

"8th, The form of the modern oaths is highly exceptionable, being made up of superstition and ceremony.

"9th, The example and precepts of our Saviour are directly opposed to all oaths. This is shown by our author at considerable length.

"10th, Swearing is contrary to the nature and general character of Christianity."

He then cites the testimonies of a great number of the ancient Gentiles, in disapprobation of swearing, followed by the opinions of several Jewish writers of similar import.

He next produces the declarations of a great number of Christian fathers, doctors, martyrs, and early reformers, from Polycarp to Erasmus, against the lawfulness of swearing under the Gospel dispensation. This is followed by the opinions of several of the school men and others, as Thomas Aquinas, Cajetan, &c., against the use of oaths. These authorities, extracted from a number of writers, ancient and modern, are no questionable evidence of the industry and reading of William Penn. The treatise, though printed among the works of our author, and in all probability produced chiefly by his pen, is signed by him and Richard Richardson, from which it appears that the latter had some part in the authorship.

At the end of this treatise, two letters are inserted from the prince of Orange to the magistrates of Middleburg, dated in 1577, requiring them to accept the yea and nay of the Menonists, in their commercial and civil transactions, instead of an oath; and in case they should violate such declaration, to punish them as perjurers. It is also stated, that in the treaty of peace between the United Provinces and the neighbouring powers, then recently made, there was a special provision, that their ships should be furnished with briefs, granted upon the oaths of their commanders, yet the magistrates in Holland were accustomed to accept the solemn affirmation of such as could not conscientiously swear. The assertion is advanced, that the prosperity of the United Provinces is more promoted by the industry of these indulged dissenters, than by the members of the established religion. Hence, a powerful argument is drawn, in favour of a similar indulgence in other countries.

In the same year, 1675, William Penn produced a work, addressed to the consideration of those in power; in which, after briefly enumerating the acts of oppression, which were then frequently visited upon Friends, he proceeded to argue the question, of the rights of conscience on legal and political grounds. The tract clearly proves the ability of the author, as a political defender of those rights, and shows that the true interests of the government would not have been endangered by a complete toleration.

The efforts hitherto made to check the torrent of persecution, not effecting their design,

our indefatigable author produced in the same year, "The continued cry of the oppressed for justice," addressed to the king and both houses of parliament.

In the introduction, he showed that the constitution of Great Britain was particularly careful of the liberty and property of its free-born* inhabitants; and that the laws which had been enacted to enforce uniformity in religious doctrine and practice, had greatly interfered with the ancient and fundamental laws of the kingdom. These laws had changed the character of the government, and were injurious to the commerce of the country. He therefore requested a perusal of the statements which were offered, and a redress of the numerous and important grievances, of which he and his friends so justly complained.

This was followed by a circumstantial account of the oppressions which Friends, in various parts of the kingdom, had endured on account of their peaceable meetings for the worship of God. These details consist of numerous exactions of heavy and ruinous fines; in some instances not sparing the beds, wearing apparel or working tools of the sufferers: and of instances of great personal abuse, with little regard to age, sex or condition.

The labours of William Penn in the ministry of the Gospel, appear to have increased the number of Friends in the neighbourhood where he lived. The celebrated Richard Baxter, who was unquestionably a zealous and pious man in his way, passing through that part of the country, and finding so many of that Society, became alarmed for their situation. Entertaining the opinions, which were common in that day, of the dangerous character of the doctrines held by the Society, he became desirous of preaching to them, in order that they might "hear what could be said for their recovery." Whether any opportunity of the kind was obtained, does not appear; but the circumstance led to a correspondence with William Penn, and eventually to a public dispute. The parties met at Rickmansworth, where the disputants alternately addressed the audience on the subject of controversy. The discussion was continued from ten in the morning till five o'clock in the afternoon. Among the auditors were one lord, two knights, and four clergymen of the established church. The particular points in controversy are now unknown; and we have no minute account of the manner in which it was conducted. The disputants appear to have parted with their former opinions unchanged. William Penn, in a letter written soon afterwards to Richard Baxter, intimates that the discussion was not so methodical as he could have desired. Several letters were subsequently exchanged between the parties. Of those written by Richard Baxter we know nothing, except what may be gleaned from the replies of William Penn. But from these it may be fairly inferred, that Richard Baxter's zeal for his own persuasion, betrayed him into no inconsiderable severity towards William Penn, as well as his doctrines. The last letter of our author, after animadverting with sufficient freedom, on the communications of his opponent, closes in the following manner:—

"Do not so harshly represent, nor cruelly characterize a poor people, that are given up to follow the leadings of that Jesus, abundance of you have long told us, has stood even all night at the door of our hearts, knocking that he might come in; whose pure spirit and fear, we desire to be subject to, and wait upon God when together, in true silence from all fleshly thoughts, that we may feel our hearts replenished with his Divine love and life, in which to forgive our opposers, and those that spitefully use us. In which dear love of God, Richard Baxter, I do forgive thee, and desire thy good and felicity. And when I read thy letter, the many severities therein could not divert me from saying, that I could freely give thee an apartment in my house, and thy liberty therein—that I could visit and yet discourse thee in much tender love, notwithstanding this hard entertainment from thee."

Near the end of the year 1675, a man who had been a conspicuous opposer of Friends and their doctrines, was brought, on his death bed, into great trouble of mind on that account. His name was Matthew Hyde, a man of reputable morals, and sober demeanour. His opposition was principally directed against the doctrine which Friends have always maintained, that Christ, the true light, has enlightened every man that comes into the world. The universality and sufficiency of this light to lead to salvation, he resolutely denied. Yet his denial was not made in a furious or frothy manner, but with apparent sobriety; and by argument, rather than declamation. When near his end, he expressed a desire to see some of the people called Quakers, upon which George Whitehead, in company with one or two other Friends, paid him a visit. In their presence he expressed his sorrow for his opposition to Friends, his desire of for-

*The ancient laws of Great Britain being formed during the existence of villeinage, were designed rather for the protection of the free, than of the servile class. But that system having become extinct before this tract was written, William Penn could very consistently urge the privileges of the *free-born*, without giving any countenance to the invidious distinction between the servile and the free.

giveness from God, and his wish that their number might be increased. He said, that if the Lord should lengthen his life, he should willingly bear a testimony in their favour as publicly as he had formerly opposed them.

This circumstance gave occasion to William Penn to publish a small tract, entitled "Saul smitten to the ground," containing a brief narrative of the death and dying declarations of this man, attested by his wife and another female attendant, followed by an address to all atheistical, persecuting, and contentious opposers of the Divine light, to take warning from this example, and repent before the things which belonged to their peace were hid from their eyes. An admonition was also addressed to his brethren in religious profession, to maintain their faith without wavering, and to trust that the same Divine power which had wrought conviction in the mind of this opposer, would at length vindicate their cause in the eyes of their more furious persecutors.

CHAPTER VIII.

In the year 1676, William Penn became engaged in the concerns of the province of New-Jersey. That province, while almost wholly a wilderness, had been granted by Charles II. to his brother, the duke of York; and the latter sold his interest in it to Sir George Berkely and lord Carteret. Edward Byllinge, one of the Society of Friends, afterwards became a purchaser of lord Berkely's share of the province. In this transaction, John Fenwick, another member of the same Society, acted as agent for Byllinge. Some difficulty arising between Fenwick and Byllinge, the subject was submitted to the arbitration of William Penn; and by him, after considerable labour, brought to an amicable adjustment. Soon afterwards, John Fenwick, with his family and a number of other Friends, sailed to America. But Edward Byllinge having been drained of his money by the purchase, and afterward subjected to some losses, became unable to meet his pecuniary engagements. He therefore agreed to give up his property for the benefit of his creditors. In doing this, he looked to the friendly assistance of William Penn, who, in compliance with his earnest entreaty, became one of three trustees in the management of this complicated affair.

In consequence of this engagement, William Penn became one of the managers of West New-Jersey. In this station he was associated with a number of others, among whom were several of his own Society; under whose management, a peaceable settlement was effected. In the formation of this colony, as well as that of Pennsylvania, we are furnished with a practical demonstration of the superiority of the pacific principles of the Gospel, over the policy of the world. In the history of the first settlement of these provinces, we hear nothing of the tomahawk and scalping-knife of the savage; but we find the people of the old world mingling in friendly intercourse with the wild and untutored inhabitants of the woods.

In the same year he again came before the public as an author. John Cheyney, a preacher, living near Warrington, who had previously written several tracts against the people called Quakers, which were answered by other hands, came out about this time, with a small work called "A skirmish upon Quakerism." In this he animadverted with great severity, upon a passage in William Penn's reply to John Faldo. This drew from our author a reply, entitled "The skirmisher defeated, and Truth defended."

The design of William Penn, in the passages from which his opponent had garbled the matter objected to, was to show the necessity and importance of a strict regard to the teachings of the holy Spirit in the heart, in order that we may clearly understand and properly perform our religious duties; and not rest satisfied with a lifeless imitation of others. In his "Skirmisher defeated," he fully explains the conscience to which he alludes, to be that which is Divinely enlightened, and that no countenance is given in his doctrines to a licentious life under the pretence of conscience. So far is this doctrine from invalidating the Scriptures, that it is proved to be this Divine light in the conscience, which gives a right and saving knowledge of them, and of the sacred truths which they contain.

In the same year he wrote a remarkable letter to two Protestant women of quality in Germany. One of them was the princess Elizabeth, daughter of Frederick V., prince Palatine of the Rhine and king of Bohemia, and grand-daughter of James I. of England. The other was Anna Maria, countess of Hornes, the friend and companion of Elizabeth. They were both religious women, and the princess had manifested her liberality by affording an asylum in her dominions, to persons who were persecuted for religion. Robert Barclay and Benjamin Furly when travelling in Germany in the service of the Gospel, had paid them a visit and were favourably received. This visit gave the princess such a knowledge of the principles of Friends, and so favourable an opinion of them, that hearing about this time, of the imprisonment of Robert Barclay, she wrote to her brother, prince Rupert, soliciting him to use his influ-

ence with the king, to prevent or mitigate the severity with which he was threatened. The letter of William Penn, which is of great length, manifests a deep sympathy with them in the numerous trials to which their condition in the world necessarily exposed them; and contains a pathetic exhortation to pursue the path of holiness, which had been opened before them. It concludes in the following manner, "Remember the poverty, simplicity, self-denial, patience and the cross of Jesus. I beg of you, by all that is dear and sacred to you, shrink not at this baptism, neither so much as tamper with any latitude that would evade his bitter cup. Let not his vinegar and gall be unpleasant, nor his crown of thorns troublesome: last of all, let not his nails and spear be terrible to you. For they that will not forsake him in his agonies, but be the companions of his tribulations, and cheerfully lay down their life and die with him to the world; they and none else shall rise with him in the newness of life; and ascend with him to his Father, by him to be glorified with that glory, which he had with his Father before the world began. Unto which kingdom, God Almighty conduct you, through this earthly pilgrimage: Amen."

CHAPTER IX.

It has been mentioned in a preceding chapter, that William Penn, about the year 1671, travelled in the work of the ministry through some parts of the continent; but of that journey I can find no particular account. Some traces appear in some of his letters of the acquaintances he had formed there at that time. Whether the princess Elizabeth was one of them, does not appear; it is certain, however, that letters occasionally passed between her and Friends in England. William Penn, it appears, wrote one to her besides that mentioned in the last chapter. By the labours of Friends, particularly William Penn and William Caton, a knowledge of the doctrines of the Society was spread on the continent; and a number had been convinced and joined in fellowship with them, among whom were the parents of William Sewel the historian.

In the fourth month of this year, we find William Penn leaving his family at Wormingshurst, in Essex, where he then lived, and attending the Yearly Meeting at London, where he met George Fox and a number of other Friends, from various parts of the nation. When the meeting was over, George Fox and John Burnyeate returned with William Penn to his house, where they wrote a work called "The New England fire-brand quenched," in reply to a publication by Roger Williams, an inhabitant of New England. This reply being prepared at the house of William Penn, it is not improbable that he may have given some assistance in the composition.

Soon after the close of the Yearly Meeting, he parted with his wife and family, in order to make a second visit, in the love of the Gospel, to Friends and others in Holland and Germany. Of this journey he has preserved an account, which is so full of lively interest and instruction, that the narrative cannot be better conveyed than in his own language. It was first published in the year 1694, as follows, viz.;

PREFACE.

This ensuing journal of my travels in Holland and Germany, in the service of the Gospel of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, was written for my own satisfaction, and that of some relations and particular friends, as the long time it has lain silent shows. But a copy that was found amongst the late countess of Conway's papers, falling into the hands of a person who much frequented that family, he was earnest with me, both by himself and others, to have leave to publish it for a common good. Upon perusal, I have found a willingness to comply with [this request;] hoping that the Lord will make the reading of it effectual to some into whose hands it may fall;—as well those who have received a dispensation of the same ministry, for their encouragement in their public service for God, as those who are under the same ministry, unto zeal and faithfulness.

For it is the glorious Gospel-day, in which God is exalting his dear Son, as Prophet, Priest, and King, in the hearts of his people. O that the nations would hear him, their only saving health, and Israel's great Shepherd! who takes care of his sheep, that hear his voice, and gives unto them that follow him in the daily cross unto regeneration, eternal life. He hath sent, and is sending, forth his servants, to gather home the sheep that are gone astray in all nations, that so there may be but one Shepherd and one sheep-fold; according to the glorious promise made to these latter times, in which he said, he would be the teacher of his people himself. For he is teaching thousands, by the Light, Spirit, and Grace of his Son Christ, in whom he is well pleased. To this, God hath sent forth his servants in this day, to turn all people, as God's call and visitation to the nations: and blessed are all those who hearken to this testimony, both mediately and immediately.

God is awakening men to the knowledge of his glory in the face or appearance of Christ, by his Spirit in their hearts and con-

sciences, which reveals to men the Father, yea, the deep things of God. O that they would hear and fear, and learn the things that make for their eternal peace! For if the righteous scarcely are saved, where, O where, shall they appear that neglect so great salvation!—a salvation that comes so near them, as to knock at the door of their hearts; that searches them and tries their reins, and tells unto them their most inward thoughts; and brings a line of judgment over all their words and works. This is Christ Jesus, the Light of the world, who was given of God for salvation to the ends of the earth. He has enlightened all, and shines to all, and calls all, that they should see their sins and be sorry for them, and forsake them, and take up his daily cross and follow him, whom God hath given for an example as well as a propitiation for our sins. And none can know him to be their propitiation, who reject him as their example and leader in their lives and conversations. Wherefore, reader, be serious, inward, and inquisitive for thy soul's sake. What faith hast thou? Is it one that overcomes the world, or one that the spirit of the world overcomes? This is not the faith of God's elect, without which we cannot please God. For that faith works by love. Is it such a love to God as will not offend him, but seeks his glory through a most willing obedience to his holy will? Blessed are the souls in whom this love dwells! For such have none in heaven but God, nor in the earth in comparison of him. As they receive all good from him, so they resign all up to him; and though it be through many tribulations that they must attain the rest of God; yet as nothing can separate them from his love, so neither can any thing deprive them of their reward in the end.

Wherefore, reader, be thou persuaded to take thy lot among that blessed number, if thou art not yet one of them. Thou seest the way to that Divine privilege; walk in it; for the end crowns all. And if thou art one of that number, who have chosen God for their portion, be diligent, zealous and fervent in the work and service of God. Redeem thy time, and run thy race with care and constancy; looking unto Jesus, the author, that he may be the finisher of thy faith. Remember who said, there are many mansions prepared for the faithful. Do we believe and look for another world? Let us not then live in this, as if there were no other. Let our eyes be upon our better world, and live here as strangers who are but on our way to our eternal home; that so we may answer the end of God's love, by working out the salvation of our own souls by his power with fear and trembling; knowing that God will judge all, by Christ Jesus, according to the deeds done in the body.

Reader, this journal is of a religious voyage, and has some passages in it that may engage thy soul to seriousness, and let thee see how good God is to those that go of his holy errands. Mayst thou be heartily affected with this testimony of his love and presence with his people; and feel good desires raised in thee to serve the Lord also, according to his blessed will, in thy day; that thou mayst know peace to thy soul, when time here shall be no more.

I am thy assured friend in the best things,

WILLIAM PENN.

CHAPTER X.

ON the 22nd of the fifth month, 1677, being the first-day of the week, I left my dear wife and family at Worminghurst, in Sussex, in the fear and love of God, and came well to London that night. The next day I employed myself on Friends' behalf, who were in sufferings, until the evening; and then went to my own mother's in Essex.

On the 24th I took my journey to Colchester, and met George Watts of London upon the way; who returned with me, and came well to that town the same evening. We lodged at John Furly's the elder, and had a blessed meeting at Jonathan Furly's house that night.

The next morning early I left Colchester, and came to Harwich about noon, accompanied by George Watts and John Furly the elder, William Tallcoat, and J. Whiterly of Colchester; where we found dear George Fox at J. Vanderwall's house, with many more Friends. After dinner we all went to the meeting, where the Lord gave us a blessed earnest of his love and presence, that should be with us in this voyage. For his holy, overcoming, refreshing power did open all our hearts, and many of our mouths in ministry, prayer and praises, to the magnifying of his own name and Truth in that place.

The meeting done, we returned to John Vanderwall's house, where we took our leave of Friends; that is to say, of the Friends of that place, with others that came with us, or met us there. And so we went on board the packet-boat: where, by the special favour of the master of the packets to me, (he having formerly served under my father,) we had the best accommodation given to us. Many of the Friends accompanied us to the ship, not leaving us until all was fixed; and then we parted in the fellowship of Jesus.

Those that came over, were George Fox, Robert Barclay, G. Keith, G. Watts, John

Furly, William Tallcoat, Isabel Yeomans, Elizabeth Keith, and myself, with two of our servants.

We set sail about three o'clock in the morning of the 26th, being the fifth-day of the week; and got the sixth-day at night within half a league of the Briel. We had good service those two days in the ship with several passengers, French and Dutch: and though they seemed at first to be shy of us, and to slight us, yet at last their hearts were much opened in kindness towards us, and the universal principle had place.

The next morning Friends were fetched on shore by a boat of Rotterdam, with some Friends of that city who came to the Briel to meet us. The Friends that came were Aaron Sonnemans, Benjamin Furly, and S. Johnson, Vettekeuken, with three young men that live at B. Furly's house. After we had eaten, we took boat immediately for Rotterdam; where we arrived about noon, and where many Friends came to see us, among whom we were comforted.

On the 29th, being the first-day of the week, we had two meetings at B. Furly's house; whither resorted a great company of people, some of them being of the most considerable note in that city; and blessed be the true Word of life, that never failed them that rest upon it and abide in it! the Gospel was preached, the dead were raised, and the living comforted; God, even our God, bore heavenly record to his only begotten Son; and truth is honourable in the eyes of several of that place.

The next day we spent in visiting Friends from house to house, not in one company, being lodged in several quarters of the city. All our visits were precious meetings; for, indeed, for that end God brought us into this land. Several of us dined and supped that day at two great men's houses, where we had blessed opportunities to make known unto them what was the hope of our glory; that mystery, which to the Gentiles is now revealing, even Christ Jesus, the light and life of the world manifested in us.

On the 31st G. F., J. F., W. T., and myself, after having broken our fast at A. Sonnemans', took boat for Leyden, where we came that night, in order to be at Harlem next day at a meeting appointed by G. F. and myself from Rotterdam: being accompanied by J. Bocliffs, J. Arents, and J. Claus, who came from Amsterdam on purpose to conduct us thither.

At Harlem we arrived about the eleventh hour, and went to the house of a good old man, who had long waited for, and is now come to behold the consolation and salvation of Israel. After we had a little refreshed ourselves, we went to the meeting; where the Lord gave us a blessed opportunity, not only with respect to Friends, but many sober Baptists and professors who came in and staid the meeting to the end: blessed be the name of the Lord.

The meeting done, we went to Amsterdam, in company with several Friends of that city, and of Alkmaer and Embden, who met us at the meeting at Harlem. We were lodged at Gertrude Dirick's house. G. K. and his wife, and R. B. staid over the fourth-day's meeting at Rotterdam, and so came not till the next day; which was the day of the general meeting of Friends in this country.

On the 2nd of the sixth month, at G. D.'s house, the general meeting was held, both of men and women: and the Lord, who is setting up his own kingdom by his own power, owned us with his blessed presence, and opened us in that wisdom and love, that all things ended with peace, great concord, and comfort: many things being spoken, especially by our dear friend G. F., that were of good service; and I hope will dwell with them for ever.

These several things agreed upon, being of good savour and report, I think fit here to insert.

"At the General Meeting of Friends at Amsterdam, the 2nd of the sixth month, 1677.

"1. Be it known to all men, that the power of God, the Gospel, is the authority of all our men's and women's meetings; and every heir of that power is an heir of that authority, and so becometh a living member of right of either of those meetings, and of the heavenly fellowship and order in which they stand: which is not of man, nor by man.

"2. That each Monthly Meeting have a collection apart; and also that there be another collection quarterly at Amsterdam from each meeting, for general services; and that it be not disposed of, but by the consent of the said Quarterly Meeting.

"3. It is agreed upon, that henceforth a Yearly Meeting be held here at Amsterdam; unto which Friends in the Palatinate, Hamburgh, Lubeck, and Fredericstadt, &c., be invited; of which meeting there shall be given notice to the Friends of the Yearly Meeting at London, to be kept always on the fifth-day of that week, which is fully the third week following after the Yearly Meeting at London.

"4. It is also agreed upon, that henceforth this General Meeting is to be changed into a Quarterly Meeting: and that the first Quarterly Meeting hereafter shall be on the second fifth-day of the ninth month following, and so forth every quarter on the second fifth-day of

the month. This 2nd of the ninth month is to be this first Quarterly Meeting.

"5. It is also agreed, that henceforth a Monthly Meeting in Friesland should be established, as also at Rotterdam; and that on the second second-day of each month: and at Harlingen upon the third third-day of the month.

"6. Further, that in the interim, the Friends of Alkmaer, and Harlem, and Waterland, are to have their Monthly Meeting with Friends at Amsterdam: and to begin the said meeting the 6th day of the seventh month, and so forth; always upon the first second-day of the month at the eighth hour.

"7. And further, concerning Gospel order: though the doctrine of Christ Jesus requireth his people to admonish a brother or sister twice, before they tell the church; yet that limiteth none, so as they shall use no longer forbearance, before they tell the church; but that they shall not less than twice admonish their brother or sister, before they tell the church. And it is desired of all, that before they publicly complain, they wait in the power of God to feel if there is no more required of them to their brother or sister, before they expose him or her to the church. Let this be weightily considered.

"8. And further, when the church is told, and the party admonished by the church again and again, and he or she remain still insensible and unreconciled; let not final judgment go forth against him or her, till every one of the meeting hath cleared his or her conscience: that if any thing be upon any, further to visit such a transgressor, they may clear themselves, if possibly the party may be reached and saved. And after all are clear of the blood of such an one, let the judgment of Friends in the power of God go forth against him or her, as moved for the Lord's honour and glory sake; that no reproach may come or rest upon God's holy name, truth and people.

"9. As much as possibly can be, let all differences be ended by some honest Friends; and trouble not the Monthly or Quarterly Meetings with them: and if that will not do, proceed to your particular Monthly Meetings. But if they be not there ended, then take aside six honest Friends out of the Quarterly Meeting, and let them hear and determine the matter. And in case any person or persons be so obstinate, as that they refuse the sense and love of Friends, and will not comply with them; then proceed towards them according to the way of Truth in such cases.

"10. That all such as behold their brother or sister in a transgression, go not in a rough, light, or upbraiding spirit to reprove or admonish him or her, but in the power of the Lord and spirit of the Lamb; in the wisdom and love of the Truth, which suffereth thereby, to admonish such an offender. So may the soul of such a brother or sister be seasonably and effectually reached unto and overcome, and have cause to bless the name of the Lord on their behalf: and so a blessing may be rewarded into the bosom of the faithful and tender brother or sister that so admonisheth.

"11. And be it known unto all, we cast out none from among us: for if they go from the light, and spirit, and power, in which our unity is, they cast out themselves. And it has been our way to admonish them, that they may come to the spirit and light of God which they are gone from; and so come into unity again: for our fellowship standeth in the light, that the world hateth, and in the spirit, that the world grieveth, vexeth, and quencheth. And if they will not hear our admonitions, the light condemneth them, and then goeth our testimony out against them.

"12. That no condemnation is to go further than the transgression is known. And if he or she return, and give forth a condemnation against himself or herself, which is more desirable than that we should do it, this is a testimony of his or her repentance and restoration before God, his people, and the whole world: as David, when Nathan came to admonish him. Psal. li.

"13. That no testimony by way of condemnation be given forth against any man or woman, whatever crime they commit, before admonition, and till such time as they have Gospel order, according to Christ's doctrine.

"14. And if any brother or sister hear any report of any brother or sister, let him or her go to the party, and know the truth of the report; and if true, let the thing be judged; if false, go then to the reporter, and let him or her be judged. And if any should report it at a second or third hand, without going to the party of whom the report goeth, let such be brought to judgment; for thou shalt neither raise nor suffer a report to lie upon my people, saith the Lord: for they are to be holy as he is holy; and just as he is just.

"15. And if any controversy or weakness should appear in either men's or women's meetings, let it not be told out of your meetings; because such speeches tend to the defaming of such persons and meetings, and to the hurt of the common unity, and breach of the heavenly society and privilege."

This is an account of what passed in this general meeting.

Next day, notice being already given, we had a large public meeting, in which the sound of the everlasting Gospel, testament, and co-

venant went forth; and the meeting ended with a sweet and weighty sense. That evening we had a more select meeting of Friends than the day before, in which the nature of marriage, and the practice of Friends relating to it and other things were very weightily and closely discoursed. The resolutions were these following:

"1. A scruple concerning the law of the magistrate about marriage, being proposed and discoursed of in the fear of God among Friends in a select meeting; it was the universal and unanimous sense of Friends, that joining in marriage is the work of the Lord only, and not of priest or magistrate. For it is God's ordinance and not man's, and therefore Friends cannot consent that they should join them together. For we marry none; it is the Lord's work, and we are but witnesses.

"2. But yet, if a Friend, through tenderness, have a desire that the magistrate should know it before the marriage be concluded; they may publish the same, after the thing hath by Friends been found clear; and after the marriage is performed in a public meeting of Friends and others, according to the holy order and practice of Friends in Truth throughout the world, and the manner of the holy men and women of old, may go and carry a copy of the certificate to the magistrate; they are left to their freedom herein, that if they please they may register it. But for priests or magistrates to marry, or join any in that relation, is not according to Scripture; and our testimony and practice have been always against it. It was God's work before the fall, and it is God's work alone in the restoration.

"3. If any Friend have it upon him to reprint any book already printed and approved either in England or here, they may do it upon their own charges.

"4. It is also agreed, that the care of reading and approving books, be laid upon some of every meeting; to the end no book may be published but in the unity. Yet any other faithful Friends not so nominated, are not thereby excluded. Though in all these cases it is desired, that all would avoid unnecessary disputes about words, which profit not, but keep in the love that edifieth.

"5. It is further concluded, that the general stock of the Quarterly Meeting be not disposed of, but by the consent of the Quarterly Meeting. But if, betwixt times, there should be a pressing necessity concerning the public; let that Monthly Meeting, where it shall fall out, lay down the money, and give in an account at the next Quarterly Meeting in order to their relief, if it appear that they are thereby overcharged. And let all things be done without favour, affection, relation or any respect to persons, even for the Lord's sake, and his blessed everlasting Truth; that God may bless and prosper his people.

"And let all things be written down, both as to your Monthly and Quarterly Meeting collections; what you receive, and what you disburse; that all may be fair and clear, to the satisfaction of all that desire to see and examine the books."

And the Lord's fear, and life, and power was over all, in which the Lord God preserve his for ever.

The 4th of the sixth month, being the seventh-day of the week, was employed in visiting Friends, and preparing ourselves for a further journey; that is to say, George Keith, Robert Barclay, Benjamin Furly, and myself.

Finding letters here from the Friends of Dantzic, complaining of the heavy sufferings they underwent; informing us also that the king of Poland was there, and asking advice about an address to him, it fell upon me to write the following letter in the name of the Friends of Dantzic:

"To the King of Poland.

"Great Prince!

"Actions of justice, mercy, and Truth are worthy of all men; but in a most excellent manner of the serious consideration of kings and princes. We, certain inhabitants of the city of Dantzic, have been long great sufferers, not for any wickedness committed against the royal law of God, or any breach of those civil laws of this city, that relate to the well government of it in all natural and civil things; but purely and only for the cause of our tender consciences towards God.

"This severity being by us represented to the magistrates of this city, we could not as yet receive from them any relief; some expressing, as if easing the burden of our oppressions should give thee, O King, an occasion of dissatisfaction against them; who art our acknowledged protector.

"Being thus necessitated, and in a manner driven to make this address unto thee; take it not amiss, that we, with that humility and patience, that becometh the servants and followers of Jesus, and with all manner of Christian respect and sincerity of mind, briefly relate to thee, the most fundamental principles most surely believed by us; which we hope thou wilt believe, deserve not those punishments, that are inflicted upon us as evil doers.

"1. We do reverently believe, that there is one God and Father, one Lord Jesus Christ, and one Holy Spirit, and these three are one. Eph. iv. 6.

"2. We believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to have been given forth

by Divine inspiration; and that they are profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; 'able to make the man of God wise unto salvation through faith, which is in Christ Jesus.' 2 Tim. iii. 15, 16.

"3. That these Holy Scriptures are not to be understood, but by the discoveries, teachings and operations of the eternal Spirit, from whence they came.

"4. We believe that all mankind, through disobedience to the spirit of God, are fallen short of the glory of God, and in that state are under condemnation; but that God out of his infinite goodness and kindness, hath sent his Son a light into the world, that whosoever believeth and obeyeth this light, should not abide in darkness, but have the light of eternal life.

"5. We believe this gift of light and grace through Jesus Christ to be universal; and that there is not a man or woman upon earth, that hath not a sufficient measure of this light, and to whom this grace hath not appeared to reprove their ungodly works of darkness, and to lead them that obey it to eternal salvation. And this is the great condemnation of the world at this day, under all their great professions of God, Christ, Spirit and Scriptures: that though Christ hath enlightened them, yet they will not bring their deeds to the light, but hate the light, and love their dark customs and practices rather than the light, 'because their deeds are evil.'

"6. We do believe in the birth, life, doctrine, miracles, death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus Christ our Lord; and that he laid down his life for the ungodly, not to continue so, but that they should deny their wickedness and ungodliness; and live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present evil world; as the saints of old did, who were redeemed from the earth, and sat in heavenly places.

"7. We do believe, that as the devil through man's disobedience brought sin into man's heart, so Christ Jesus, through man's belief in, and obedience to his Holy Spirit, light and grace, cleanseth the heart of sin; destroyeth the works of the devil; finisheth transgression, and bringeth in everlasting righteousness. That as the devil hath had his kingdom of darkness in man, so Christ may have his kingdom of light, life, righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost in the heart of man; and not that Christ Jesus saveth men from wrath and not from sin; 'for the wages of sin is death' in whose heart soever it liveth; 'but the gift of God is eternal life,' to all that believe and obey, through Jesus Christ.

"8. We do believe, that all true ministry and worship stand only in the experimental sense, operations and leadings of this holy light, spirit or grace, that is shed abroad in the hearts of men and women, to conduct them in the holy way of regeneration unto life eternal. This was the ancient apostolical doctrine; they spoke what they had seen, tasted, and handled of the Word of God. And this is our faith, doctrine, and practice in this day.

"And be not displeased with us, O King, we entreat thee, if we give this for the reason of our absenting ourselves from the public and common ministry or worship; namely, that we have no taste or relish, no sense or evidence that their ministry and worship are authorized and performed by the apostolical power and spirit of Jesus; but rather that they are the inventions, studies and powers of man's nature; all which are but strange fire; and therefore cannot kindle a true and acceptable sacrifice to God.

"For it is not man's spirit and degenerate nature, speaking and professing the words of God's Spirit, that giveth acceptance with the Lord, or administereth heavenly edification to men. Nor can we believe, that where pride, passion, wrath, malice, persecution, envy, and strife, lusts, vanity, wantonness, and worldly-mindedness have such sway and power, that the true Christian spirit, life, and doctrine, can be heartily received and followed.

"And as this is the reason in the sight and presence of that God, that made heaven and earth, and will judge the quick and dead, wherefore we cannot join in the common and public worship of these parts; so doth the same light and Spirit of God lay an holy necessity upon us, with a meek and quiet spirit, to come together after the manner of the ancient Christians, that were the true followers of Jesus; and with godly fear and a retired mind to wait upon God, and meditate in his holy law of life, that he hath written in our hearts, according to his new covenant promise; that he may feed us, teach us, strengthen us, and comfort us in our inward man. And as by this Holy Spirit, according to the practice of the churches of old, any are inclined or moved to reprove, exhort, admonish, praise, or pray, we are found exercised in these holy practices.

"Now, O Prince! give us poor Christians leave to expostulate with thee. Did Christ Jesus or his holy followers endeavour by precept or example to set up their religion with a carnal sword? Called he any troops of men or angels to defend him? Did he encourage Peter to dispute his escape with the sword? But did he not say, put it up? Or did he countenance his over-zealous disciples, when

they would have had fire from heaven, to destroy those that were not of their mind? No; but did not Christ rebuke them, saying, 'Ye know not what spirit ye are of?' And if it was neither Christ's spirit, nor their own spirit that would have fire from heaven, oh! what is that spirit, that would kindle fire on earth, to destroy such as peaceably dissent upon the account of conscience? If we may not wish that God would smite men of other judgments, because they differ from us, (in which there is no use of carnal weapons,) can we so far deceive ourselves, as to esteem ourselves Christians and followers of Christ, whilst we encourage men with worldly weapons to persecute such as dissent from us?

"O King! when did the true religion persecute? When did the true church offer violence for religion? Were not her weapons prayers, tears, and patience? Did not Jesus conquer by those weapons, and vanquish cruelty by suffering? Can clubs and staves, swords, and prisons, and banishments reach the soul, convert the heart, or convince the understanding of man? When did violence ever make a true convert, or bodily punishments a sincere Christian? This maketh void the end of Christ's coming, which is to save men's lives, and not to destroy them; to persuade them and not to force them; yea, it robbeth God's Spirit of its office, which is to convince the world; that is the sword by which the ancient Christians overcame. It was the apostle's testimony, that their weapons were not carnal, but spiritual; but the practice of their pretended successors proveth, that their weapons are not spiritual, but carnal.

"Suppose we are tares, as the true wheat hath always been called; yet pluck us not up for Christ's sake, who saith, 'Let the tares and the wheat grow together until the harvest,' that is, till the end of the world. Let God have his due as well as Cæsar; the judgment of conscience belongeth to him; and mistakes about religion are best known to him.

"And here give us leave to remind thee of a noble saying of one of thy ancestors, Stephen, king of Poland; 'I am king of men, not of consciences; king of bodies, not of souls.' And there have been found, and still are among the emperors, kings, princes, and states of the world, some who have had that noble spirit of indulging their conscientious dissenting subjects; and not only with Gamaliel and Gallio not to persecute, but also eminently to protect and defend them from the hatred and violence of their enemies. Be not thou less noble than they; consider how quietly and comfortably our Friends live under other governments.

"And indeed, we conceive it to be the prudence of the kings and states of the world. For, if the wise man say true, 'The glory of a prince is in the multitude of his people;' but this practice saith, No, the glory of a prince is in the conformity of the people to the canons of the clergy; which seemeth to strike at all civil society, which consisteth in men of virtue, parts, arts, and industry. But let men have ever such excellent abilities; be ever so honest, peaceable, and industrious; all which render them good and profitable subjects to the prince; yet they must not live within their native country, unless they will sacrifice the peace of their consciences by an hypocritical submission to the canons and fashions of the church. Is not this, O Prince, to set the church above the state? the bishop above the king? to waste and give away the strength and glory of a kingdom?

"O that thou mayst be wise even in thy generation! and use the power that God hath given thee, for God, and truth, and righteousness; that therein thou mayst be like unto God, who, Peter telleth us, accepteth of all that fear him and work righteousness, throughout the world: whose sun shineth upon all; whose rain cometh upon all.

"And lest any should be so injurious to us, as to render us enemies to civil government; be it known unto thee, O King, that we honour all men in the Lord, not with the vain invented honours of this world, but with the true and solid honour that cometh from above; but much more kings, and those whom God hath placed in authority over us. For we believe magistracy to be both lawful and useful, for the terrifying of all evil doers, and the praise and encouragement of those that do well.

"The premises duly considered, we entreat thee, O Prince, to take our suffering case into thy serious regard; and by that power and influence thou hast with the magistrates of this city, to recommend our suffering condition to their serious consideration; that we may no longer lie under these not only unchristian, but unnatural severities, but receive that speedy and effectual relief, which becometh Christian magistrates to give to their own sober and Christian people."*

* Our author had greeted these sufferers with a consolatory letter as early as the year 1673, after his first journey to the continent.

It appears by Besse's account of these Friends, that they had no sooner joined the Society, and began to distinguish themselves as belonging to it, by publicly assembling after their usual manner for the purpose of divine worship, than three of them were apprehended by the magistrates. After being detained some time in prison, they were ac-

CHAPTER XI.

On the 5th of the sixth month, being the first-day of the week, meeting began about the eleventh hour, and held till the fourth hour in the afternoon. There was a mighty concourse of people from several places of this country, and of several persuasions, Baptists, Presbyterians, Socinians, Seekers, &c., and God was with his people, and his Word of life and power, of wisdom and strength, covered them; yea, the hidden things both of Esau and Jacob, the mystery both of iniquity and godliness were opened and declared in the demonstration of the eternal Spirit that day. And, blessed and magnified be the name of the Lord, who hath not left himself, nor his servants without a witness! Oh, he is worthy to be loved, and feared, and obeyed, and reverenced for ever!

The next day George Keith, Robert Barclay, Benjamin Furly and myself, having taken our leave of dear George Fox and Friends, took boat for Naerden; arriving there about the second hour in the afternoon. After having eaten, we took our leave of those Friends that had accompanied us thither, and begun our journey in the common post-waggon to Osnaburg; where we came on fourth-day the 8th, in the evening.

We passed through a very dark country to that place; yet I felt not so great a weight and suffering in my spirit as six years ago, when I went through the same places.

At Osnaburg we had a little time with the man of the inn, where we lay; and left him several good books of Friends in the Low and High Dutch tongues to read and to dispose of.

The next morning, being the 9th of the sixth month, we set forward for Herwerden or Herford, and came thither at night. This is the city where the princess Elizabeth Palatine of the Rhine hath her court; whom, and the countess in company with her, it was especially upon us to visit; and that, upon several accounts. First, in that they are persons seeking after the best things. Secondly, in that they are actually lovers and favourers of those who separate themselves from the world for righteousness' sake.

The princess is not only a private supporter of such, but gave protection to De Labadie himself, and his company; yea, when they went under the reproachful name of Quakers about seven years since. This man was a Frenchman, who being dissatisfied with the looseness and deadness of the French Protestants, even at Geneva itself, left them and came for Holland; and so vehemently declaimed against the apostacy of the priests and people there, that the clergy were enraged and stirred up the magistrates against him, and the rather, because many followed him, and several women of great quality. Upon this, the princess gave them an invitation, and they came and were protected by her. But since, some miscarriages falling out in that place, she thereupon in good measure withdrew her favour from them, and they removed to another place.

I was moved to visit this man and his company six years ago; and saw him and his two great disciples; but they would not suffer me to see the people, which I laboured for. In that day I saw the airiness and unstableness of the man's spirit, and that a sect-master was his name. And it was upon me, both by word of mouth and writing to let them know, that the enemy would prevail against them to draw them into inconvenient things; if they came not to be stayed in the light of Jesus Christ, and to know the holy silence; and that at last they would come to fall out one with another, and moulder away; which is in some measure come to pass as I feared. For I clearly perceived, that though they had received some divine touches; there was a danger, they would run out with them, and spend them like prodigals; not knowing then where to stay their minds for daily bread. Yea, though they were something angelical and like to the celestial bodies, yet if they kept not their station, they would prove fallen stars. They moved not in the motion of Him who had visited them, but were filled with gross mixtures, and thereby brought forth mixed births, that is to say, things not natural but monstrous. In fine, they were shy of us, they knew us not; yet I believed well of some of the people, for a good thing was stirring in them.

tually banished beyond the seas by order of the senate. The little company continuing to meet together, came to be more and more molested both by magistrates and people; till, in one instance, the rude mob, to the number of a hundred persons, thronged into their meeting room, pillaging their property, and using almost all manner of shameful insolence; on which, the town officers making their appearance, carried off these unoffending sufferers into confinement. Nor did such cogent appeals as that of William Penn prevail on their behalf. For during the space of some years the storm of persecution continued, insomuch that most of them by frequent imprisonment, oppression, and banishment, were reduced to poverty, and unable for a considerable time to support themselves and their families. In 1684, two letters from them were read at the Yearly Meeting in London, describing their strait bondage in the house of correction, under extremely hard usage and cruelty, being chained together two and two by the hands, fed only with bread and water, and forced to lie upon straw through the severe winter.

The Countess was commendable in this also, that she left all to join with a people, who had a pretence at least to more spirituality and self-denial than was found in the national religion she was bred up in; for God had reached her, as she told me, about nine years ago, and that by an extraordinary way. It seemed to us a great pity, that persons of their quality in the world, should so willingly expose themselves for the false Quaker, the reprobate silver, the mixtures; and that they should not be acquainted with the life and testimony of the true Quakers.

About a year since, Robert Barclay and Benjamin Furly took that city in the way from Fredericstadt to Amsterdam, and gave them a visit; in which they informed them somewhat of Friends' principles, and recommended the testimony of Truth to them; as both a nearer and more certain thing than the utmost of De Labadie's doctrine. They left them tender and loving.

Soon after this, Gertrude Diricks and Elizabeth Hendricks from Amsterdam visited them and obtained a meeting with them: improving that little way, God by his providence had made, more closely to press the testimony. And though they, especially the Countess, made some objections, in relation to the ordinances and certain practices of Friends, yet she seemed at that time to receive satisfaction from them.

These visits occasioned a correspondence by way of letter betwixt them and several of us, wherein the mystery of Truth hath been more clearly opened to their understandings; and they have been brought nearer into a waiting frame, by those heavenly directions they have frequently received by way of epistles from several of us.

In answer to two of mine, the princess sent me the following letter, which being short I here insert.

"HERFORD, 2nd of May, 1677.

"This, Friend, will tell you that both your letters were very acceptable, together with your wishes for my obtaining those virtues, which may make me a worthy follower of our great King and Saviour, Jesus Christ. What I have done for his true disciples, is not so much as a cup of cold water; it affords them no refreshment; neither did I expect any fruit of my letter to the Dutchess of Lauderdale, as I have expressed at the same time unto Benjamin Furly. But since Robert Barclay desired I should write it, I could not refuse him, nor omit to do any thing that was judged conducing to his liberty, though it should expose me to the derision of the world. But this a mere moral man can reach at; the true inward graces are yet wanting in

"Your affectionate friend,

"ELIZABETH."

This digression from the present history, I thought not altogether unnecessary.

But to return.—Being arrived at that city, part of which is under her government, we gave her to understand it; desiring to know what time next day would be most proper for us to visit her. She sent us word, she was glad that we were come; and should be ready to receive us next morning about the seventh hour.

The next morning being come, which was the sixth-day of the week, we went, about the time she had appointed us, and found both her and the Countess ready to receive us; which they did with a more than ordinary expression of kindness. I can truly say it, and that in God's fear, I was very deeply and reverently affected with the sense that was upon my spirit, of the great and notable day of the Lord, and the breakings-in of his eternal power upon all nations; and of the raising of the slain Witness to judge the world; who is the treasury of life and peace, of wisdom and glory, to all that receive him in the hour of his judgments, and abide with him. The sense of this deep and sure foundation, which God is laying, as the hope of eternal life and glory for all to build upon, filled my soul with an holy testimony to them; which in a living sense was followed by my brethren; and so the meeting ended about the eleventh hour.

The Princess entreated us to stay and dine with her; but, with due regard both to our testimony and to her at that time, we refused it; desiring, if she pleased, another opportunity that day. To which she with all cheerfulness yielded; she herself appointing the second hour.

So we went to our quarters; and some time after we had dined, we returned. The meeting soon began; there were several present besides the Princess and Countess. It was at this meeting, that the Lord in a more eminent manner began to appear. The eternal Word showed itself a hammer at this day, yea, sharper than a two-edged sword, dividing asunder between the soul and the spirit, the joints and the marrow. Yea, this day was all flesh humbled before the Lord!. it amazed one, shook another, broke another; the noble arm of the Lord was truly awakened, and the weight and work thereof bowed and tendered us also, after an unusual and extraordinary manner; that the Lord might work an heavenly sign before them, and among them; that the majesty of Him that is risen among the poor Qua-

kers, might in some measure be known unto them, what God it is we serve, and what power it is we wait for and bow before. They had a sense and a discovery that day, what would become of the glory of all flesh, when God shall enter into judgment. Well, let my right hand forget its cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, when I shall forget the loving-kindness of the Lord, and the sure mercies of our God to us his travailing servants that day. O Lord, send forth thy light and thy truth, that all nations may behold thy glory!

Thus continued the meeting till about the seventh hour; which done, with hearts and souls filled with holy thanksgivings to the Lord for his abundant mercy and goodness to us, we departed to our lodging; desiring to know whether our coming the next day might not be uneasy or unseasonable to her with respect to the affairs of her government; it being the last day of the week, when we were informed she was most frequently attended with addresses from her people. But with a loving and ready mind she replied, that she should be glad to see us the next morning, and at any time when we would.

The next morning, being the 11th of the sixth month, we were there betwixt eight and nine; where, Robert Barclay falling into some discourse with the Princess, the Countess took hold of the opportunity, and whispered me to withdraw, to get a meeting for the more inferior servants of the house; who would have been bashful to present themselves before the Princess. And, blessed be the Lord! he was not wanting to us; the same blessed power that had appeared to visit them of high, appeared also to visit them of low degree; and we were all sweetly tendered and broken together; for virtue went forth of Jesus that day, and the life of our God was shed abroad amongst us as a sweet savour; for which their souls bowed before the Lord, and confessed to our testimony.

It did not a little please that noble young woman, to find her own report of us and her great care of them so effectually answered. Oh! what shall we say? Is there any God like unto our God? who is glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, working wonders! To his eternal name, power and arm, be the glory for ever!

The meeting done, the Princess came to us, expressing much satisfaction, that we had that good opportunity with her servants; telling us, she much desired they should have a true and right character of us, and therefore she chose to withdraw, that they might have freer access, and that it might look like their own act; or words to that purpose.

The twelfth hour being come, we returned to our inn; letting them understand, we purposed (the Lord willing) to visit them some time that afternoon.

I must not here forget, that we found at our inn, the first night at supper, a young merchant of a sweet and ingenuous temper, belonging to the city of Bremen; who took occasion from that night's discourse, the sixth-day at dinner and supper, and the seventh-day also, to seek all opportunities of conference with us; and (as we have reason to believe) he staid twenty-four hours in that city on our account. We opened to him the testimony of Truth. I know not that in any one thing he contradicted us. At last he plainly discovered himself unto us, to be a follower of a certain minister in Bremen, who is even by his fellow-ministers and Protestants reproached with the name of Quaker, because of his singular sharpness against the formal, lifeless ministers and Christians in the world.

We laid fast hold upon this; and asked him, in case any of us should visit that city, if he would give us the opportunity of a meeting at his house, which he readily granted us. So we gave him some books; recommending him to the true and blessed testimony of Christ Jesus, the Light, and Judge of the world, and life of them that receive him and believe in him; and so we parted.

It being now about three in the afternoon, we went to the Princess's; where being come, after some little time, the Princess and Countess put me in remembrance of a promise I made them in one of my letters out of England, that I would give them an account, at some convenient time, of my first convincement, and of those tribulations and consolations, which I had met withal in this way of the kingdom, to which God hath brought me. After some pause, I found myself very free and prepared, in the Lord's love and fear, to comply with their request; so, after some silence, began. But before I had half done, it was supper-time; and the Princess would by no means let us go, we must sup with her; which importunity, not being well able to avoid, we yielded to, and sat down with her to supper.

Among the rest present at these opportunities, it must not be forgotten, that there was a Countess, sister to the Countess, then come to visit her, and a Frenchwoman of quality; the first behaving herself very decently, and the last was often deeply broken; and from a light and slighting carriage towards the very name of a Quaker, she became very intimately and affectionately kind and respectful to us. Supper being ended, we all returned to the Princess's chamber; where making us all sit

down with her, she, with both the Countesses and the Frenchwoman, pressed from me the continuance of my relation; but none more than the Countess's sister; with which though late, I was not unwilling to oblige them, because I knew not when the Lord would give me such an opportunity.

I found them affected; it continued till about ten o'clock at night, yet many particulars omitted, partly through forgetfulness, and partly for want of time. Howbeit, I must needs say, they heard me with an earnest and tender attention; and I hope and believe the Lord hath made it profitable unto them. This done, they had some discourse upon it, and afterwards we spoke about a meeting for the next day, being the first-day of the week; and that we might have not only as many of her own family, but as many of her town as would willingly be there; she yielded to it, and appointed the meeting to begin at the second hour; so we parted, being near the eleventh hour at night.

The next morning we had a meeting among ourselves in our chamber, wherein the Lord refreshed us; and there was a great travail upon our spirits, that the Lord would stand by us that day and magnify the testimony of his own truth by us; that he might have a seed and people in that place to lift up a standard for his name.

At dinner there were several strangers, who came by the post wagon that day; among whom, there was a young man of Bremen, being a student at the college at Duysburg; who informed us of a sober and seeking man of great note in the city of Duysburg; to him we gave some books. There was another, who was tender and inquiring, to whom also we gave books.

The second hour being at hand, we went to the meeting; where were several, as well of the town as of the family. The meeting began with a weighty exercise and travail in prayer, that the Lord would glorify his own name that day. And by his own power he made way to their consciences, and sounded his awakening trumpet in their ears, that they might know that he was God, and that there is none like unto him. Oh! the day of the Lord livingly dawned upon us, and the searching life of Jesus was in the midst of us! The Word that never faileth them that wait for it, and abide in it, opened the way and unsealed the book of life; yea, the quickening power and life of Jesus wrought and reached to them; and virtue from him in whom dwelleth the Godhead bodily, went forth, and blessedly distilled upon us his own heavenly life, sweeter than the spices with pure frankincense, yea, than the sweet smelling myrrh that cometh from a far country. And as it began, so it was carried on, and so it ended; blessed be the name of the Lord, and confided in be our God for ever!

As soon as the meeting was done, the Princess came to me, and took me by the hand, (which she usually did to us all, coming and going,) and went to speak to me of the sense she had of that power and presence of God, which was amongst us; but was stopped. And turning herself to the window, she broke forth in an extraordinary passion, crying out, "I cannot speak to you—my heart is full"—clapping her hands upon her breast. It melted me into a deep and calm tenderness; in which I was moved to minister a few words softly to her, and after some time of silence, she recovered herself; and as I was taking my leave of her, she interrupted me thus; "Will you not come hither again? Pray call here as ye return out of Germany." I told her, we were in the hand of the Lord; and being his could not dispose of ourselves; but the Lord had taken care, that we should not forget her and those with her; for he had raised and begotten an heavenly concernment in our souls for her and them, and we loved them all with that love wherewith God had loved us; with much more to that purpose.

She then turned to the rest of the Friends, and would have had us all gone down to supper with her. But we chose rather to be excused; we should eat a bit of her bread and drink a glass of her wine, if she pleased, in the chamber where we were. At last we prevailed with her to leave us. The Countess, the Frenchwoman, and the Countess's waiting woman staid with us; and we had a very retired and seasonable opportunity with them.

After the Princess had supped, we went all down and took our solemn leave of her, the Countess, her sister, the Frenchwoman, with the rest of the family, whose hearts were reached and opened by our testimonies; recommending to them holy silence from all will-worship, and the workings, strivings, and images of their own mind and spirit; that Jesus might be felt by them in their hearts, his holy teachings witnessed and followed in the way of his blessed cross, which would crucify them unto the world, and the world unto them; that their faith, hope, and joy might stand in Christ in them, the heavenly Prophet, Shepherd, and Bishop; whose voice, all that are truly sheep will hear and follow, and not the voice of any stranger whatever. So we left them in the love and peace of God; praying that they might be kept from the evil of this world.

We returned to our lodging, having our hearts filled with a weighty sense of the Lord's

appearance with us in that place; and it being late, towards the ninth hour, we prepared to go to rest.

CHAPTER XII.

The next morning, being the 13th of the sixth month, George Keith, Benjamin Furly, and myself got ready to begin our journey towards Frankfort, which by the way of Cassel is about two hundred English miles. Robert Barclay prepared himself to return by the way we came, directly back to Amsterdam. But before we parted, we had a little time together in the morning in our chamber; whither came one of the Princess's family, and one of the town. The Lord moved me to call upon his great name, that he would be with them that staid, and with them that returned also, and with us that went forward in wild, untrodden places. And his blessed love and life overshadowed us; yea, he filled our cup together and made us drink into one spirit, even the cup of blessings in the fellowship of the everlasting Seed; in which we took leave of one another. After having eaten, it being about the seventh hour, we departed the city.

We came to Paderborn that night, six German miles, which are about thirty-six English; it is a dark Popish town, and under the government of a bishop of that religion. Howbeit, the woman where we lodged was an ancient, grave, and serious person; to whom we declared the testimony of the Light, showing her the difference betwixt an outside and an inside religion; which she received with much kindness. We left some books with her, which she took readily.

There was also with us at supper a Lutheran who was a lawyer; with whom I had very good service, in opening to him the great loss of the power of godliness, as well among them who separated from Rome, as in the Roman church; which he confessed. I directed him to the Divine light in his conscience, that let him see the lifeless state of the false Christians; and if he turned his mind to that, and waited there, he would receive power to rule and govern himself according to true godliness: and that it was the loss of Christendom, that they went from this Holy Spirit, in which the power standeth, that conformeth the soul to the image and likeness of the dear Son of God; and thither they must come again, if ever they have the true knowledge of God, and enjoy life and salvation; with much more to that purpose, all which he received lovingly.

The next morning we set forward toward Cassel; but through great foulness of weather, having only open carts to ride in, the waters being also high with the rains, we did not get to Cassel till the next day, which was the fourth-day of the week. It being late, we made little inquiry that night, being also wearied with the foulness of the ways and weather.

But on the 16th we made our usual inquiry, namely, who was worthy in the city; and found some that tenderly and lovingly received us; to whom we declared the visitation of the light and love of God. Among the rest was Dureus our countryman, a man of seventy-seven years of age, who had learned in good measure to forget his learning, school divinity, and priest's craft; and for his approaches towards an inward principle, is reproachfully saluted by some with the honest title of Quaker. It is much better than Papist, Lutheran, or Calvinist, who are not only ignorant of, but enemies to quaking and trembling at the word of the Lord, as Moses and others did.

Upon the sixth-day of the same week about noon, we set out towards Frankfort, having left several books behind us; which has been our practice in our journey.

At Frankfort we arrived on the 20th about noon, being just a week from Herwerden; and having from thence and Cassel, made known our intentions of coming, two considerable persons came and met us about half a German mile from the city; informing us of several who were well affected in that town. Upon which, we told them the end of our coming, and desired to have a meeting with them in the afternoon; which we easily obtained at the house of a merchant, one of the two that met us. The persons who resorted thither, were generally people of considerable note, both of Calvinists and Lutherans; and we can say, they received us with gladness of heart, and embraced our testimony with a broken and reverent spirit, thanking God for our coming amongst them, and praying that he would prosper his work in our hands. This engaged our hearts to make some longer stay in this city. We therefore desired another meeting the next day, which they cheerfully assented to; where several came who were not with us the day before, and the Lord who sent us into the land was with us, and by his power reached to them, insomuch that they confessed to the truth of our testimony.

Of these persons, there were two women, one a virgin, [Joanna Eleonora de Malane,] the other a widow, both noble of birth, who had a deep sense of the power and presence of God which accompanied our testimony, and their hearts yearned strongly towards us; the virgin giving us a particular invitation to her house the next morning, where we had the most blessed opportunity of the three; for the Lord's power so eminently appeared, that not

only those who had been with us before were most effectually reached, but a certain student, residing in the house of a Lutheran minister, (sent for by that young woman,) was broken to pieces, and magnified that blessed power which appeared. There accidentally came in also a doctor of physic, who unexpectedly was affected, and confessed to the Truth, praying God to prosper us. This was the blessed issue of our visit to Frankfort.

But there is one thing more not unfit to be mentioned. Among some of those who have inclinations after God, a fearful spirit together with the shame of the cross hath entered; against which our testimony in part striking, we took notice it was as life to these noble women, for that was it, as they told us, which had long oppressed them, and obstructed the work of the Lord amongst them. Therefore, said the young woman, "Our quarters are free for you; let all come that will come, and lift up your voices without fear; for," continued she, "it will never be well with us till persecution come, and some of us be lodged in the stadthouse," that is the prison.

We left the peace of Jesus with them, and the same afternoon we departed out of that city, being the fourth-day of the week.

Here I wrote an epistle to the churches of Jesus.

"*To the churches of Jesus throughout the world, gathered and settled in his eternal light, power and Spirit, to be one holy flock, family, and household to the Lord.*

"Dear Friends and Brethren,

"Who have been visited with the fatherly visitation from on high, and have received God's eternal word and testament in your hearts, by which you have been gathered home to Christ Jesus, the true Shepherd, from all the idol-shepherds and their barren mountains and unprofitable hills, where you have been scattered in the dark and gloomy day of apostacy; and by his light, Spirit, and power have been convinced of sin, righteousness, and judgment; and can say, the prince of this world is judged by HIS holy, righteous, and powerful appearance in you, unto whom all judgment in heaven and earth is committed; who is the blessed Lamb of God, the Light and Saviour of the world; who is King of Salem, and Prince of Peace; my soul loves you with everlasting love, even with the love with which my God and your God, my Father and your Father hath loved me, and visited my soul and your souls. In this, do I dearly salute and embrace you all, in this the day of the fulfilling of his glorious promises to his church in the wilderness, and witnesses in sackcloth.

"And, O magnified be his name, and everlastingly praised and renowned be his holy power and arm, by which he hath reached unto us, and brought salvation near us! For he hath found us out, and hath heard our solitary cries, the deep and mournful supplications of our bowed spirits, when we were as the dove without its mate, and the lonely pelican in the wilderness; when we were ready to cry out, Is there none to save, is there none to help! O when shall the time and times and half a time be finished! When shall the one thousand two hundred and sixty days be accomplished! And when shall the abomination that stands in the holy place, be cast out! When shall the captivity of the people be turned back! O when shall Babylon come into remembrance before God; the dragon, beast, and false prophet be cast into the lake! And when shall the law go forth out of Zion, and the word of the Lord out of Jerusalem! When shall Zion become the joy, and Jerusalem the praise of the whole earth! And when shall the earth be covered with the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea!

"Friends, the Lord of heaven and earth hath heard our cries, and the full time is come, yea, the appointed time is come, and the voice of the eternal Spirit in our hearts hath been heard on this wise many a time; awake thou that sleepest, and I will give thee life; arise out of the dust, and shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee! And the Lord God hath given us that light, by which we have comprehended the darkness in ourselves and in the world; and as we have believed in it, dwelt in it, and walked in it, we have received power to overcome the evil one in all his appearances in ourselves, and faithfully and boldly to testify against him in the world. And the blood of Jesus, in this holy way of the light, have we felt in our souls, to cleanse us from unrighteousness; and give us to know the mystery of the fellowship of the Gospel one with another, which stands in life and immortality. And here we become an holy household and family unto God, that live in his presence day and night, to do his will, as becometh his children, redeemed and ransomed by the most precious blood of his Son, and no more to return to folly.

"And, Friends, let it never pass out of our remembrance, what our God hath done for us, since he hath made us a people: hath any weapon formed against us prospered? Hath he called us, and not protected us? Hath he given power to conceive, and not to bring forth? Hath he not sheltered us in many a storm? Did he ever leave us under the reproaches and contradictions of men? Nay,

hath he not spoken peace to us? Were we ever cast out by men, and he forsook us? No, the Lord hath taken us up. Were we ever in prison, and he visited us not? hungry, and he fed us not? naked, and he clothed us not? or have we been sick, and he came not to see us? When were the gaols so close, that he could not come in? and the dungeons so dark that he caused not his light to shine upon us? O nay! he hath never left us, nor forsaken us; yea, he hath provided richly for us; he hath brought us into the wilderness not to starve us, but to try us; yet not above our measure; for he fed us with manna from on high, with pure honey and water out of the rock, and given his good Spirit to sustain us; by night he was a pillar of fire to us, to comfort us; and by day a pillar of cloud, to hide and shelter us. He was a shadow of a mighty rock that followed us; and we never wanted a brook by the way to refresh us. Was God good to Israel outward? Much more hath he abounded to his spiritual Israel, the proper seed and offspring of himself. O the noble deeds and valiant acts that he hath wrought in our day for our deliverance! He hath caused one to chase ten, and ten a hundred, and a hundred a thousand many a time. None hath been able to snatch us out of his hands, who abode in his Truth. For though the winds have blown, and the sea hath raged, yet hath he rebuked the winds and the sea for his seed's sake; he hath said to the winds, 'be still;' and to the sea, 'thus far shall thou come, and no further.' He hath cast up a highway for his ransomed to walk in, so plain, that though a fool he shall not err therein. This is the light, in which all nations of them that are saved must walk for ever.

"And therefore, Friends, let us stay our minds in the light of the Lord for ever; and let the awe, fear, and dread of the Almighty dwell in us. And let his holy Spirit be known to be a covering to us, that from the spirit of this world we may be chastely kept and preserved unto God, in the holy light and self-denying life of Jesus, who hath offered up himself once for all, leaving us an example that we should also follow his steps; that as he, our dear Lord and Master, so we his servants and friends and children, might by the eternal Spirit offer up ourselves to God in body, in soul, and in spirit, which are his; that we may be his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, to the praise of him that hath called us; which calling is a high and holy calling, by the eternal Light and Spirit in our consciences. O that it might for ever remain in high estimation with us! And that it may be the daily watch and travail of us all, in the presence of the holy and living God who hath called us, to make our great call and election sure, which many have neglected to do, who have been convinced by the blessed light and Truth of Christ Jesus revealed in their hearts, and who for a time have walked among us. These have been overcome by the spirit of this world, and turned their hands from the plough, and deserted the camp of the Lord, and gone back again into Egypt; whereby the heathen have blasphemed, and the way and people of the Lord have greatly suffered.

"Therefore, O my dear Friends and brethren! in the sense of that life and power, which God from heaven hath so gloriously dispensed among us, and by which he hath given us multiplied assurances of his loving-kindness unto us, and crowned us together with heavenly dominion, in which my spirit is at this time broken before the Lord, do I most earnestly entreat you to watch continually, lest any of you, who have tasted of the good Word of God, and the powers of the world to come, fall by temptation; and by carelessness and neglect tempt the living God to withdraw his fatherly visitation from any of you, and finally to desert such; for the Lord our God is a jealous God, and he will not give his glory unto another. He hath given to man all but man himself, and him he hath reserved for his own peculiar service, to build him up a glorious temple to Himself; so that we are bought with a price, and we are not our own.

"Therefore let us continually watch and stand in awe, that we grieve not his Holy Spirit, nor turn his grace into wantonness; but let all of us wait, in a holy travail of spirit, to know ourselves sealed by the Spirit of adoption, unto the day of our complete redemption; when not only all our sins, but all sorrows, sighings, and tears shall be wiped away from our eyes; and everlasting songs of joy and thanksgivings shall melodiously fill our hearts to God, who sits upon the throne, and to his blessed, immaculate Lamb, who by his most precious blood shall have completely redeemed us from the earth, and written our names in the book of life.

"Friends, the Spirit of the Lord hath often brought you into my remembrance, since I have been in this desolate land; and with joy unutterable have I had sweet and precious fellowship with you in the faith of Jesus, that overcometh the world; for, though absent in body, yet present in Him that is Omnipresent. I can truly say, you are very near and very dear to me; and the love that God hath raised in my heart unto you, surpasses the love of women. Our testimony, I am well satisfied, is sealed up together, and I am well

assured, that all who love the light, shall endure to the end throughout all tribulations, and in the end obtain eternal salvation.

"And now, Friends, as I have been travelling in this dark and solitary land, the great work of the Lord in the earth has been often presented to my view, and the day of the Lord hath been deeply upon me, and my soul hath frequently been possessed with a holy and weighty concern for the glory of the name of the Lord, and the spreading of his everlasting Truth, and the prosperity of it through all nations; that the very ends of the earth may look to him, and may know Christ, the light, to be given to them for their salvation. And when the sense of these things hath been deeply upon me, a holy and strong cry God hath raised in my soul to him, that we, who have known this fatherly visitation from on high, and who have beheld the day of the Lord, the rising of the Sun of righteousness, who is full of grace, and full of truth, and have beheld his glory, and confessed it to be the glory of the only begotten Son of God; and who by obedience to his appearance are become the children of light and of the day, and as the first fruits to God after this long night of apostacy,—might for ever walk and dwell in his holy covenant, Christ Jesus, the Light of the world; because in him we have always peace, but out of him comes all the trouble.

"And whilst this heavenly sense rested with me, the Lord God that made me and called me by his grace unto salvation, laid it upon me to visit you in a holy exhortation. And it is the exhortation of my life at this time, in the earnest and fervent motion of the power and Spirit of Jesus, to beseech you all, who are turned to the light of Christ, which shineth in your hearts, and believe in it; that you carefully and faithfully walk in it, in the same dread, awe and fear, in which you began; that that holy poverty of spirit, which is precious in the eyes of the Lord, and was in the days of your first love, may dwell and rest with you; that you may daily feel the same heavenly hunger and thirst, the same lowliness and humility of mind, the same zeal and tenderness, and the same sincerity and love unfeigned; that God may fill you out of his heavenly treasure with the riches of life, and crown you with holy victory and dominion over the god and spirit of this world; that your alpha may be your omega, and your author your finisher, and your first love your last love; that so none may make shipwreck of faith and of a good conscience, nor faint by the way. As in this state we are kept, in holy watchfulness to God as in the beginning; the table which our heavenly Father spreads, and the blessings with which he compasseth us about, shall not become a snare unto us, nor shall we turn the grace and mercies of the Lord into wantonness; but we shall eat and drink in a holy fear, apparel ourselves in fear, buy and sell in fear, visit one another in fear, keep meetings, and there wait upon the Lord in fear; yea, whatsoever we take in hand to do, it shall be in the holy fear of God, and with a holy tenderness of his glory, and regard to the prosperity of his Truth: yea, we shall deny ourselves, not only in the unlawful things, but in the things that are even lawful to us, for the sake of the many millions that are unconverted to God.

"For my Friends and brethren, God hath laid upon us, whom he hath honoured with the beginning of his great work in the world, the care both of this age, and of the ages to come; that they may walk as they have us for examples:—yea, the Lord God has chosen you to place his name in you; the Lord hath entrusted you with his glory, that you might hold it forth to all nations; and that the generations unborn may call you blessed.

"Therefore let none be treacherous to the Lord, nor reward him evil for good; nor betray his cause directly by wilful wickedness, nor indirectly by negligence and unfaithfulness, but be zealous and valiant for Truth on earth. Let none be slothful or careless:—O! remember the slothful servant's state. Let the loving-kindness of the Lord overcome every soul to faithfulness; for with him are riches and honour, and every good thing. And whither should any go? He hath the words of eternal life. O! let none lose their testimony, but hold it up for God; let thy gift be ever so small, thy testimony ever so little. Through thy whole conversation bear it for God; and be true to what thou art convinced of. And wait all upon the Lord, that you may grow in your heavenly testimony; that life may fill your hearts, your houses, and your meetings; that you may daily wait to know, and to receive power to do, the will of God on earth, as it is in heaven.

"And O! that the cross of Jesus may be in high and honourable esteem with every one; that the liberty of all may stand in the cross, which alone preserveth: for it is the power of God, that crucifieth us to the world, and the world to us. And through death, way is made unto life and immortality; which by this blessed cross, the Gospel, the power, is brought to light. So shall the seed of life that God hath sown in our hearts, grow; and in that seed shall we all come to be blessed, unto whom God hath appointed the dominion over us. And it is good for all to live under the holy government of it; for the ways of it are ways

of pleasantness, and all its paths are peace; and all that are born of it, can say, Thy sceptre is a sceptre of righteousness. And O! that all Friends every where, may continually bow unto his righteous sceptre, and keep to his holy law, which is written in their hearts; that it may be a light to their feet, and a lantern to their paths. So shall they come to witness that holy promise made good unto them, 'The Spirit which I have given unto him, the Seed; and the words which I have put into his mouth, shall not depart from him, nor from his seed, nor from his seed's seed unto all generations.'

"Wherefore, Friends, redeem the time, because the days are evil;—God hath given you to see they are so: and be ye separated more and more, yea, perfectly disentangled from the cares of this world. And be ye not cumbered with the many things; but stand loose from the things that are seen, which are temporal.

"And you that are poor murmur not; but be patient and trust in the Lord, and submit to his providence, and he will provide for you that which is convenient for the days of your appointed time. And you that are rich, keep in the moderation, and strive not to multiply earthly treasure, nor to heap up uncertain riches to yourselves; but what God hath given you more than is convenient for your own use, wait for his wisdom, to employ it for his glory; that you may be faithful stewards of this world's mammon; and the Lord God shall reward you into your bosoms, of the riches of that kingdom that shall never have an end.

"O my Friends and brethren! whether rich or poor, in bonds or at liberty, in whatsoever state you are, the salutation of the universal life of Jesus is to you. And the exhortation is, to bow to what is made known unto you; and in the light, by which ye have received in measure the knowledge of God, watch and wait diligently to the further revelation of the mind and will of God unto you; that ye may be endued from on high with power and might in your inward man, to answer the call and requirings of the Lord; that ye may be enabled to make known to the nations, what is the riches of the glory of this blessed mystery in the Gentiles; which is Christ Jesus, the light of the world, in you the hope of glory. For this, I have to tell you in the vision of the Almighty,—that the day of the breaking up of the nations about you, and of the sounding of the gospel-trumpet unto the inhabitants of the earth, is just at the door; and they that are worthy, who have kept their habitation from the beginning, and have dwelt in the unity of the faith that overcometh the world, and have kept the bond of peace, the Lord God will empower and spirit you to go forth with his everlasting word and testament, to awaken and gather kindreds, languages, and people to the glory of the rising of the Gentiles' Light; who is God's salvation unto the ends of the earth.

"And I must tell you, that there is a breathing, hungering, seeking people, solitarily scattered up and down this great land of Germany, where the Lord hath sent me; and I believe it is the like in other nations. The Lord hath laid it upon me, with my companions, to seek some of them out, and we have found several in divers places. We have had many blessed opportunities amongst them, wherein our hearts have greatly rejoiced; having been made deeply sensible of the love of God towards them, and of the great openness and tenderness of spirit in them, to receive the testimony of light and life through us. We have a steadfast belief, that the Lord will carry on his work in this land effectually; and that he will raise up those, that shall be as ministers of his eternal testament amongst them. And our desire is, that God would put it into the hearts of many of his faithful witnesses, to visit the inhabitants of this country, where God hath a great seed of people to be gathered; that his work may go on in the earth, till the whole earth be filled with his glory.

"And it is under the deep and weighty sense of this approaching work, that the Lord God hath laid it upon me, to write to you, to wait for the further pourings out of the power and Spirit of the Lord; that nothing which is careless, sleepy, earthly, or exalted may get up, whereby to displease the Lord, and cause him to withdraw his sweet and preserving presence from any that know him. But let all keep the peace of the King of Righteousness, and walk in the steps of the flocks of his companions; for withering and destruction shall come upon all such as desert the camp of the Lord, or with their murmuring spirit disquiet the heritage of God; for they are greater enemies to Zion's glory and Jerusalem's peace, than the open armies of the aliens.

"And it is a warning to all who make mention of the name of the Lord in this dispensation he hath brought us to, that they have a care how they let out their minds in any wise to please the lusts of the eye, the lusts of the flesh, and the pride of life, which are not of the Father but of this world; lest any be exalted in a liberty that maketh the cross of Jesus of none effect, and the offence thereof to cease; for such will become as salt that hath lost its savour, and at last will be trodden un-

der the feet of God and men. For, the Lord will withdraw his daily presence, and the fountain will come to be sealed up, and the well of salvation be stopped again.

"Therefore, as all would rejoice in the joy of God's salvation, let them wait for the saving power, and dwell in it; that, knowing the mystery of the work of regeneration—Christ formed in them the hope of their glory—they may be able in the motion of him, that hath begotten them through death to life, to go forth and declare the way of life and salvation.

"And all you that are young, convinced of the eternal Truth, come into it, and then you will feel the virtue of it: and so you will be witnesses, otherwise vain talkers, wells without water, clouds without rain; for which state, is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever. Wherefore, gird up the loins of your minds, be sober, and tempt not God; but receive the day of your visitation, walk worthy of so great love, and delight to retain God in your knowledge; grieve not his holy Spirit, but join to it, and be led by it, that it may be an earnest to you of an eternal inheritance. Take up your daily cross and follow Christ, and follow not the spirit of this world. He was meek and lowly, he was humble and plain; he was few in words, but mighty in deeds. He loved not his life unto death, even the reproachful death of the cross; but laid down his life, and became of no reputation, and that for the rebellious. O, the height and depth, the length, and the breadth, yea, the unsearchableness of the love of God in Christ Jesus.

"Wherefore, while it is to-day, hearken to his voice, and harden not your hearts: and make no bargains for self, neither consult with flesh and blood: but let the Lord be your light, and your salvation; let him be the strength of your life, and the length of your days. And this know assuredly, that none ever trusted to the Lord, and were confounded. Wherefore, hold up your testimony for God, as ye would enjoy the increasings of his life and love; and let your light shine, and confess him before the whole world. Smother not his appearance, neither hide the candle which God hath lighted in thee, under a bushel; for Christ walketh among his candlesticks of pure and tried gold. Wherefore, set thy light upon a candlestick, and show forth thy good conversation in meekness and godly fear, that thou mayst become a good example, and others beholding thy good works, may glorify God. But, for the rebellious, the fearful, and the unbelieving, the day hastens upon such, in which the things that belong to their peace, shall be hid from their eyes for ever.

"And all you, my dear Friends and brethren, who are in sufferings for the testimony of Jesus, and a good conscience, look up to Jesus, the author and finisher of your faith; who, for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross and despised the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the Father in the heavenly place:—into which, if you faint not, you shall all be received, after the days of your pilgrimage shall be at an end, with a 'Well done, good and faithful servant.' And though these afflictions seem not joyous, but grievous for the present; yet a far more exceeding weight of glory stands at the door. Wherefore, count it all joy when you fall into these trials, and persevere to the end; knowing, He that shall come, will come, and will not tarry, and that his reward is with him. Remember the martyrs of Jesus, who loved not their lives to the death, for his name-sake, who had called them; and Jesus himself, who made a good confession before Pontius Pilate; who hath consecrated through his blood a new and living way for all that come unto God by him; who is made a High-priest, higher than the heavens,—one that can be touched and moved, and is daily touched and moved with our weakness and infirmity;—that through him we may be made strong in the Lord, and more than conquerors through him that hath loved us.

"Wherefore, let it not seem as if some strange thing had happened to you; for all these things are for the trial of your faith, which is more precious than the gold that perisheth. It is the old quarrel;—children of this world, against the children of the Lord; those that are born after the flesh, warring against those that are born after the Spirit; the Jews, under the profession of the letter of the law, against Christ, that came to fulfil the law, and all his spiritual followers and disciples; and all the false apostate Christians, against the true and spiritual Christians and martyrs of Jesus. So, your conflict is for the spiritual appearance of Christ Jesus against those that profess him in words, but in works and conversation every day deny him; doing despite to the spirit of grace in themselves, and those that are led by it. But though Gog and Magog shall gather themselves together to lay waste the city of God; yet the Lord hath determined their destruction, and he will bring it to pass.

"Wherefore rejoice, O thou hill of God, and clap thy hands for joy; for He that is faithful and true, just and righteous, and able to deliver thee, dwells in the midst of thee:

who will cause thee to grow and increase, till thou become a great mountain, till thou become the praise of the whole earth, and the whole earth be filled with thy glory!

"And to you all, who are the followers of the Lamb of God, who was dead, but is alive, and lives for evermore,—who is risen in your hearts, as a bright shining light, and is leading you out of the nature and spirit of this world, in the path of regeneration,—I have this to say, by way of holy encouragement unto you all; The Lord God that was, and is, and is to come, hath reserved for you the glories of the last days. And if the followers and martyrs of Jesus in ages past, when the church was going into the wilderness and his witnesses into sackcloth, were, notwithstanding, so noble and valiant for the Truth on earth, that they loved not their lives unto the death, and suffered joyfully the spoiling of their goods for the testimony of Jesus;—how much more ought you all to be encouraged unto faithfulness, who are come to the resurrection of the day which shall never more be eclipsed; in which the Bridegroom is to come, to fetch you his spouse out of the wilderness, to give you beauty for ashes, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness; who will cover you with his Spirit, and adorn you with his fine linen, the righteousness of the saints. Lean upon His breast for ever! and know your joining in an everlasting covenant with him, that he may lift up the light of his countenance upon you, and delight to do you good; that in blessing he may bless you, increase you, and multiply you in all spiritual blessings now and for ever; that to God, through him, you may live all the days of your appointed time;—to whom be glory and honour, praises and thanksgivings in the church, throughout all ages, and for ever!

"I am, in the faith, patience, tribulation, and hope of the kingdom of Jesus, your friend and brother, WILLIAM PENN."

"My companions in the labour and travail of the testimony of Jesus, salute you all in the love of our God. We have passed through several cities of Germany, and are now at Frankfort, where the Lord hath given us three blessed opportunities with a serious and seeking people; whereof, as in other places of this country, many are persons of great worldly quality. Blessed be the name of the Lord, to whom be glory for ever! W. P.

"Frankfort, the 22nd of the Sixth month, 1677."

CHAPTER XIII.

ON the 23d of sixth month, we arrived by the way of Worms at Krisheim in the Paltzgrave's country, where we found, to our great joy, a meeting of tender and faithful people.

But it seems the inspector of the Calvinists had joined the Vaught, or chief officer, not to suffer any preaching to be among our friends; who, poor man! fearing the indignation of the clergy, came next day to desire Friends not to suffer any preaching to be amongst them, lest he should be turned out of his place. To whom we desired Friends to say, that, if he pleased he might apprehend us, and carry us to the Prince, before whom we should give an account of our testimony.

But, blessed be the Lord! we enjoyed our meeting quietly and comfortably; of which a coach full from Worms made a part, amongst whom was a governor of that country, and one of the chief Lutheran priests.

It came upon me in this place to salute the Princess and Countess with this following epistle.

"*A salutation to Elizabeth, Princess Palatine, and Anna Maria de Hornes, Countess of Hornes, at Herwerden in Germany.*

"My worthy friends,

"SUCH as I have, such I give unto you; the dear and tender salutation of light, life, peace, and salvation by Jesus Christ, the blessed Lamb of God; with the unspeakable joy of which, he has replenished my soul at this time, that my cup overfloweth; which is the reward of those who cheerfully drink his cup of tribulations, love the cross, and triumph in all the shame, reproaches, and contradictions of the world that do attend it. My God take you by the hand, and gently lead you through all the difficulties of regeneration; and as you have begun to know and love his sweet and tender drawings, so resign the whole conduct of your lives to him.

"Dispute not away the precious sense that you have of him, be it as small as a grain of mustard-seed, which is the least of all seeds; there is power in it, if you do but believe, to remove the greatest mountains of opposition.

Precious is this faith, yea, more precious than the glory and honour of this world that perisheth: it will give courage to go with Christ before Caiaphas and Pilate; yea, to bear his cross without the camp, and to be crucified with him, knowing that the spirit of God and of glory shall rest upon them. To the inheritors of this faith, is reserved the eternal kingdom of peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.

"O! be you of that little flock, unto whom Jesus said, 'Fear not, for it is my Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom:' and, to be of this flock, you must become as sheep;

and to be as sheep, you must become harmless; and to become harmless, you must hear and follow the Lamb of God; as he is that blessed Light which discovereth and condemneth all the unfruitful works of darkness, and maketh harmless as a dove; which word, all, leaveth not one peccadillo or circumstance undiscovered or unjudged; and the word darkness, taketh in the whole night of apostacy; and the word unfruitful, is a plain judgment against all those dark works. Wherefore, out of them all come, and be you separated; and God will give you a crown of life, which shall never fade away.

"O! the lowness and meanness of those spirits, that despise or neglect the joys and glories of immortality, for the sake of the things which are seen, that are but temporal; debasing the nobility of their souls, abandoning the government of the divine Spirit, and embracing with all ardency of affection the sensual pleasures of this life; but such as persevere therein, shall not enter into God's rest for ever.

"But this is not all that hindereth and obstructeth in the holy way of blessedness; for there is the world's fear as well as the world's joy that obstructeth many, or else Christ had not said, 'Fear not,' to his little flock. The shame of the cross is a yoke too uneasy, and a burden too heavy for flesh and blood to bear, it is true; but therefore, shall flesh and blood never enter into the kingdom of God. And not to them that are born of the flesh, but to those that are born of the Spirit through the word of regeneration, is appointed the kingdom, and that throne which shall judge the twelve tribes of Israel, and all the world. The Lord perfect what he hath begun in you, and give you dominion over the love and fear of this world.

"And, my friends, if you would profit in the way of God, despise not the day of small things in yourselves: know this, that to desire and sincerely to breathe after the Lord, is a blessed state. You must seek, before you find. Do you believe? make not haste; extinguish not those small beginnings by an over earnest or impatient desire of victory. God's time is the best time; be you faithful, and your conflict shall end with glory to God, and the reward of peace to your own souls. Therefore love the judgment, and love the fire; start not aside, neither flinch from the scorchings of it, for it will purify and refine you as gold seven times tried; then cometh the stamp and seal of the Lord upon his own vessel, holiness to him for ever; which he never gave, nor will give to reprobate silver, the state of the religious worshippers of the world. And herein be comforted, that Zion shall be redeemed through judgment, and her converts through righteousness; and after the appointed time of mourning is over, the Lord will give 'beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness.' Then shall you be able to say, 'Who is he that condemneth us? God hath justified us; there is no condemnation to us that are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.'

"Wherefore, my dear friends, walk not only not after the fleshly lusts, but also not after the fleshly religions and worships of the world; for that which is not born of the Spirit is flesh; and all flesh shall wither as the grass, and the beauty of it shall fade away as the flower of the field, before God's Sun that is risen, and rising. But the Word of the Lord in which is life, and that life, the light of men, shall endure for ever, and give life eternal to them that love and walk in the light.

"And I entreat you, by the love you have for Jesus, have a care how you touch with fleshly births, or say Amen, by word or practice, to that which is not born of the Spirit; for God is not to be found of that, in yourselves or others, which calleth him Father, and he hath never begotten it in them; that latitude and conformity is not of God, but secretly grieveth his Spirit, and obstructeth the growth of the soul in its acquaintance and intimate communion with the Lord. 'Without me,' saith Jesus, 'you can do nothing;' and 'all that came before me are thieves and robbers.' If so, what are they that pray, and preach, and sing without Jesus, and follow not him in those duties, but even crucify him in them? O that I may find in you an ear to hear, and a heart to perceive and embrace these truths of Jesus!

"And I can say, I have great cause to hope, and patiently to wait till the salvation of God be further revealed to you, and the whole family; with whom, I must acknowledge, I was abundantly refreshed and comforted, in that God in measure made known the riches of his grace, and operation of his celestial power to you; and his witness shall dwell with you, if we never see you more, that God magnified his own strength in our weakness. With him we leave our travails, affectionately recommending you to his holy Spirit of grace, that you may be conformed to the image of his own dear Son, who is able and ready to preserve you. O stay your minds upon him, and he will keep you in perfect peace, and abide with you for ever! The Almighty take you into his holy protection now and for ever.

"I am your true friend, ready to serve you with fervent love in the will of God.

"WILLIAM PENN."

"P. S. My dear companions do, with me, give you the dear salutation of unfeigned love, and those in the family that love and desire to follow the Lord Jesus in sincerity and truth without wavering. We are this evening bound towards Manheim, the court of the prince Palatine, and have travelled about twelve English miles on foot."

That night we lodged at Frankenhal, and got the next morning, being the seventh-day of the week, to Manheim; but were disappointed of our design, which was, to speak with the prince; for he was gone the day before to Heidelberg, his chief city, about fifteen English miles from that place. Considering, that by reason of the meeting next day with Friends at Krisheim, already appointed, we could neither go forward, nor stay till he returned; and yet being not clear to come away, as if we had never endeavoured to visit him, it was upon me to write him this following letter, to let him know we had been there, and briefly our end in coming.

"*To the Prince Elector Palatine of Heidelberg.*

"Great prince,

"IT would seem strange that I, both a stranger and a subject, should use this freedom of address to a prince, were he not one, whose actions show him to be of a free disposition, and easy access to all: would to God all princes were of that mind! But I have not chosen this way of application; I am driven to it, by the disappointment thy absence from this court gave me, and the necessity I am under to expedite my return. And though I cannot so fully, and consequently not so clearly, express by letter the grounds inducing me to attempt this visit; yet this being all the way that is left me, I shall declare them as well as I can.

"In the first place, I do with all sincere and Christian respect, acknowledge and commend that indulgence thou givest to all people professing religion, dissenting from the national communion: for it is in itself a most natural, prudent, and Christian thing.

"Natural,—because it preserves nature from being made a sacrifice to the savage fury of fallible, yet proud opinions, outlawing men of parts, arts, industry, and honesty, the grand requisites of human society; and exposing them and their families to utter ruin for mere non-conformity, not to religion, but to modes and fashions in religion.

"Christian,—since the contrary expressly contradicts both the precept and example of Christ, who taught us to love enemies, not to abuse our friends, or triumph in the destruction of our harmless neighbours. He rebuked his disciples, when they called for fire from heaven upon dissenters, it may be, opposers: certainly then, he never intended that they should kindle fire on earth to devour men for conscience. And if Christ, to whom all power was given, and his holy apostles, refused to employ human force and artifice so much as to preserve themselves, it is an arrogancy every way indefensible in those that pretend to be their followers, that they assume an authority to supersede, control, and contradict the precepts and examples of Christ and his apostles; whose kingdom not being of the nature of this ambitious, violent world, was not erected or maintained by those weapons that are carnal, but spiritual and intellectual, adequate to the nature of the soul, and mighty through God to cast down the strong holds of sin, and every vain imagination exalted in man above the lowly, meek fear of God, that ought to have the pre-eminence in the hearts of the sons of men.

"Indulgence is prudent, in that it preserveth concord: no kingdom divided against itself, can stand. It encourageth arts, parts, and industry, to show and improve themselves, which indeed are the ornaments, strength, and wealth of a country: it encourageth people to transplant into this land of liberty, where the sweat of the brow is not made the forfeit of the conscience.

"And lastly, it rendereth the prince peculiarly safe and great. Safe, because all interests, for interest-sake, are bound to love and court him. Great, in that he is not governed or clogged with the power of his clergy; which in most countries is not only a co-ordinate power, a kind of duumvirateship in government, *imperium in imperio*, at least an eclipse to monarchy, but a superior power, and rideth the prince to their designs, holding the helm of the government, and steering not by the laws of civil freedom, but certain ecclesiastical maxims of their own, to the maintenance and enlargement of their worldly empire in their church. And all this acted under the sacred, peaceable, and alluring name of Christ, his ministry and church; though as remote from their nature, as the wolf from the sheep, and the pope from Peter.

"The next thing I should have taken the liberty to have discoursed, would have been this; what encouragement a colony of virtuous and industrious families might hope to receive from thee, in case they should transplant themselves into this country, which certainly in itself is very excellent, respecting taxes, oaths, arms, &c.

"Further, to have represented the condition of some of our Friends, and thy own subjects; who though they are liable to the same tax as Menists, &c., yet the Vaught of the town where they live, came yesterday to forbid all preaching amongst them, which implies a sort of contradiction to the indulgence given.

"And in the last place, forasmuch as all men owe their being to something greater than themselves, to which it is reasonable to believe they are accountable, from whence follow rewards or punishments,—I had an earnest desire to have spoken of the nature, truth, use, benefit, and reward of religion; and therein to have discoursed, what the Christian religion is in itself, freed from those unreasonable garbs some men make it to wear, so justly offensive to wise and thinking men—thus to have proved the principle and life of the people in scorn called Quakers, to be suitable to the true followers of holy Jesus. But, as the particulars would swell a letter to a book, I shall take the freedom to present thee, upon my return, with some tracts treating upon all these subjects.

"Prince! my soul is filled with love and respect to thee and thy family; I wish you all true and lasting felicity, and earnestly desire that you may never forget your afflictions, and in the remembrance of them be dehorted from those lusts and impieties, which draw the vengeance of heaven upon the greatest families on earth; that God may look upon you with the favourable eye of his providence. And blessed is that man, whose God by profession is his Lord in reality; who is ruled and governed by the Lord, lives in subjection to his grace, and having a Divine sense of God in his heart, delights to retain that sense and knowledge of him, and be meditating in his noble royal law, that converts the soul to God, and redeems man from the sensual pleasures of this world, to the true satisfaction of the intellectual and Divine life.

"O the meanness and lowness of their spirits, who abandon themselves to the government of sense, the animal life, thereby debasing their natures, rejecting the Divine light, that shineth in their hearts, saying, 'Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall die;' forgetting whence they are descended, and not considering the peace and joy of the virtuous!

"I desire that the Lord would put it into thy heart to think of thy latter end, and with the light of Christ in thy conscience examine how it stands with thy soul, that thou mayst know, and diligently watch to do those things that belong to thy eternal peace.

"One thing more give me leave to recommend to thee, and that is, to be very careful to inculcate generous, free, and righteous principles into thy son, who is likely to succeed thee; that when thou art gone, the reputation of the country may not sink by contrary practices, nor the people of divers judgments, now thy subjects, be disappointed, distressed, or ruined. Which, with sincere desires for thy temporal and eternal good, conclude this,

"Thy unknown, but sincere friend,

"WILLIAM PENN.

"From Manheim, 25th of Sixth month, 1677."

This being done, and having refreshed ourselves, we returned that night by the Rhine to Worms; whence, the next morning, being the first-day of the week, we walked on foot to Krisheim, about six English miles from Worms. We had a good meeting from the tenth till the third hour, and the Lord's power was sweetly opened to many of the inhabitants of the town who were at the meeting. The Vaught or chief officer himself stood at the door behind the barn, where he could hear and not be seen; and went to the priest and told him, that it was his work, if we were heretics, to discover us to be such, but for his part he heard nothing but what was good, and he would not meddle with us.

In the evening we had a more retired meeting of the Friends only, very weighty and tender; yea, the power rose in a high operation among them, and great was the love of God that was in our hearts at the meeting to visit them; and there is a lovely, sweet, and true sense among them. We were greatly comforted in them, and they were greatly comforted in us. Poor hearts! a little handful surrounded with great and mighty countries of darkness; it is the Lord's great goodness and mercy to them, that they are so finely kept in the seed of life. Most of them were gathered by dear William Ames.

On the 27th we had another meeting, where we took our leave of them, and accompanied by several of them, came to Worms; where having refreshed ourselves, we went to visit the Lutheran priest, who was at the meeting the sixth-day before at Krisheim. He and his wife received us very kindly, not without some sense of our testimony. After we had discoursed about an hour with him of the true and heavenly ministry and worship, and in what they stood, and what all people must come to, if they ever know how to worship God aright; we departed, and immediately sent them several good books of Friends in High Dutch.

We took boat about the third hour in the

afternoon, and came down the river Rhine to Mentz, where we arrived about the fifth hour in the morning; and immediately took an open chariot for Frankfort, where we came about the first hour in the afternoon. We presently informed some of those people that had received us the time before, of our return to that city, with desires that we might have a meeting that afternoon; which was readily granted us by the noble women at whose house we met, whither resorted some that we had not seen before. And the Lord did, after a living manner, open our hearts and mouths amongst them, which was received by them as a further confirmation of the coming of the day of the Lord unto them; yea, with much joy and kindness they received us. The meeting held till the ninth hour at night; they constrained us to stay and eat with them, which was also a blessed meeting to them. Before we parted, we desired a select meeting the next morning at the same place, of those that we felt to be more inwardly affected with Truth's testimony, and that were nearest to the state of a silent meeting; to which they joyfully assented.

We went to our lodging, and on the 29th returned to them, with whom we had a blessed and heavenly opportunity; for we had room for our life amongst them: it was as among faithful Friends; life ran as oil, and was a-top of all.

We recommended a silent meeting to them, that they might grow into a holy silence unto themselves; that the mouth that calls God, Father, and is not of his own birth, may be stopped, and all images confounded; that they may hear the soft voice of Jesus to instruct them, and receive his sweet life to feed them and to build them up.

About the ninth hour we departed from that place, and went to Vanderwalls, where the meeting was the time before; and there we had a more public meeting, of all that pleased to come. The Lord did so abundantly appear amongst us, that they were more broken than we had seen them at any time; yea, they were exceedingly tender and low, and the love of God was much raised in their hearts to the testimony. In this sensible frame we left them, and the blessings and peace of our Lord Jesus Christ with and among them.

After having refreshed ourselves at our inn, we took boat down the Main to Mentz, where we arrived about the fifth hour. It is a great city, but a dark and superstitious place, according to the popish way, and is under the government of a popish bishop. We staid no longer there, than until our boat was ready, which might be more than half an hour. From Mentz we went on our way down the Rhine six German miles, and came that night to Hampack. From thence the next morning by Bacharach, Coblentz, and other places upon the Rhine, to Tressy that night, being about eleven German miles.

Next day, the 31st, we got to Cologne, a great popish city, about the third hour in the afternoon. We gave notice to a sober merchant, a serious seeker after God, that we were arrived; who presently came to us. We sat down, and had a living and precious opportunity with him; opening to him the way of the Lord, as it had been manifested to us; entreating him, if he knew any in that city, who had desires after the Lord, or were willing to come to a meeting, that he would please to inform them of our being here, and of our desire to meet with them. He answered, that he would readily do it. This night, when we were in bed, came the resident of several princes, a serious and tender man, to find us out; we had some discourse with him; but, being late, he promised to see us the next day.

The next morning the aforesaid merchant informed us, that it was a busy time, several preparing for the mass or great fair at Frankfort; yet some would come, and he desired it might be at his house about three in the afternoon.

That morning, we went to visit the resident, whom we met coming to see us; but he returned and brought us to his house. We had a good time with him; for the man is an ancient seeker, oppressed with the cares of this world, and he may be truly said to mourn under them. His heart was opened to us, and he blessed God that he had lived to see us. We gave him an account, how the Lord had appeared in the land of our nativity, and how he had dealt with us; which was as the cool and gentle showers upon the dry and scorched desert. About noon we returned home, and after we had eaten, we went to the merchant's house to the meeting; where came four persons, one of whom was the Presbyterian priest, who preached in private to the Protestants of that place, for they are in no ways publicly allowed in that city. Surely, the true day and power of the Lord made itself known to the consciences of those present: yea they felt that we were such as had been with Jesus, and had obtained our testimony through the sufferings and travails of the cross. They were tender: the resident and merchant conducted us to our inn, and from thence to the boat, being about seven at night. We set out towards the city of Duysburg, of the Calvinist way, belonging to the Elector of Brandenburg; in and near to which, we had been informed, there was a retired and seeking people.

We arrived there on the 2nd of seventh month, about noon, being the first-day of the week. The first thing we did, after we came to our inn, was to inquire out one Dr. Mastricht, a civilian, for whom we had a letter to introduce us, from a merchant of Cologne: whom quickly finding, we informed him what we came about, desiring his assistance; which he readily promised us. The first thing we offered, was an access to the Countess of Falkenstein and Bruck. He told us she was an extraordinary woman, one in whom we should find things worthy of our love; that he would write to her, to give us an opportunity with her; that the fittest time was the present time, in that we might find her at the minister's of Mulheim, on the other side of the river from her father's castle; for that she used to come out on first-day morning, and not return till night: that we must be very shy of making ourselves public, not only for our own sakes, but for hers, who was severely treated by her father, for the sake of those religious inclinations that appeared in her, although her father pretended to be of the Protestant religion.

We therefore despatched towards Mulheim, having received his letter, and being also accompanied by him about one-third of the way. But being six English miles, and on foot, we could not compass the place before the meeting was over; for it was past three before we could get out of Duysburg: and, following that way which led to the back of the Graef's castle and orchard, which was also a common way to the town, (though if we had known the country we might have avoided it,) we met with one Henry Smith, school-master and catechiser of Speldorp, to whom we imparted our business, and gave the letter of Dr. Mastricht of Duysburg to introduce us to the Countess.

He told us, he had just left her, being come over the water from worship, but he would carry the letter to her, and bring an answer suddenly; but notwithstanding staid near an hour. When he came he gave us this answer; namely, that she would be glad to meet us, but she did not know where; but rather inclined that we should go over the water to the minister's house, whither, if she could, she would come to us; but that a strict hand was held over her by her father. After some more serious discourse with him, concerning the witness of God in the conscience, and the discovery, testimony, and judgment of that true light, unto which all must bow that would be heirs of the kingdom of God; recommending him to the same, we parted; he returning homewards, and we advancing to the town. Being necessitated to pass by her father's castle, who is seignior or lord of that country, it so fell out that at that very instant he came forth to walk; and seeing us in the habit of strangers, sent one of his attendants to demand who and from whence we were? and whither we went? calling us afterwards to him, and asking us the same questions. We answered, that we were Englishmen come from Holland, going no further in these parts than his own town of Mulheim. But not showing him, or paying him that worldly homage and respect which was expected from us, some of his gentlemen asked us, if we knew whom we were before? and if we did not use to deport ourselves after another manner before noblemen, and in the presence of princes? We answered, we were not conscious to ourselves of any disrepect or unseemly behaviour. One of them sharply replied, "Why do not you pull off your hats, then? Is it respect, to stand covered in the presence of the sovereign of the country?" We told them, it was our practice in the presence of our prince, who is a great king, and that we uncovered not our heads to any, but in our duty to Almighty God. Upon which the Graef called us Quakers, saying to us, "We have no need of Quakers here; get you out of my dominions, you shall not go to my town."

We told him we were an innocent people, that feared God, and had good-will towards all men; that we had true respect in our hearts towards him, and would be glad to do him any real good or service; and that the Lord had made it matter of conscience to us, not to conform ourselves to the vain and fruitless customs of this world, or words to this purpose. However, he commanded some of his soldiers to see us out of his territories; to whom we also declared somewhat of the reason and intention of our coming to that place, in the fear and love of God; and they were civil to us.

We parted with much peace and comfort in our hearts; and as we passed through the village where the school-master dwelt, (yet in the dominions of the Graef,) we called upon him, and in the sense of God's power and kingdom opened to him the message and testimony of Truth, which the man received with a weighty and serious spirit. Under the dominion of the Graef, there is a large congregation of Protestants called Calvinists, of a more religious, inward, and zealous frame of spirit, than any body of people we met with or heard of in Germany.

After we had ended our testimony to him, we took our leave; desiring him not to fear, but to be of good courage, for the day of the Lord was hastening upon all the workers of iniquity: and to them that feared his name, wherever scattered throughout the earth, he

would cause the Sun of righteousness to arise and visit them, with healing under his wings. We desired he would remember us with true love and kindness to the Countess, daughter to the Graef; and to desire her not to be offended in us, nor to be dismayed at the displeasure of her father, but eye the Lord who hath visited her soul with his holy light, by which she seeth the vanity of this world, and in some measure the emptiness and deadness of the religions that are in it; and he would preserve her from the fear of the wrath of men, that worketh not the righteousness of God. So we left the peace of Jesus with him and walked on towards Duysburg, being about six English miles from thence, and near the eighth hour at night. The Lord was with us, and comforted our hearts with the joy of his salvation, as we walked, without any outward guide, through a tedious and solitary wood, about three miles long. He gave us to remember, and to speak one unto another of his blessed witnesses in the days past, who wandered up and down like poor pilgrims and strangers on the earth, their eye being to a city in the heavens that hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God.

Between nine and ten o'clock, we reached the walls of Duysburg; but the gates were shut, and there being no houses without the walls, we laid us down together in a field, receiving both natural and spiritual refreshment: blessed be the Lord. About three o'clock in the morning we rose, sanctifying God in our hearts who had kept us that night; and walked till five o'clock, often speaking one to another of the great and notable day of the Lord dawning upon Germany, and of several places in that land that were almost ripe unto harvest.

CHAPTER XIV.

Soon after the clock had struck five, they opened the gates of the city, and we had not long been at our inn, when it came upon me, with a sweet, yet fervent power, to visit this persecuted Countess with a salutation from the love and life of Jesus, and to open unto her more plainly the way of the Lord; which I did in this following epistle:

"*To the Countess of Falkenstein and Bruck, at Mulheim.*

"My dear friend,

"Jesus, the immaculate Lamb of God, grieved and crucified by all the workers of iniquity, illuminate thy understanding, bless and be with thy spirit for ever!

"Though unknown, yet art thou much beloved, for the sake of thy desires and breathings of soul after the living God; the report whereof, from some in the same state, hath made deep impression of true kindness upon my spirit, and raised in me a very singular and fervent inclination to visit thee: and the rather, because of that suffering and tribulation thou hast begun to endure for the sake of thy zeal towards God; myself having from my childhood been both a seeker after the Lord, and a great sufferer for that cause, from parents, relations, companions, and the magistrates of this world. The remembrance whereof, hath so much the more endeared thy condition unto me; and my soul hath often, in the sweet sense and feeling of the holy presence of God, and the precious life of his dear Son in my heart, with great tenderness implored his Divine assistance unto thee, that thou mayst both be illuminated to do, and made willing to suffer for his name's sake; that the spirit of God and of glory may rest upon thy soul.

"And truly I can say, I felt the good-will of God, his holy care and heavenly visitation of love to extend unto thee. But one thing more especially lay upon my spirit to have communicated to thee, which made me the more pressing for an opportunity to speak with thee, and that was this; that thou shouldst have a true, right, and distinct knowledge of thy own state, and what that is which hath visited thee; in what thy faith, patience, hope, and salvation stand; where to wait, and how to find the Lord; and to distinguish between that which is born of God, and that which is not; both with respect to thyself in all the motions and conceptions of thy heart, and with respect to others in their religious worships and performances; to the end, that thou mayst not be deceived about things relating to God's kingdom, and thy eternal peace: this is of the greatest weight.

"Now, know certainly, that which hath discovered unto thee the vanities of this world, the emptiness and the fading of all earthly glory, the blessedness of the righteous, and the joy of the world that is to come, is the light of Christ Jesus, wherewith he hath enlightened thy soul: for, 'in him was life, and that life is the light of mankind.' Thus God promised by the prophet Isaiah, to give him 'for a light to lighten the Gentiles, and for his salvation to the ends of the earth.' So that Christ the Light is God's gift, and eternal life is hid in him, yea, all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge; who is the light of the Gospel temple, even true believers. And all who receive this light into their hearts, and bring their deeds to it, to see in what ground they are wrought, whether in

God or in the evil one, and make this blessed light the guide of their life; fearing, with a holy fear, to do any thing that this light manifests to be evil; waiting and watching with a godly care, to be preserved blameless before the Lord;—I say, all such become children of light, and witnesses of the life of Jesus. O blessed wilt thou be for ever, if in the way of this holy light thy mind walks to the end!

"Let this that hath visited thee lead thee; this seed of light and life, which is the seed of the kingdom. Yea, it is CHRIST, the true and only seed of God, that visited my soul, even in my young years; that spread my sins in order before me, reproved me, and brought godly sorrow upon me; making me often to weep in solitary places, and say within my soul, 'O that I knew the Lord as I ought to know him! O that I served him as I ought to serve him!' Yea, often was there a great concern upon my spirit about my eternal state, mournfully desiring, that the Lord would give my soul rest in the great day of trouble. Now was all the glory of the world as a bubble; yea, nothing was dear to me that I might win Christ: for the love, friendship, and pleasure of this world were a burden unto my soul. And in this seeking state, I was directed to the testimony of Jesus in my own conscience, as the true shining light, giving me to discern the thoughts and intents of my own heart. And no sooner was I turned unto it, but I found it to be that which from my childhood had visited me, though I distinctly knew it not. And when I received it in the love of it, it showed me all that ever I had done, and reproved all the unfruitful works of darkness; judging me as a man in the flesh, and laying judgment to the line, and righteousness to the plummet in me. And as by the brightness of his coming into my soul, he discovered the man of sin there, upon his throne; so by the breath of his mouth, which is the two-edged sword of his Spirit, he destroyeth his power and kingdom. And having made me a witness of the death of the cross, he hath also made me a witness of his resurrection. So that in good measure my soul can now say, I am justified in the spirit; and though the state of condemnation unto death was glorious, yet justification unto life was and is more glorious.

"In this state of the new man, all is new: behold, new heavens and a new earth! Old things come to be done away; the old man with his deeds put off. Now, new thoughts, new desires, new affections, new love, new friendship, new society, new kindred, new faith; even that which overcometh this world, through many tribulations; and new hope, even that living hope that is founded upon true experience, which holds out all storms, and can see to the glory that is invisible to carnal eyes, in the midst of the greatest tempest.

"It is the same blessed seed of light, life, and grace, which from God the Father is sown in thy heart, and which hath moved and wrought there the change which thou hast witnessed from the spirit of this world. Turn to it, watch in it, that by it thou mayst be kept from all that it discovers to be contrary to God; especially from thyself, from thy own runnings, willings, and strivings. For whatsoever is not born of the Spirit is flesh, and that inherits not the kingdom of God; but all that sow to it shall inherit corruption. By this thou wilt come to feel, not only all sin to be a burden, but all thy own righteousness, yea, all man's righteousness to be a burden. Thou wilt see the difference between the duties and prayers which thou begettest, and the duties and prayers which, in thy true silence from all self-activity of mind, the Lord begets in thee.

"O that thou mightst know the mystery of the new birth, and what that is that can truly call God, Father; even that which is begotten of him, which liveth, and breatheth, and hath its beginning and being in that life which is hid with Christ in God, and by which it hath been quickened to the knowledge and worship of Christ and God. And this thou shalt not fail to know and enjoy, as thou patiently sufferest the Lord to work his own work in thee by his own blessed Spirit. And that which will give thee to savour and discern the right motions and conceptions, duties and performances in thyself, from the false, will give thee to savour and discern that which is right from that which is false in others; that which is of God, from that which is of man.

"Have a care of gathering sticks, and kindling a fire of thy own, and then compassing thyself about with the sparks of the fire which thou hast kindled, for the end of this state is to lie down in sorrow; because the heavenly fire is absent, which maketh the sacrifice acceptable: yea, the Lord may stir in thy heart, but thou mayst bring forth: but he that gives to conceive, he brings to the birth, and he giveth power to bring forth acceptably; for without Christ we can do nothing; and blessed are they that stir not, before the angel moveth the waters, and go not before Christ, but are led by him, and that awaken not their Beloved till he please; in whose hands the times and the seasons are. O blessed are they, whose eyes are opened to see him always present, a God always nigh at hand; whose hearts are stayed upon his holy appearance in them, and are thereby translated into his like-

ness; whose faith and hope are in Christ in them, the hope of glory.

"My dear friend, weigh these things with a serious, retired, sweet, and tender frame of spirit; and God who hath called me and thee, by the light of his dear Son, open thy understanding to perceive the Truth as it is in Jesus, and what is the mystery of the fellowship of the saints in light. So to the Lord I recommend thee, the watchman and keeper of Israel. The Lord be thy strength and holy comfort, and speak peace to thee, and never leave thee nor forsake thee till he hath conducted thee, through all tribulations, to his everlasting kingdom of rest and glory.

"O dear heart! be valiant, and stay thyself upon Christ Jesus, the everlasting rock, and feel him a fountain in thy soul; feel his blood to cleanse, and his blood to drink, and his flesh to eat: feed upon him, for God hath given him for the life of the world.

"I had seen thee, had not thy father's strange sort of severity hindered. I confess I do not use to be so treated in my own country, where the Lord hath raised up many thousands of witnesses, that he hath gathered, out of all sects and professions, to worship him, not in their spirits or wills, but in his will, Spirit, and Truth. And we are generally, after much affliction and suffering, in good esteem, even with the great ones of this world. And this let me add for thy particular comfort, that though I have been a man of great anguish and sorrow, because of the scorn and reproach that hath attended my separation from the world, (having been taught of Jesus, to turn my back upon all, for the sake of that glory that shall be revealed;) yet to God's honour I can say it, I have a hundred friends for one, yea, God hath turned the hearts of my enemies towards me; he hath fulfilled his promise, to turn the hearts of the parents unto the children. For my parents, that once disowned me for this blessed testimony's sake, (of the Jew, Christian, circumcision, and baptism inward, against the fleshly Christian,) have come to love me above all, and have left me all; thinking they could never do and leave enough for me. O how good is the Lord! yea, the ways of his mercy are even past finding out.

"Wherefore, my dear friend, trust in the Lord for ever; and the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the God of the prophets and of the apostles, the God of all the holy martyrs of Jesus, illuminate, fortify and preserve thee steadfast; that in the end thou mayst receive the reward of life and eternal salvation: to whom be glory, and to the Lamb that sits upon the throne, one God, and one Lord, blessed and magnified for ever and ever, amen!

"Thy great and faithful lover for the blessed and holy Truth's sake,

"WILLIAM PENN.

"Duysburg, the 13th of the Seventh month, 1677."

"P. S. The enclosed I received from a religious young woman at Frankfort. We have had a blessed opportunity in this town with some that have a desire after the Lord, in which we are abundantly comforted. We have just now received thy message and salutation from H. V., which hath exceedingly refreshed and revived us; for our trouble was not for ourselves, but for thee; and we hope our love will not turn to thy disadvantage, for we mentioned nothing of thy name, nor the name of any other person, only that we desired to speak with the minister of Mulheim, and that was only to the soldier. The Lord made us a good bed in the fields, and we were very well satisfied. We are going this afternoon out of the town towards Wesel, from thence to Cleve, and thence to Herwerden, (the Lord willing;) so farewell in the Lord."

Here follows a letter to her father, the Graef of Bruck and Falkenstein.

"*To the Graef or Earl of Bruck and Falkenstein.*

"Friend,

"I WISH thy salvation, and the Lord reward thee good for the evil that thou showedst unto me and my friends the last night, if it be his will. But since thou art but a mortal man, one that must give an account, in common with all, to the immortal God, let me a little expostulate with thee.

"By what law are men not scandalous, under no proscription, harmless strangers, about lawful occasions, and men, not vagabonds, but of good quality in their own country, stopped, menaced, sent back with soldiers, and that at sun-set, exposed to the night in an unknown country, and therefore forced to lie in the fields? I say, by what law are we judged, yea, thus punished, before heard? Is this the law of nations, or nature; or Germany, or of Christianity? Oh! where is nature? where is civility? where is hospitality? But where is Christianity all this while? Well, but we are Quakers: Quakers! What is that for a name? Is there a law of the empire against that name? No. Did we own it? No. But if we had, the letters of that name neither make up drunkard, adulterer, thief, murderer, nor traitor: why so odious then?

what harm hath it done? why could Jews pass just before us, that have crucified Christ, and not Quakers that never crucified him? But ignorance is as well the mother of persecution as superstition: and the false Christian, and the false Jew have but one father.

"But *argumentum ad hominem* my friend, bear with me a little. Art thou a Christian? How canst thou be rude, uncivil, and persecute then? Thou art to love enemies, not abuse friends, harmless strangers. Well, but this life is dead, this doctrine antiquated, Jesus Christ turned out of doors, I perceive.

"What art thou for a Christian? A Lutheran? Yes. Canst thou so soon forget the practices of the Papists, and with what abhorrence thy ancestors declared against such sort of entertainment? Were not they despised, mocked, and persecuted? And are their children treading in the steps of their old enemies? Friend, it is not reformed words, but a reformed life that will stand thee instead. It is not to live the life of the unregenerate, worldly-minded, and wicked, under the profession of the saints' words, that will give an entrance into God's rest. Be not deceived, such as thou sowest, such must thou reap in the day of the Lord. Thou art not come to the Berean state that tried all things, and therefore not noble in the Christian sense. The Bereans were noble, for they judged not before examination.

"And for thy saying, 'We want no Quakers here;'—I say, under favour, You do: for a true Quaker is one that trembleth at the word of the Lord, that worketh out his salvation with fear and trembling, and all the days of his appointed time waiteth in the light and grace of God, till his great change cometh. One that taketh up the daily cross to his will and lusts, that he might do the will of God manifested to him by the light of Jesus in his conscience; and according to the holy precepts and examples in the Holy Scriptures of Truth, laid down by Jesus and his followers for the ages to come. Yea, he is one that loveth his enemies rather than feareth them; that blesseth those that curse him, and prayeth for those that despitefully treat him; as God knoweth we do for thee. O that thou wert such a Quaker! Then wouldst thou rule for God, and act in all things as one that must give an account to God for the deeds done in the body, whether good or evil. Then would temperance, mercy, justice, meekness, and the fear of the Lord dwell in thy heart, and in thy family, and country.

"Repent, I exhort thee, and consider thy latter end, for thy days are not like to be many in this world; therefore mind the things that make for thy eternal peace, lest distress come upon thee as an armed man, and there be none to deliver thee!

"I am thy well-wishing friend,

"WILLIAM PENN.

"Duysburg, 3d of the Seventh month, 1677."

This being done, we went to Dr. Mastricht's to inform him of what had passed, who though of a kind disposition, and very friendly to us, yet seemed surprised with fear, (the common disease of this country,) crying out, "What will become of this poor Countess? Her father hath called her Quaker a long time, behaving himself very severely to her, but now he will conclude she is one indeed, and he will lead her a lamentable life: I know," said he, "you care not for suffering, but she is to be pitied." We told him, that we both loved her, and pitied her, and could lay down our lives for her, as Christ hath done for us, in the will of God, if we could thereby do her good; but that we had not mentioned her name, neither was the letter, that he gave us to her, so much as seen or known of her father. But still he feared that our carriage would incense the Graef so much the more against both his daughter, and all those serious and inquiring poople up and down his country. We answered with an earnestness of spirit, that they had minded the incensings and wrath of men too much already, and that true religion would never spring or grow under such fears; and that it was time for all, who felt any thing of the work of God in their hearts, to cast away the slavish fear of man, and to come forth in the boldness of the true Christian life; yea, that sufferings break and make way for greater liberty, and that God was wiser and stronger than man.

We asked him, if there were any in that city who inquired more diligently after the way of the Lord. He recommended us, (as we had already been informed in another place,) to the family of the Prætor, or chief governor of the town; whose wife, and sister more especially, were seeking after the best things. So we parted with him in love, and by the help of his daughter, were conducted to this family.

We had not been long there, before a schoolmaster of Dusseldorf, and also a minister came in, inquiring after us, having heard of us at Mulheim, where he preached the day before to the people, or else by the way of our attempt to visit that place, and the entertainment we received at the hands of the Graef. He sat down with us, and though we had already had a sweet opportunity, yet feeling the power of God to rise, the meeting renewed. And, O magnified be the name of the Lord!

he witnessed to our testimony abundantly in all their hearts and consciences, who were broken into much tenderness: and certainly there is a blessed power and zeal, stirring in that young man; yea, he is very near the kingdom. So we took our leave of them, leaving the Lord's peace and blessing upon them.

It was now something past the twelfth hour of the day. In the way to our lodging, we met a messenger from the Countess of Falkenstein, a tender young man, near to the kingdom, who saluted us in her name with much love; telling us, that she was much grieved at the entertainment of her father towards us, advising us not to expose ourselves to such difficulties and hardships, for it would grieve her heart, that any who came in the love of God to visit her, should be so severely handled; for at some he set his dogs, upon others he puts his soldiers to beat them:—"But what shall I say?—that itself must not hinder you from doing good," said the Countess.

We answered him, that his message was joyful to us, that she had any regard to us, and that she was not offended with us. We desired the remembrance of our kind love unto her, and that he would let her know that our concern was not for ourselves, but for her. We invited him to eat with us; but he told us, he was an inhabitant of Meurs, and was in haste to go home. So we briefly declared our principle and message, recommending him to Christ the true Light in his conscience, and parted. We went home to dinner, having neither eaten nor drank since first-day morning, and having lain out all night in the field.

We had no sooner got to our inn, but the man was constrained to come after us, and sat down with us, and inquired concerning our Friends, their rise, principles, and progress, and in all things about which he desired satisfaction, he declared himself satisfied. Dinner being done, and all cleared, we departed that city, being about the fourth hour in the afternoon, and for want of accommodation, were forced to walk eight English miles to a town called Holten, where we rested that night.

CHAPTER XV.

The next morning, being the 4th of the seventh month, we set out for Wesel, and got thither at noon. The first thing we did, as had been our custom, was to inquire who was worthy; particularly for two persons, recommended to us by the Countess of Hornes, who lives with the Princess Elizabeth. We found one of them was gone to Amsterdam with his wife, who had formerly been a preacher, and being conscientiously dissatisfied with his own preaching, laid it down, and is now in a seeking state. But in lieu of him, we found out three more, with the person who had been recommended to us. We bespoke a meeting amongst them after dinner, which accordingly we had at a woman's house of good note in the town; who told us, that she had been long in a solitary estate, dissatisfied with the religions generally professed in that country, waiting for salvation, and she hoped that now the time was come, and that we were the messengers of it.

The Lord was with us in the meeting, and their hearts were opened by the word of God, to receive our testimony as glad tidings of salvation. Meeting being done, we immediately returned to our lodging, desiring we might see them together in the same place the next morning, to take our leave of them; to which they readily assented.

Next morning we came, and had a precious meeting with them, and there were some present who were not there the night before. So we left them in much love, and after having refreshed ourselves at our inn, we went to Rees; where we met with a counsellor of Gelderland, with whom we had a good opportunity to declare the testimony of Jesus, who received it, and parted with us in much kindness.

From thence we went to Emrick, and there called upon an eminent Baptist teacher, recommended to us by one of Wesel. We spent some time with him, opening to him the way of life, as in the light it is manifested to all that love and obey the light; and of that more spiritual and pure ministry, which from the living word of God is received by many true ministers in this day. The man was somewhat full of words; but we felt the living visitation of the love of God reached to him, and so we left him; making all the haste we could, to get to Cleve that night; which accordingly we did, though late, being forced to walk one-third part of the way.

That night, notwithstanding, one of us went to a certain lady, to whom we had recommendations from the Princess, and who was particularly known to one of us; informing her, we were come to that city, desiring to know what time next day we might give her a visit; she appointed eight o'clock in the morning.

About that time we went to see her; she received us agreeably, considering her quality and courtship, far from showing any appearance of offence at our deportment. We told her, our message and visit was to those of that city, who had any inclinations or desires,

hunger or thirst after the true and living knowledge of God: for that end, we had left our own country, and had travelled up and down in several parts of Germany. She told us, that some there were who searched after God; but she feared the name of Quaker would make them shy, because they were called Quakers themselves, by people of the same profession, only for being more serious and retired in their conversation. We replied, that it was an honour to the name, that all sobriety throughout Germany was called by it; this ought to make the name less odious, yea, it will make the way easier for those that are truly called so, or that are Quakers indeed. It will take off much of the wonder, and it may be, of the severity of the places where we come, that the name is gone before us, and hath received a dwelling-place in their towns and cities. In fine, to all such, God had committed to us the word of life to preach, and such we seek out in all places whither the Lord brings us: and hitherto we can say it, to the praise of our God, he hath vindicated our service and testimony by his own blessed power, shed abroad in their hearts to whom we have been sent.

She told us, she would send for an attorney at law, one who was more than ordinarily eminent; having deserted the church, and being therefore reproached with the name of Quaker.

In this interval, we had close discourse with her;—a woman certainly of great wit, high notions, and very ready utterance; so that it was hard for us to obtain a true silence, a state in which we could reach to her. But, through some travail of spirit more than ordinary, we had a sweet time of refreshment, and the witness was raised in her; and we really and plainly beheld a true nobility, yea, that which was sensible of our testimony, and did receive it.

By this time, the person she sent for came, and a blessed sweet time we had: for the power and presence of the Lord, our staff and strength, unto whom our eye hath been throughout all our travels, that we might only be acceptable in him—plenteously appeared amongst us; both of these individuals confessing to the truth of what had been said, and the attorney especially, to the living sense in which the Truth had been declared. The Lord have the glory of his own work!

We would have returned to our inn to eat, according as we had appointed in the morning; but she laid a kind of violent hands upon us, and necessitated us to stay and eat with her; which we did. We had no sooner sat down, but her brother-in-law, a man of quality and employment in the court of the Elector of Bradenburg, came in and dined with us. As we sat at meat, we had a good meeting; for the time was much taken up about the things of God, either in answering their questions, or ministering to them about the true Christian nature and life; in all which, her brother behaved himself with great sweetness and respect. After dinner, we took our Christian leave of them in the fear of God, recommending unto them the light of Christ Jesus, that brings all that receive it into the one spirit, to live in holy peace and concord together; particularly and alone speaking to the lady and the attorney, what was upon us as to their states.

We departed; and soon after took wagon for Nimeguen, where arriving about the seventh hour that night, we immediately took wagon for Utrecht, and got thither about the tenth hour next morning. We hear there is a people in that city; but had not now time to visit them, referring it to another opportunity.

About the first hour in the afternoon, George Keith and Benjamin Furly took wagon for Rotterdam, and I took wagon for Amsterdam, where I came safely that night, about six o'clock in the evening; and I found Friends generally well, though it is a sickly time in this country. The meeting-house is much enlarged, and there is a fresh inquiry among many people after the Truth, and great desires to hear the testimony and declaration of it. I also understand, that dear George Fox is returned from Fredericstadt and Hamburg into Friesland, whither T. R. and I. Y. are gone from this city to meet with him. He has had a hard time of travel with respect to the weather, yet I hear is in good health, through the Lord's power that hath kept him.

Here I received a lettter from the Princess Elizabeth, in answer to mine of the 25th of the sixth month, from Manheim, alias Fredericsburg.

"The 4th (14th) of September, 1677.

"Dear Friend,

"I HAVE received your greetings, good wishes, and exhortations with much joy, and shall follow the latter as far as it will please our great God to give me light and strength. I can say little for myself, and can do nothing of myself, but I hope the Lord will conduct me in his time, by his way, to his end; and shall not shrink from his fire; I do long for it; and when he assures my ways, I hope he will give me power to bear the cross I meet therein. I am also glad to hear the journey hath been prosperous, both in the constitutions of your bodies, to withstand the badness of the weather, and in the reception you had in Cassel, Frankfort, and Krisheim

Nothing surprised me there, but the good old Dury, in whom I did not expect so much ingenuity, having lately written a book, entitled 'Le véritable Chrétien,' which speaks in another way. I wish to know what reception you have had at Fredericsburg, and if this find you at Cleve, I wish you might take an occasion to see the two pastors of Mulheim, who do really seek the Lord, but have some prejudice against your doctrine, as also the Countess there. It would be of much use for my family to have them disabused; yet God's will be done in that, and all things else, concerning

"Your loving friend in the Lord Jesus,

"ELIZABETH."

"P. S. Let both your friends and companions receive my hearty commendations here."

This day, being the 8th, at night came John Hill from Friesland, to the house of Gertrude Diricks in Amsterdam.

The next day, being the first-day of the week, we had a blessed and large meeting, larger than ordinary, because a great addition of room [had been made] since our journey into Germany. Indeed, there was a great appearance of sober, professing people, yea, several of the chief of the Baptists, as Galenus and companions. The Lord's heavenly power was over all, and the meeting ended blessedly about the fourth hour.

That night, after supper, having taken my leave in a sweet little meeting among Friends, I took boat for Horn, P. Hendricks accompanying me, about the seventh hour at night, and got thither about two o'clock in the morning: here, lying down till about six o'clock, we took wagon for Enckhuysen. We came thither a little after eight o'clock in the morning; and having refreshed ourselves, about the ninth hour we took ship for Worcum in Friesland, arriving about one o'clock; and thence immediately took wagon for Harlingen, where we came about six o'clock; there we met with dear George Fox, J. T., I. Y., T. R., John Claus and his wife.

The next day we had two blessed meetings; one amongst Friends, being the first Monthly Meeting that was settled for Friesland, Groningen, and Embden; the other a public meeting, where resorted both Baptists, Collegians, and others, and among the rest, a doctor of physic and a Presbyterian minister. All sat with great attention and sobriety, but the minister and doctor more especially. The first having a lecture-sermon to preach that evening, went away; but notwithstanding, speedily returned, George Fox still speaking: but, as a man in pain to be gone, yet willing to stay, sat at the door till G. F. had done; and then stood up, and pulling off his hat, looking up to heaven, in a solemn manner, and with a loud voice, spake to this purpose; "The Almighty, the all-wise, the omnipotent great God, and his Son Jesus Christ, who is blessed for ever and ever, confirm his word that hath been spoken this day:" apologizing, that he could not longer stay, for that he was a minister of the Reformed religion, and was just now going to preach, where all that would come should be welcome; and so left the meeting.

The physician also was called away, but returned and staid till the meeting ended. Just as the meeting ended, came the minister again, who said in the hearing of some Friends, that he had made his sermon much shorter than ordinary, that he might enjoy the rest of the meeting. At night came the physician to see me, who after a serious and Christian discourse, expressing great satisfaction in most things relating to Friends, left me: withal telling me, that if I had not been going the fourth hour next morning, he would either have staid longer with me, or come again.

He also remembered the parson's love to us; and told me, that if it had not been for fear of giving offence, or coming too much under the observation of the people, he would have come to see us: adding, that it was great pity, this people had not printed their principles to the world: to which the doctor answered, that he had some of our books, and he would lend him them. Blessed be the Lord, his glorious work goeth on, and his power is over all! It being now the tenth hour at night, I took my leave of George Fox and Friends.

This day it came upon me to write a letter to the noble young woman at Frankfort, as follows.

"Dear friend,

"Joanna Eleonora Malane,

"My dear and tender love, which God hath raised in my heart by his living word to all mankind, (but more especially unto those, in whom he hath begotten a holy hunger and thirst after him,) saluteth thee. And amongst those of that place where thou livest, the remembrance of thee, with thy companions, is most particularly and eminently at this time brought before me. And the sense of your open-heartedness, simplicity, and sincere love to the testimony of Jesus, delivered by us unto you, hath deeply engaged my heart towards you; and often raised in my soul hea-

venly breathings to the God of my life, that he would keep you in the daily sense of that Divine life, which then affected you. For this know, it was the life in yourselves, that so sweetly visited you by the ministry of life through us.

"Wherefore, love the Divine life and light in yourselves: be retired and still; let that holy seed move in all heavenly things before you move. For no one receiveth any thing that truly profiteth, but what he receiveth from above. Thus said John to his disciples. Now, *that* that stirreth in your hearts, draweth you out of the world, slayeth you to all the vain glory, and pleasure, and empty worships that are in it, this is from above, the heavenly seed of God, pure and incorruptible, which is come down from heaven to make you heavenly; that in heavenly places you may dwell, and witness, with the saints of old, this heavenly treasure in earthen vessels.

"O stay your minds upon the appearance of Jesus in you, in whose light you shall see light. It will make you of a weighty, considering spirit, more and more; that you may see how the mystery of iniquity hath wrought, and how mankind is corrupted in all things, and what part you yet have which belongeth not to the paradise of God; that you may lay it all down at the feet of Jesus, and follow him, who is going up and down, doing good to all that believe in his name. So, possess your souls in the sensible feeling of his daily Divine visits, shinings and breathings upon your spirits; and wait diligently, and watch circumspectly, lest the enemy surprise you, or your Lord come at unawares upon you, and you be unprepared to receive his sweet and precious visitations; that so, those holy beginnings, which thou art a witness of with thy companions, may not be lost, or as if they had never been; but that you may, from day to day, feel the growth of his light, life, power, and kingdom in your souls, that you may be able to say, 'The kingdom of God is come, yea, it is given to the saints.'

"And what I say unto one, I say unto all that received our testimony in that city, to whom thou mayst give, if thou pleasest, the remembrance of my dear love; who travail in the Spirit for their redemption, that they may be brought into the glorious liberty of the sons of God. Particularly salute me the young woman that met with us at thy lodging. The Lord Jesus Christ, the Prince of peace, dwell amongst you, keep your hearts steadfast in his holy light, without wavering, all the days of your appointed time, until your great and last change shall come; when he will receive his own sheep into his own everlasting kingdom, from the power of the foxes and the wolves, and all the devouring beasts and birds of prey; when he will wipe away all tears from their eyes, and sighing and sorrowing shall be no more; and when it shall be said, there is no more death, no more night, no more time.

"The Lord hath brought us well to Amsterdam, not without good service by the way; for at Cologne we had a precious meeting, and were received with much gladness of heart. We also went to Duysburg, and from thence towards Mulheim, (being the first-day of the week,) hoping to get an opportunity with the Countess of Bruck, and to deliver thy letter: but her father, who is a cruel and severe man, meeting us near his castle, stopt us; and after some little time, finding what we were, said, they wanted no Quakers there, and sent us with some of his soldiers out of his territory. It was about sun-set, so that we were forced to return towards Duysburg: but the gates of the city being shut, and there being no houses without it, we were forced to lie in the fields all night, where the Lord made us a good and comfortable bed. We told the Graef at parting, we were men that feared the Almighty God, we desired the good of all men, and that we came not thither for any evil design; but he would not hear; the Lord, if he pleaseth, forgive him. Nevertheless, we had a good meeting at Duysburg, where we had our heart's desires; the blessed power and life of God making its own way in the hearts of those that heard our testimony. I also wrote a large and tender letter to the Countess, and received a sweet and loving message from her; and I have great hopes that all things will work for the best.

"From Duysburg we went to Wesel, where we inquired who was worthy, and found four or five separated from all congregations, waiting for the consolation of Israel, with whom we had two precious meetings. Leaving the peace of Jesus with them, we went to Emrick, where we visited the chief Baptist teacher, who confessed to our testimony, and received us lovingly. We directed him to the gift of God in himself, that pure and eternal word in the heart, that he might know the pure ministry of that, from the ministry of man's spirit, which cannot profit or give life to the soul.

"From thence we went to Cleve, where at a lady's house, belonging to the court, we had a precious meeting: and we found some who had deserted the public ministry, as not being anointed of God to preach, neither knowing by a true experience the way and travail of the new birth, but are made and maintained by men. We sounded the joyful Gospel amongst them; and from thence, by the way

of Nimeguen and Utrecht, we came the last sixth-day to Amsterdam, which was the 7th of the seventh month.

"This last first-day I had a great and blessed meeting at Amsterdam, almost of every quality and religion; the Lord's heavenly power, which is quickening people into a living sense of him, that they may say, 'The Lord liveth, and he liveth in me,' reigned that day over all.

"In the evening I took boat for Horn, and from thence came last night to this city of Harlingen, where we met with some of our brethren, who had been at Hamburg and Fredericstadt; and this day we are to have two meetings here, the one among our Friends, the other public for the town. It is upon me to visit J. de Labadie's people, that they may know Him in themselves, in whom their salvation standeth; for these simple people are to be pitied. From thence, I think to visit Leuwarden, Groningen, Embden, Bremen, Herwerden, Wesel, Emrick, Cleve, Utrecht, and so to return to Amsterdam; the Lord enabling me by his power.

"This ariseth in my heart to thee, Give not thy bread to dogs; spend not thy portion; feed not the serpent, neither hearken to him: abide with Jesus, and he will abide with thee, that thou mayst grow in wisdom and in righteousness, through the cross that crucifieth thee to the world, and the world to thee. So, in the love which overcometh the world, that is Divine and from above, and leadeth all thither who receive it into their hearts, I take my leave of thee, with thy companions, and all the rest of that city known to us, remaining

"Thy faithful friend,

and the Lord's day-labourer,

"William Penn.

"Harlingen, 11th of the Seventh month, 1677."

CHAPTER XVI.

Next morning, the 12th of the seventh month, about the fourth hour, I took boat for Leuwarden; John Claus, who had been at Fredericstadt with George Fox, went with me. G. F., H. T., and T. R., with P. H., returned that day towards Amsterdam.

At Leuwarden we came about nine, and began the meeting about ten o'clock; which we enjoyed with peace and refreshment, several being there as in other places, who were never at a meeting before.

The meeting being done and having refreshed ourselves with food, we took wagon for Wiewart, the mansion-house of the family of the Somerdykes, where J. de Labadie's company reside; it being strong upon my spirit to give them a visit. We got thither about five o'clock; and as we were walking over a field to the house, we met a young man of that company who conducted us in. I asked for Ivon the pastor, and Anna Maria Schurmans. Ivon presently came, with his co-pastor: they received us very civilly; however, they seemed shy of letting me speak with Anna Maria Schurmans, objecting her weakness, age, taking physic, &c.: but, putting them in mind, how unhandsomely I was used at Herwerden six years ago by J. de Labadie their father, who though I came a great journey to visit him and his people, suffered me not to speak with them; they presently complied, and went in to let her know, that such a person desired to speak with her, and quickly returned, desiring me to come in. But foreseeing my time would be too short for my message, the sun being near setting, and having to go on foot two English miles of unknown way to our lodging, I desired that they would give me an opportunity the next morning, which they readily complied with. So I took my leave of them, who in a friendly manner brought us a little on our way. That night a great weight was upon my spirit, and especially the next morning; yet my faith was in the power of God, and I had a plain sight, that I should have a good service among them,—however, I should clear my conscience, and my peace should rest with me.

The next morning I returned to them, and John Claus along with me. So soon as we came, we were brought into Anna Maria Schurmans' chamber; where also was with her one of the three Somerdykes.

This Anna Maria Schurmans aforesaid, is an ancient maiden, above sixty years of age; of great note and fame for learning, in languages and philosophy, and hath obtained a considerable place among the most learned men of this age. The Somerdykes are daughters to a nobleman of the Hague; people of great breeding and inheritances. These, with several other persons, being affected with the zealous declamation of J. de Labadie, against the dead and formal churches of the world, and awakened to seek after a more spiritual fellowship and society, separated themselves from the common Calvinistic churches, and followed him in the way of a refined independency.

They are a serious, plain people, and are come nearer to Friends, as to silence in meetings, women speaking, preaching by the Spirit, plainness in garb and furniture in their houses. With these two, we had the company of the two pastors, and a doctor of physic. After some silence, I proposed this question

to them; What was it that induced them to separate from the common way they formerly lived in? I desired them that they would be pleased to be plain and open with me, as to the ground of their separation; for I came not to cavil, but in a Christian spirit to be informed.

Upon this Ivon, the chief pastor, gave us the history of J. de Labadie's education; how he was bred among the Jesuits, and deserted them, and embraced the Protestant religion; and finally, of his great dissatisfaction with the Protestant churches of France; and that if God would not give them a purer church, they three would sit down by themselves; resolving never more to mix themselves among the Babylonish assemblies of the world: adding several solemn appeals, concerning the simplicity and integrity of their hearts in these things.

Ivon having done, Anna Maria Schurmans began in this manner; "I find myself constrained to add a short testimony." She told us her former life, of her pleasure in learning, and her love to the religion she was brought up in; but confessed she knew not God or Christ truly all that while. And though from a child God had visited her at times, yet she never felt such a powerful stroke, as by the ministry of J. de Labadie. She saw her learning to be vanity, and her religion like a body of death; she resolved to despise the shame, desert her former way of living and acquaintance, and to join herself with this little family, that was retired out of the world; among whom she desired to be found a living sacrifice, offered up entirely to the Lord. She spoke in a very serious and broken sense, not without some trembling. These are but short hints of what she said.

After she had done, one of the Somerdykes began, in a very reverent and weighty frame of mind, and in a sense that very well suited her contempt of the world. She told us how often she had mourned from her young years, because she did not know the Lord, as she desired; often saying within herself, "If God would make known to me his ways, I would trample upon all the pride and glory of the world." She earnestly expressed the frequent anguish of spirit she had, because of the deadness and formality of the Christians she was bred among; saying to herself, "O the pride, the lusts, the vain pleasures in which Christians live! Can this be the way to heaven? Is this the way to glory? Are these followers of Christ? O no! O God! where is thy little flock? Where is thy little family, that will live entirely to thee,—that will follow thee? Make me one of that number." "And," continued she, "when the servant of the Lord, J. de Labadie, came into Holland, I, among others, had a curiosity to hear him; and with several, was deeply affected by him. He spoke the very thoughts of my heart: methought my heart was pricked when I heard him; and I resolved by the grace of God, to abandon all the glory and pride of this world, to be one of those, who should sit down with him in a separation from the vain and dead worships of this world. I count myself happy that I ever met with him, and these pastors, who seek not themselves but the Lord. And we are a family that live together in love, of one soul, and one spirit, entirely given up to serve the Lord; and this is the greatest joy in the world."

After her, du Lignon, the other pastor, gave us also an account of his inducement to embrace J. de Labadie, but not so lively.

After him the doctor of physic, who had been bred for a priest, but voluntarily refused that calling, expressed himself after this manner; "I can also bear my testimony in the presence of God, that though I lived in as much reputation at the university, as any of my colleagues or companions, and was well reputed for sobriety and honesty; yet I never felt such a living sense of God, as when I heard the servant of the Lord, J. de Labadie:" adding, "The first day I heard him, I was so struck and affected, that I can truly say, through the good grace of God, and the conduct of the holy Spirit, it was to me as the day of my salvation; he did so livingly touch my heart with a sense of the true Christian worship: upon which I forsook the university, and resolved to be one of this family; and this I can say in the fear of the Lord."

P. Ivon concluded, "This is what we have to say concerning the work of God amongst us."

All this while I minded not so much their words, as I felt and had unity with a measure of divine sense that was upon them. Certainly the Lord hath been amongst them; yea, I had a living sense in my heart, that somewhat of the breath of life had breathed upon them; and though they were in great mixtures, yet God's love was towards them.

After some silence, I began on this wise; "I come not to judge you, but to visit you; not to quarrel or dispute, but to speak of the things of God's kingdom; and I have no prejudice, but great love and regard in my heart towards you: wherefore hear me with Christian patience and tenderness.

"I do confess and believe, that God hath touched your hearts with his divine finger, and that his work is amongst you: that it was his Spirit, that gave you a sight of the vanity and folly of this world, and that hath made you sensible of the dead religions that are in it. It is this sense I love and honour; and I

am so far from undervaluing or opposing this tender sense I feel upon you, that this it is I am come to visit, and you for the love of it. And as for the reproaches that may attend you on the score of your separation, with all the reports that therefore go concerning you, they are what I respect you for, being well acquainted with the nature and practice of this world towards those that retire out of it.

"Now since I have with patience, and I can truly say with great satisfaction, heard your account of your experiences, give me the like Christian freedom to tell you mine; to the end you may have some sense of the work of God in me: for those who are come to any measure of a Divine sense, they are as looking-glasses to each other, seeing themselves in each other, as face answereth face in a glass."

Here I began to let them know, how and when the Lord first appeared unto me, which was about the twelfth year of my age, anno 1656. How at times, between that and the fifteenth, the Lord visited me; and the Divine impressions he gave me of himself: of my persecution at Oxford, and how the Lord sustained me in the midst of that hellish darkness and debauchery: of my being banished the college, the bitter usage I underwent when I returned to my father; whipping, beating, and turning out of doors in 1662: of the Lord's dealings with me in France, and in the time of the great plague in London. In fine, the deep sense he gave me of the vanity of this world, of the irreligiousness of the religions of it. Then of my mournful and bitter cries to him, that he would show me his own way of life and salvation, and my resolutions to follow him, whatever reproaches or sufferings should attend me; and that, with great reverence and brokenness of spirit. How after all this, the glory of the world overtook me, and I was even ready to give up myself unto it, seeing as yet no such thing as the primitive spirit and church on the earth, and being ready to faint concerning my hope of the restitution of all things. It was at this time that the Lord visited me with a certain sound and testimony of his eternal word, through one of those the world calls a Quaker, namely, Thomas Loe. I related to them the bitter mockings and scornings that fell upon me, the displeasure of my parents, the invectiveness and cruelty of the priests, the strangeness of all my companions: what a sign and wonder they made of me; but above all, that great cross of resisting and watching against my own inward vain affections and thoughts.

Here I had a fine opportunity to speak of the mystery of iniquity and ungodliness in the root and ground, and to give them an account of the power and presence of God which attended us in our public testimonies and sufferings: after an indirect manner censuring their weaknesses, by declaring and commending the contrary practices among Friends, too large to be here related. And notwithstanding all my sufferings and trials by magistrates, parents, companions; and above all, from the priests of the false religions in the world, the Lord hath preserved me to this day, and hath given me an hundred-fold in this world, as well as the assurance of life everlasting: informing them of the tenderness of my father to me before and at his death; and how through patience and long-suffering, all opposition was conquered. Then I began my exhortation unto them, which was on this wise.

That since God had given me and them a Divine sense of him, our eye should be to him, and not to man; that we might come more into a silence of ourselves, and a growth into that heavenly sense. That this was the work of the true ministry, not to keep people to themselves, ever teaching them, but to turn them to God, the new covenant teacher, and to Christ, the great Gospel minister. Thus John did, and thought it no dishonour, that they left him to go to Christ. "Behold the Lamb of God," said he, "that taketh away the sins of the world!" And even John's disciples left him to follow Christ. Nay, John testifies of himself, that he was to decrease, and Christ was to increase. Wherefore, I pressed them to have their eye to Christ who taketh away the sin; who is from heaven, heavenly; to see that he increase in them. Yea, that henceforward they should know no man after the flesh. That their knowledge of, and regard for and fellowship one with another, should stand in the revelation of the Son of God in them; who is God's great prophet, by whom God speaketh in these latter days. And if their ministers be true ministers, they will count it their glory to give way to Christ, and that they decrease, and Christ increase; that the instrument giveth way to him that useth it, the servant to the Lord. Which, though it seemeth to detract from the ministers, yet it was and is the glory of a true minister, that God and Christ should be all in all, and that his will should be fulfilled. I told them the day of the Lord God was come, and all people must look to him for salvation: that all people must now come to keep God's great sabbath, to rest from mere man, and the spirit of man, and all men's thoughts, words and works; and that if they were true believers they were at least, entering into their rest.

I closely recommended it to them, that they might not be of those who begin in the Spirit, and end in the flesh; for that those who should do so, and thereby break God's sabbath-day, would be stoned to death, by the stone which is cut out of the mountain without hands; yea, that should fall upon them as a millstone, and grind them to powder. Therefore let Christ have his honour; let him preach and speak among you and in you, and you in him and by him only, to sigh, groan, pray, preach, sing, and not otherwise, lest death come over you: for thereby the apostacy came in, by their going before Christ, instead of Christ going before them.

Wait in the light and spirit of judgment that hath visited you, that all may be wrought out that is not born of God; so will you come to be born of the incorruptible seed and Word of God, that liveth and abideth for ever: that you may be a holy priesthood, that offers up a living sacrifice with God's heavenly fire, that God may have his honour in you all, and through you all by Jesus Christ. And turning myself towards the Somerdykes, with a serious and tender spirit, I thus expressed myself: "That you should be pilgrims in the inheritance of your Father, I have a deep and reverent sense of: O that you might dwell with him for ever, and exalt him that hath so visited you, with whom are the rewards of eternal blessedness!"

I left the blessing and peace of Jesus among them, departing in the love and peace of God; and I must needs say, they were, beyond expectation, tender and respectful to us; all of them coming with us to the outer door, but the ancient Anna Maria Schurmans, who is not able to walk; giving us their hands in a friendly manner, expressing their great satisfaction in our visit. And being come to the porch, and meeting several persons of the family, I was moved to turn about and exhort them, in the presence of the rest, To keep to Christ, who had given them a sense of the spirit of this world, and had raised desires in them to be delivered from it; and to know no man after the flesh, but to have their fellowship in Christ, union and communion with God, and one with another; that all their worship and performances might stand in him, that he might be all in all. Desiring that the Lord might keep them in his fear all the days of their appointed time, that so they might serve him in their generation, in his own universal Spirit, to his glory, who is blessed for ever!

The Lord comforted my soul in this service: yea, all that is within me magnified his holy name, because of his blessed presence that was with us! O let my soul trust in the Lord, and confide in him for ever! Let me dwell and abide with him that is faithful and true, and blessed for evermore!

The two pastors and the doctor came with us a field's length, where we took wagon; and the chiefest of them took occasion to ask me, If the Truth rose not first amongst a poor, illiterate, and simple sort of people? I told him, Yes, that was our comfort, and that we owed it not to the learning of this world: "Then," said he, "let not the learning of this world be used to defend that which the spirit of God hath brought forth; for scholars now coming among you, will be apt to mix school learning amongst your simpler and purer language, and thereby obscure the brightness of the testimony." I told him, it was good for us all to have a care of our own spirits, words and works, confessing what he said had weight in it; telling him, it was our care to write and speak according to the Divine sense, and not human invention. So in a very sober and serious manner we parted, being about the twelfth hour at noon.

This night about ten o'clock we got to Lippenhausen, where there is a little meeting of Friends, being about twenty-five English miles.

The next morning, the 14th, we had a blessed meeting among Friends; many of the world came in, were very serious and well affected; one whereof was a magistrate of the place. The Lord pleads his own cause, and crowns his own testimony with his own power. There is likely to be a fine gathering in that place. After dinner we took wagon for the city of Groningen, where we arrived at eight o'clock at night, being about twenty-five English miles.

The next morning we had a meeting among Friends of that city, whither resorted both collegians and Calvinist students, who behaved themselves soberly: the Lord's power was over all, and his testimony stands. When meeting was ended they went out; and as I was concluding an exhortation to Friends, there came in a flock of students to have had some conference with us: but having set the time of our leaving the city, we recommended them to the universal love of God, promising them some books of our principles; with which they expressed themselves satisfied, and civilly parted from us. After dinner we took boat for Delfzyl, and came there about six o'clock at night.

CHAPTER XVII.

The next morning about seven o'clock, being the 16th of the seventh month, we took boat for Embden, which is about three leagues.

On board of that vessel, it came upon me to write a letter to Friends in England, concerning the Separatists,* and their spirit of separation, which hath several times been opened unto me, and had remained some days upon my spirit. The letter follows.

"*To Friends every where, concerning the present Separatists, and their spirit of separation.*

"Friends and brethren!

"By a mighty hand and by an outstretched arm, hath the Lord God everlasting gathered us to be a people, and in his own power and life hath he preserved us a people unto this day: and praises be to his eternal name! no weapon that hath yet been formed against us, either from without or from within, hath prospered.

"Now this I say unto you, and that in his counsel who hath visited us;—whoever goeth out of the unity with their brethren, are first gone out of unity with the power and life of God in themselves, in which the unity of the brethren standeth; and the least member of the body in the unity, standeth on the top of them, and hath a judgment against them. Unto which judgment, of both great and small amongst the living family that in unity are preserved, they must bow before they can come into the unity again. Yea, this they will readily do, if they are come into unity with the life and power of God in themselves; which is the holy root, that beareth the tree, the fruit, and the leaves; all receiving life and virtue from it, and thereby are nourished unto God's praise.

"And let all have a care how they weaken that, or bring that under the exaltation and high imagination of those, against whom it is revealed. For I feel this unruly spirit is tormented under the stroke and judgment of the power, and in its subtlety is seeking occasion against the instruments, by whom the power gave it forth. Let all have a care how they touch with this spirit in those workings; for by being one with this spirit in judging those who have been faithful, according to the gift of wisdom they have received from God, they will feed it and fortify it, and in the end come to be one with it against the power itself; and at last run out and become open enemies and despisers, for whom is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever, unless they repent.

"Wherefore, all that labour for the restoration of those who are out of unity with the brethren, let them be such as are of a sound mind themselves: else what will they gather to? or, what will they gather from? And let them labour in the simplicity, integrity, love, and zeal of the power that first gathered us to God. For that which is rightly gotten will endure, but that which is obtained by the contrivance, interest and persuasions of men, getteth no further than man, and is of the flesh; and what is of flesh is fleshly, and shall never inherit the kingdom of God.

"Therefore let none look out of the Seed for help; for all power is in it, and there the true light and judgment stand for ever; and that Seed only hath God ordained to bruise the serpent's head. They that would save it, and those that would bruise it by any other thing, are breakers of God's great ordinance, and fly to Egypt for strength. For it is David the stripling, that shall be too hard for Goliah the giant; and that not by Saul's armour, but with God's living little stone cut out of the mountain without hands; without man's invention and contrivance. This hath wrought all our mighty works in us, and for us to this day! Wherefore let us be still, and trust and confide therein for ever. Let none look back, faint, or consult; for if they do, they will darken their pure eye, and lose their way, and into the eternal rest of the flocks of the companions will never come.

"Brethren, the judgment given forth against this spirit, and against all those who have resisted our love and forbearance that are joined to it, must stand, and all that are out of our unity with the judgment are judged by it. Therefore, as all would stand before the Lord and his people, let not this spirit be reasoned withal; enter not into proposals and articles with it, but feed it with judgment; that is God's decree: so may the souls that are deceived, come by the right door into the heavenly unity.

"My brethren look forwards, and lift up your eyes; for the fields are even white unto harvest, up and down the nations. Remember the great name of the Lord, and behold the great work that he is doing before all people; whose saving health is visiting the world, and whose eternal word and testament is going forth to gather the nations. Let that that will be unjust, be unjust still; let the dead bury the dead; let us all who have received the gift from God, wait in deep humility, to be raised up and empowered by him, more and more, to eye and prosecute his universal service in the world; to whose appearance the kings and kingdoms of the Gentiles shall bring their glory. Which noble work, had those who are gone into the separation but laid deeply to heart, they would never have sat at home, murmuring, fretting, and quarrelling against the comely and godly

*This alludes to Wilkinson, Story, Rogers, and their followers, who had raised a schism in the Society on the subject of church discipline.

order and practice of their brethren: but love, peace, and joy had filled their hearts, and not the troubler and accuser of the brethren; who hath opened an evil eye in them, and begotten them into a discontented self-separating mind, and this image they bear, and the pure eye sees it.

"O let none tempt the Lord! Let none provoke the eyes of his jealousy: let us all dwell in that Divine sense that he hath begotten in us; where our love, as a fresh and pure stream, will always flow to God and to one another. Here, all his ways are pleasantness, and all his paths are peace; for where he keepeth the house, who is Prince of peace, he will keep all in his heavenly peace. We are but as one family, and therefore we have but one Lord and Master. We are but as one flock, and we have but one heavenly Shepherd to hear, who goeth before us, and giveth us eternal life to follow him. If any are offended in him or in his, it is their own fault; if they faint and grow weary, we are truly sorry; if through unwatchfulness the enemy hath entered, begotten coldness to the brethren, and carelessness of embracing the opportunities by which the unity is renewed and increased; so that what is done by the brethren without them, is looked upon, first with a slight eye, and then with an evil eye; which begets distance, and this distance, in time, a separation, and separation continued, bringeth forth enmity, and this enmity, death itself; we are in our spirits truly grieved for them. However, the judgment of God must stand against them and that spirit that leadeth them, in which they gather not to God but to themselves. Woe to them that strengthen their hands and despise counsel, they will have much to answer for before the Lord. I feel a slighting, scornful, laughing spirit, often flying at me with its venomous sting; but the Seed of life is over it, and the Lord God will destroy it.

"Wherefore, Friends, in all places where this spirit hath had entrance, keep sound judgment upon it, if you will keep your garments clean: and enter not into disputes and contests with it; it is that it seeketh and loveth; but go on in your testimony and business for the Lord, in the Lord's peaceable power and spirit; and his blessings and presence of life shall be with you; and in multiplying he shall multiply you; for no good thing will he withhold from you. We can say it of a truth, 'God is good to Israel, and to all that are of an upright heart.' And let us be of good cheer, for it is God's determination that the house of David shall grow stronger and stronger, and his branch shall increase and spread, and of his government, kingdom and dominion there shall be no end.

"Your faithful friend and brother in the service of our dear Lord,

"William Penn."

"P. S. God's blessed work increaseth and prospereth in these lands, magnified be his everlasting name.

"From on board the passage-boat, between Delfzyl and Embden, the 16th of the Seventh month, 1677."

We arrived at Embden about the eleventh hour. This is the city where Friends have been so bitterly and barbarously used, the like hath scarcely been known in any place where Truth hath broken forth in our day; they having here been banished some thirty, and some forty times and above. The first family that received Truth in this city, was doctor John William Hasbert, a physician, and his wife; at whose house also the first meeting was set up among Friends, to wait upon the Lord by way of public testimony: they are now both dead, but the memory of their fidelity is as precious ointment among the righteous.

They were with me at a meeting six years ago, in this city; and I remember, the power of the Lord had that operation upon them, that I said to B. F. and T. R., then with me, it will not be long before they will publicly own and bear testimony in this place: and about three months after, he came forth, and she about a year after him. And from their fidelity and integrity, notwithstanding all the sore and bitter tempests of persecution, a fine meeting sprang; but at this day they are scattered, being still sent away as fast as they return.*

* After William Penn's first visit to Embden in 1671, he addressed Dr. Hasbert an encouraging letter, earnestly recommending him to persevere in the path of duty cast up before him. Stephen Crisp, who many times visited these parts of the continent of Europe in the character of a minister of the Gospel, gives the following interesting account of Dr. Hasbert and the Friends in Embden: "I had a meeting in his house upon the first-day of the week, in the first month, 1673; where many people of divers persuasions heard the Truth declared, in great plainness and simplicity; and after some time, those that were convinced were drawn in love to God to assemble together, to worship God in spirit and in truth, and in the silence of that fleshly wisdom that can speak when it listeth, and say what it listeth. At the first, they sat down about ten persons in Hasbert's house to wait upon the Lord: and when this was noised about the city, the wicked one stirred up the priests and rulers against them; and they stirred up the rude and ignorant people to assault them, mock, re-

We visited his mother's family; where we found three of his sisters in the love of Truth, his fourth sister being also a Friend, and is wife of John Claus, living at Amsterdam. We had a little sweet comfortable meeting with them. After it, I returned to my lodging, and as I was writing to Doctor Andrews, president of the council of state, who is reported to have been the author of this cruelty to our Friends, a burden came upon me; my writing would not serve the turn, I must go myself; and in the fear and name of the Lord, plead the innocent and suffering cause of our Friends with him. So away we went to his house. He was at first astonished to see what manner of men we were; but after a little time, he comported himself with more kindness than we expected at his hand. I asked him, if he and the senate had not received a letter in Latin from an Englishman about two years since, concerning their severity towards the people called Quakers? He told me he had: I replied, I was the man; and I was constrained in conscience to visit him on their behalf; and I could not see how he, being a commonwealth's-man and a Protestant, could persecute.

I pleaded the unnaturalness, the unchristianity, and imprudence of such proceedings, and pressed our reasons earnestly, but tenderly upon him. He assaulted us with several objections; but, blessed be the Lord, they were mostly fictitious, and therefore easily removed and answered. He also promised me, that if I would write to the senate a remonstrance of the case of our friends, and express my request to them, and enclose it to him, he would both present it and get it to be read; and make it appear that he was not so much our enemy as we looked upon him to be. I promised to send him some books, containing a defence of our principles, which were accordingly put into the hands of Elizabeth Hasbert, to deliver to him in my name.

Having taken our leave of the old woman and her daughters, and a man Friend residing in that city, and left the blessings and peace of our God amongst them, we took ship for Lier, where we arrived the next morning. Thence we took wagon for Bremen, where we came safely, through the Lord's goodness, on the 18th; and met our friends and companions, George Keith and Benjamin Furly, who were come thither some hours before us from Amsterdam. In this city, there is a work of the Lord begun, though yet obscurely: we had a travail upon our spirits, that the blessed and precious Truth of our dear Lord and Master, might find a place to rest its foot upon.

To that purpose we wrote to two ministers, under some suffering from their brethren, because of their great zeal against the formality and deadness of the so called reformed churches. This we sent by a merchant, whom we formerly met at Herwerden. With some difficulty we got to them, but the person chiefly struck at, was shy to speak with us: his reason was this; it was known that we were in town, and it was one of the accusations against him, that he was a fosterer of all the strange religions that came through the town. Also he was then actually under process, and that the people who had heard of the innocency of his cause, conceived a prejudice against our name, though it might be without cause. Therefore he could not at present confer with us; and said he was sorry for it with all his heart, but what we should say to his brother should be the same as if it had been said to him; to whom he referred us.

However, I took hold of his arm and said, "I have this message to deliver to thee, that I may disburden myself before the Lord," which was this: "Mind that which hath touched thy heart; let that guide thee, and do not thou order that: consult not with flesh and blood, how to maintain that cause, which flesh and blood in thy enemies persecuteth thee for." He answered, "Rather than I will betray that cause, or desert Christ, by God's strength, they shall pull my flesh off my bones." So he left us in his house, and truly we had a good time with his companion, the other minister, about three hours, testifying unto him, that the day was come and coming,

proach, and revile them; and the rulers fell quickly to fining, imprisoning, threatening, and banishing those weak and tender plants, in an almost unheard of manner. They banished some sixteen or twenty times, spoiling all they had, save their clothes, and at last fell upon them also; taking away their coats, boots, gloves, aprons, &c., and driving them through the streets almost naked, aboard the ships that were to carry them away: all which and much more, by the mighty power of the Lord, did these innocent, harmless lambs bear with great patience and quietness, and were not dismayed at all at these cruelties: for the Lord had regard to his name, and to their innocent cry, and supported them, and doth support them; and they have found it true, that those who wait upon the Lord renew their strength. Blessed be the Lord for ever!"—*Crisp's Memoirs*, p. 79. Persecution, however, did not cease as regards the Friends in this place for nine years after this visit was paid them by William Penn. It is a singular circumstance, that when the magistrates began to see their true interest, and the error of their cruel policy, they actually came to the resolution of inviting the people called Quakers, both in Holland and in England, to come and settle among them, promising them protection, and that they should be well received. *See Besse's Sufferings of Friends.*

in which the Lord would gather out of all sects that stand in the oldness of the letter, into his own holy Spirit, life, and power; and that in this the unity of faith and bond of peace should stand. And therefore, that he and all of them should have an eye to the spirit of God in themselves; that being turned to it, they might speak from it; and that therein, they would glorify God, and be edified. So we parted, leaving the man in a sensible and savoury frame. We visited the merchant twice, and had a very good time with him; the man is of a loving and sensible spirit, and the love of God opened our hearts to him.

We also visited Doctor Johannes Sophronius Cozack, an odd compositum of a man. He has had great and strange openings; hath written several scores of tracts; is a great enemy to priests, and in society with none: of a merry, yet of a rough disposition, without any method or decency in his clothes, food, furniture, and entertainment. He wants but three years of fourscore, yet of wonderful vigour and acuteness. We were twice with him, and we have reason to think he was as loving to us as to anybody. And truly, he did show at parting, some serious and hearty kindness: but we could fasten little upon him as to God's power, or any inward sense of us or our testimony; yet we had little to object against what he said too; nay some things were very extraordinary.

From him we went to Doctor Belingham, an English physician, a man of lowly and tender spirit, who received us in much love, lamenting, when we left him, that he had no more time with us.

At the inn we had frequent opportunity to declare the way of Truth, and we must needs say, we were heard with patience and sobriety; particularly by a doctor of law, who lodged at the house, and an ancient man of Kiel in Holstein. We left books amongst them all; and in the love and fear of God we took our leave of them on the fifth-day after dinner, and begun our journey towards Herwerden, the court of the Princess; where we arrived on seventh-day the 22nd in the morning, every way well through the mercies of the Lord. We sent to inform her of our arrival, and to know what hour it would be convenient for us to visit her; who returned us this answer,—that being then employed in the business of her government, it would be the second hour in the afternoon before she could be at leisure.

The time being come, we went to visit her, and found both her and the Countess ready to receive us; which they did with much love and tenderness. I observed them to be much lower in their spirits than ever, and that our former opportunities had had a blessed effect upon them. That afternoon was employed in the narrative of our travels, which they heard with great attention and refreshment. The whole discourse ended with a precious little meeting. The house being clear of strangers, they both earnestly pressed us to sup with them, which being not well able to decline, we submitted to.

At supper, the power of the Lord came upon me, and it was a true supper to us, for the hidden manna was manifested and broken amongst us; yea, a blessed meeting it proved to us. O, the reverent tenderness and lowly frame of spirit that appeared this evening, both in the Princess and Countess. The Frenchwoman we found greatly improved, both in her love and understanding; yea, she was very zealous and very broken, and was always with us on these occasions. After supper we returned to the Princess's chamber, where we staid till it was about ten at night. At parting, I desired the Princess would give us such another opportunity next day, being the first-day of the week, as we had the last time we were with her: she answered me, "With all my heart: but will ye not come in the morning too?" I replied, "Yes, willingly; what time wilt thou be ready to receive us?" she answered, "At seven o'clock."

About seven o'clock the next morning we came; about eight the meeting began, and held till eleven: several persons of the city, as well as those of her own family, being present. The Lord's power very much affected them, and the Countess was twice much broken while we spoke. After the people were gone out of the chamber, it lay upon me from the Lord to speak to them two, the Princess and the Countess, with respect to their particular conditions, occasioned by these words from the Princess, "I am fully convinced: but O, my sins are great!"

Whilst I was speaking, the glorious power of the Lord wonderfully rose, yea, after an awful manner, and had a deep entrance upon their spirits; especially the Countess's, so that she was broken to pieces: God hath raised, and I hope fixed his own testimony in them.

We returned to our inn, and after dinner we came back to the second meeting on that day, which began about the second hour in the afternoon: and truly, the reverent, blessed, sure word of life was divided aright, and a precious sense of Truth was raised in the meeting. There came more of the city than in the morning, and we were much comforted in the Lord's power that was with us. For the Truth had passage, and the hungry were satisfied, and the simple-hearted deeply affected.

This day at both meetings was one of the Princess's women, who never was at meeting before; and she, though very shy of us the last time, became tender and loving to us;—she was truly reached. Magnified be the name of the Lord, whose presence was with us, and whose arm stood by us! After meeting, the Princess pressed us to stay and sup with her, pleading the quietness of the family, and that they were alone. At supper, as the night before, it was upon me to commemorate the goodness of the Lord, his daily providences, and how precious he is, in the covenant of light, to the dear children and followers of the light. Great was the reverence and tenderness, that was upon the spirits of both Princess and Countess at that instant. After supper, we returned to the Princess's chamber, where we spent the rest of our time, in holy silence, or discourse, till about the tenth hour, and then we repaired to our quarters.

Next morning about eight o'clock, we returned to the court, where the Princess and Countess were ready to receive us. The morning was employed in a very serious relation, concerning the affairs, practice, and sufferings of our Friends in England, with which they seemed greatly affected; when, about the eleventh hour, the rattling of a coach interrupted us. The Countess immediately stept out to see what was the matter; and returned with a countenance somewhat uneasy, telling us that the young Princes, nephews to the Princess and the Graef of Donau, were come to visit her. Upon which I told them, we should withdraw, and return to our lodging; but entreated, that forasmuch as we were to depart that night with the post-wagon, we might not be disappointed of a farewell meeting with them; and the rather, for that I had a great burden upon my spirit: which they readily complied with, telling me, these persons would only dine and be gone. As we went to the door, the Countess stepped before us, and opened it for us; and as I passed by, she looked upon me with a weighty countenance, and fetched a deep sigh, crying out, "O the cumber and entanglements of this vain world! they hinder all good." Upon which, I replied, looking her steadfastly in the face, "O come thou out of them then!"

After we had dined at our lodging, something being upon me to write to the professors of religion of that country, I went up to my chamber, that I might be the more retired. Just as I was about the conclusion of the paper, came the steward of the house of the Princess, with this message, that the Princess entreated us to come to her; for the Graef of Donau had a great desire to see us, and to speak with us. This brought a fresh weight and exercise upon us; but committing all to the Lord, and casting our care upon him, we went.

Being arrived, the Graef approached us in French: at first he took no great notice of our unceremonious behaviour, but proceeded to inquire of our success in our journey, and what we found answering our journey and inclinations. Then we fell to points of religion, and the nature and end of true Christianity, and what is the way that leadeth to the eternal rest. After some short debate about complete sanctification in this life, we both agreed that self-denial, mortification, and victory was the duty, and therefore ought to be the endeavour, of every sincere Christian.

From this, I fell to give him some account of my retreat from the world, and the inducements I had thereto, and the necessity of an inward work; with which he seemed much pleased. After this, he fell to the hat, &c. This choketh, and the rather, because it telleth tales. It telleth what people are; it marketh men for separatists; it is blowing a trumpet, and visibly crossing the world; and this, the fear of man, (greatly prevalent with too many serious people in that land,) cannot abide, starteth at, and runneth away from. Howbeit, the Lord enabled me to open the thing to him: as, that it was no plant of God's planting, but a weed of degeneracy and apostasy; a carnal and earthly honour, the effect, feeder, and pleaser of pride and of a vain mind; and that no advantage redounded to mankind by it;—and how could they, who ought to do all to the glory of God, use that vain and unprofitable custom, which cannot be done to the glory of God? I entreated him seriously to consider with himself the rise and end of it; whence it came, what it pleased, and what that was which was angry if it had it not.

I also told him of the sincere and serviceable respect, which Truth substituteth in place thereof: and I exhorted him to simplicity and poverty of spirit: to be like that Jesus whom he professed to be his Saviour, whose outside as well as doctrine pleased not the Jews;—and so we parted. He took his leave of the Princess, and then of us, with great civility.

After he was gone, the Princess desired us to withdraw to her bed-chamber, and there we began our farewell meeting. The thing lay weighty upon me, and that in the deep dread of the Lord; and magnified be the name of the Lord, he overshadowed us with his glory. His heavenly, breaking, dissolving power richly flowed amongst us, and his ministering angel of life was in the midst of us. Let my soul never forget the divine

sense that overwhelmed all. At that blessed farewell I took of them, much opened in me of the hour of Christ's temptation, his watchfulness, perseverance and victory; also about the ten virgins, what the true virgin was, the true oil, and lamp; and what the bridegroom, his door, chamber, and supper; and in the conclusion of that stream of heavenly melting love, with which we were all deeply affected, I fell upon my knees, recommending them unto the Lord, with strong cries to him for their preservation, and besought the Lord's presence with us,—and so ended.

After some pause I went to the Princess, and took her by the hand, which she received and embraced with signs of a weighty kindness, being much broken. I spoke a few words apart to her, and left the blessing and peace of Jesus with and upon her. Then I went to the Countess, and left a particular exhortation with her, who fervently besought me to remember her, and to implore the Lord on her behalf. From her, I went to the Frenchwoman, and bid her be faithful and constant to that which she knew; she was exceedingly broken, and took an affectionate leave of us.

Then I spoke to the rest and took leave severally of them; my companions did all the like. They followed us to the outer room; and there, it was upon me to step to the Countess, and once more to speak to her, and to take my leave of her; which she received and returned with great sense, humility, and love. So turning to them all, my heart and eye to the Lord, I prayed that the fear, presence, love and life of God, with all heavenly blessings, might descend and rest upon them, then and for ever.

We went to our lodging, cleared the house, exhorted the family, left books, and then took wagon for Wesel, about two hundred English miles from Herwerden. We rode three nights and days, without lying down on a bed, or sleeping, otherwise than in the wagon, which was only covered with an old ragged sheet. The company we had with us, made twelve in number, which much straitened us: they were often, if not always, vain, even in their religious songs, which is the fashion of that country, especially by night; they call them Luther's songs, and sometimes psalms. We were forced often to reprove and testify against their hypocrisy; to be full of vain and often profane talk one hour, and sing psalms to God the next, we showed them the deceit and abomination of. We passed through several great towns by the way, Lipstadt, Ham, &c. Many discourses we had of Truth, and the religion and worship that was truly Christian, and all was very well; they bore what we said. But one thing was remarkable, that may not be omitted: I had not been six hours in the wagon, before an heavy weight and unusual oppression fell upon me; yea, it weighed me almost to the grave, that I could almost say, my soul was sad even unto death. I knew not at present the ground of this exercise: it remained about twenty-four hours upon me. Then it opened in me, that it was a travail for the seed of God, that it might arise over all in them I had left behind, and that nothing might be lost but the son of perdition. O the strong cries, and deep agonies, many tears and sincere bowings and humblings of soul before the Lord, that his holy sense, which was raised in them, might be preserved alive in them, and they for ever in it! that they might grow and spread, as heavenly plants of righteousness, to the glory of the name of the Lord.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The narrative from the 27th of the seventh month, to the 9th of the eighth month inclusive, is inserted in the following letter to the Countess of Hornes.

"*For Anna Maria de Hornes, styled Countess of Hornes, at Herwerden in Germany.*

"My dear friend!

"O that thou mayst for ever dwell in the sweet and tender sense of that Divine love and life, which hath visited thy soul, affected and overcome thy heart! O tell me, hath it not sometimes raised thy spirit above the world, and filled thee with fervent and passionate desires, yea, holy resolutions to follow Jesus, thy blessed Saviour, who hath given his most precious blood for thee, that thou shouldst not live to thyself, but to him that hath so dearly purchased thee.

"O the retired, humble, reverent frame I have beheld thee in, when this blessed life hath drawn thee into itself, and adorned and seasoned thee with its own heavenly virtue; beautifying thy very countenance, beyond all the vain and foolish ornaments of the wanton daughters of Sodom and Egypt; for therein are charms not known to the children of this world.

"O that this holy and chaste life may be always precious with thee! and that thou mayst be for ever chastely kept in the love and fellowship of it! That out of this world's nature, spirit and practice, thou mayst be redeemed by Him, who is the way, the truth, and the life; who, as thou watchest with holy vigilance, will not only daily manifest the devices of the enemy to thee, but save thee from him.

For Christ's work in thee is thy sanctification, as it is in him, his Father's will; as he said of old to his disciples, 'This is the will of God, even your sanctification.'

"My dear beloved friend, be steadfast, immovable, without wavering; and work out thy great salvation with fear and trembling; and lose not that sweet and precious sense, which the Lord hath begotten in thee: it is soon lost, at least weakened, but hard to recover. Wherefore, let not the spirit of the world in any of its appearances, vain company, unnecessary discourse or words, or worldly affairs, prevail upon the civility of thy nature; for they will oppress the innocent life, and bring grievous weights and burdens upon thy soul, and prolong the coming of the Lord, whom thou lookest for, and put the day of thy redemption afar off. O beware of this compliance! Let me put thee in mind of that sensible resolution, so frequently and so passionately repeated by thee; 'Il faut que je rompe. Il faut que je rompe.' Ah! this speaketh a weight, this weight a sense, and this sense a strong conviction. Now, be assured, that till obedience be yielded to that present manifestation and conviction, the good things desired and thirsted after can never be enjoyed.

"Wherefore, my dear friend, be faithful, and watch against the workings of the spirit of this world in thyself; that the nature and image of it in all things may be crucified, that thou mayst know an entire translation, with holy Enoch, and walk with God. Jesus, the holy Light, is this power of God, that killeth and maketh alive; and he is the heavenly Vine too, if thou abidest in him, thou wilt bring forth fruit: but if thou abidest not in him, thou wilt not bring forth that fruit, in which his heavenly Father only can be glorified. O see what the mind daily abideth in! My soul is even ravished with the sense of that holy and quiet habitation! 'In the world,' saith he, 'you shall have trouble; however, be of good cheer, I have overcome the world: I am not of the world.' As if he had said: 'I am not of the world's ways, worships, customs, or fashions; for whatever is of the nature and spirit of this world, hath no part in me; and as I am not of this world, neither are you of this world; for I have chosen you out of the world; out of the inventions, out of the worships and fashions of the world. You are to leave them all, to come out of them all, and live and walk as pilgrims in the world;' that is, strangers; to what? To the life and practice of the world; not using, but renouncing the vain customs and ceremonies, yea, the whole conversation of the world; remembering that 'the friendship of this world is enmity with God.' And what 'if the world hate you, it hated me first;' and 'the disciple is not greater than his master, nor the servant than his Lord:' if you were 'of the world, the world would love you,' and not reproach and persecute you; for the world loveth its own. O my dear friend, that thou mayst be perfectly sensible what it is, not to be of this world.

"But there is yet a further mystery in these words, not discerned of many, in whom some tenderness and inquiry is begotten, much less of the worldly Christians. This world hath a false earth and a false heaven, a false foundation, and a false joy: not only gross wickedness, but iniquity in a mystery, inwardly and outwardly. The false prophet, and dragon, and all their offspring are here concerned. This is their world, that must be burnt with fire, that Christ is not of, nor his true disciples. The light of Jesus discovereth it! He is that spiritual Solomon that giveth true judgment, and saveth the living child, the true birth; giving it to the right mother, and not to the false pretender. All that hear his voice and follow him, shall receive true light, discerning, and judgment, to whom all judgment is given; they shall know his voice from man's.

"There are two trees, of differing natures, that have contrary fruits and leaves. The one is the tree of life, which is Christ; the other the tree of death, and that is Satan. The fruit of the one giveth life; the fruit of the other bringeth death; the leaves of the first heal; the leaves of the last poison. Many that discern the tree, cannot clearly distinguish the branches: and those that see many arms and branches, cannot distinctly behold the fruit, much less the leaves. This cometh by the gradual discoveries and revelations of the light of Jesus, the Word of God, as it is daily received and daily obeyed. Yea, and that Word is the axe and sword of the Almighty, to cut it down: daily feel the strokes of this eternal searching Light and Word at the very root of this corrupt tree, this evil one and his corrupt nature, works and effects. For which end Jesus Christ is come, and therefore is called a Saviour, which is little known in truth to the Christians of this world.

"Ah! my dear friend, thou knowest this Word, yea, thou hast felt it. O hide it in thy heart! treasure it up in thy soul, and love it, and abide with it for ever. Alas! Whither shouldst thou go? He hath the words, and is the Word of eternal life: daily, therefore, watch and wait, that thou mayst be grafted more into him; that thou mayst live and grow by his virtue and life; and that he may grow

in thy heart, as among the first Christians, the holy followers of the persecuted Jesus. And when he searcheth thy wound, and cutteth away thy dead flesh; yea, when he separateth between the soul and the spirit of this world, and divideth between joints and marrow; when he cutteth off the right hand, and plucketh out the right eye; watch unto prayer, and pray that thou mayst endure! Keep the holy patience of this pure and living Word; and this very Word will keep thee in the hour of thy sharpest trials, and sorest tribulations! All virtue is in him! He is a tried Word, a sure refuge; the staff and strength of the righteous in all ages. He was David's teacher and buckler; a light to his feet, and a lantern to his paths. Walk thou in the light thereof, and thou shalt not stumble: in this Word is life, (as in the root,) and this life is the light of men. They that receive and love the light of it, will therein receive Divine life from it to live to God. This is the bread of God that cometh from God, and feedeth and leadeth up to God: by this only, that which is born of God liveth, and is nourished. This is that carcass to which the wise eagles gather; and see thou gatherest to no other, and feedest on no other. This is that hidden manna that cometh from heaven; that feedeth God's Gospel Israel. The world hath a manna, but it perisheth; but this endureth for ever: for it is not of man, nor from man, but immortal, and from God; hid from the knowledge of all the vain Christians in the world; so that the Israel of God can say to the children of this world, and that in truth and righteousness, 'We have bread to eat that you know not of.' For this manna wait daily, that thou mayst be strengthened in thy wilderness travel to the land of eternal rest.

"Wherefore, 'labour not for the bread that perisheth,' that is, the bread of man's inventing and making, which cometh from below, and profiteth not, because it giveth not life eternal. But labour thou, my dear friend, for the bread that never perisheth, that endureth for ever, and that giveth life eternal to all that feed upon it. O cast thy care upon this Word, love it and dwell with it; wait daily upon it, hear its voice only, and follow it; for it bringeth the soul to the eternal habitation of rest and glory. Yea, when all flesh shall wither, and the beauty thereof fade away, this Word, and they that are grafted into it, shall abide for ever. O that this may be thy choice, and it shall be thy diadem, and thy eternal crown of glory!

"These are the fervent desires, and these the daily prayers of my soul, to the God of my salvation for thee; not only that nothing in thee may be lost, besides the son of perdition; but that thou mayst cast off every weight and burden, and that sin that doth so easily beset thee, that grieveth, boweth, and oppresseth thee, under the heavy weight of which thou groanest and sighest, that thy Redeemer would come from Zion to deliver thee. Give not heed to the enemy, the false accuser, who seeketh to devour that which is begotten of God in thee; neither look upon thine own sins, burdens, or weaknesses; but lift up thy head, and look to Jesus, the author of thy blessed visitation, and wholly hunger and thirst after Him, the spiritual brazen serpent, that healeth and relieveth all who in faith and full assurance look to him. Want of looking to him, hearing and obeying him and having true faith in him, is the cause both of all the presumption and despair that are at this day. He did no mighty things of old in those places where they believed not.

"O faint not, look not back, remember the holy ancients, the holy pilgrims of faith, the royal generation of heaven! Heb. 11. Thou believest in God, believe also in him for the work's sake that he has already wrought in thee: he will minister to thee, as he was ministered unto by his Father's angels, in the hour of his abasement and great temptation. Watch, and be faithful, and thou shalt be a noble witness for the Lord.

"Once more let me expostulate with thee. Wouldst thou overcome the enemies of thy soul's peace, and enjoy the delightful presence of the Lord with thee? Then keep nothing back; let nothing be withheld that he calleth for: remember that Saul of old lost his kingdom, for keeping that alive, which he should have slain; and thou knowest what befell Ananias and Sapphira outwardly. But be thou like the poor widow of old, that gave more into the treasury than all the rest, because they reserved the greatest part to themselves; but she gave all she had. O blessed are they that make no bargains for themselves; that have no reserves for self, neither consult with flesh and blood, nor in any sense conform to the least ceremony, which is born of them; but that submit their wills, in all things, to the Lord's, that they may be made perfect through sufferings.

"Read me in the mystery of life: I speak not of deserting, or flinging away all outward substance; but that thy heart may reign above all visibles, and make God its treasure, and never stick in any thing of this lower world, or rest short of Christ, the eternal rest of all the seed of faith."

Here beginneth the narrative.

"The Lord brought us well to Wesel on the fifth-day after we left Herwerden, having some service by the way. At Wesel we had a good time with Dr. Schuler, and Rosendale, and the woman we mentioned to thee; but the tailor was shy and fearful of coming to us at the doctor's.

"The next day, the 28th, we went towards Duysburg, and visited the Schult or chief governor that night, whom we found at home; he received us with much kindness. His wife and sister, we fear, have been shaken in their good belief of our testimony, since we were last there; some fowls of the air have devoured the seed that was sown. O that sweet and tender frame, in which we left them the time before! However, the entrance we had upon the spirit of the Schult, a little consolated us. Hence we sent Maria Martha's friend a letter; desiring him to let us have his answer the next night at Dusseldorf, enclosed to Neander, when and where we might see him, either at Dusseldorf, Mulheim, or Duysburg; and if it were possible, we would gladly visit the Countess of Bruck.

"We got early to Dusseldorf next day, being the last day of the week: but Neander was gone to Mulheim, in order to preach on the morrow; so that we were disappointed of our intelligence.

Next morning the 30th, we went towards Cologne, and there arrived that evening. The day after, we had a good opportunity with Van Dinando and Docemius, at the house of the latter; and that afternoon took boat back for Dusseldorf; where arriving next morning, we presently sent for Neander, who came to us, and three more in company. We had a blessed meeting with them, and with one of the three that came with him, our souls were exceedingly affected.

"The meeting done, they went away, but Neander returned. And first, of our letter to Mulheim. We found by him, as also at our return to Duysburg, that Kuper was so far from endeavouring our visit to the Countess, that he would not meet us himself, either at Dusseldorf, Mulheim, or Duysburg: nay, it did not please him to send us an answer, much less any the least salutation. I confess it grieved us now for Neander: the young man hath a zeal for God, and there is a visitation upon him, my soul desireth that it may not be ineffectual: but I have a great fear upon me. For this I know certainly, from the Lord God that liveth for ever, and I have a cloud of witnesses to my brethren, that retirement and silence before God, is the alone way for him to feel the heavenly gift to arise, and come forth pure and unmixed. This only can aright preach for God, pray to God, and beget people to God, and nothing else. But alas! his office in that family is quite another thing; namely, to perform set duties at fixed times; pray, preach, and sing, and that in the way of the world's appointments. His very office is Babylonish, namely, a chaplain; for it is a popish invention.

"In the good old times, godly Abraham who was a prince, and Joshua a great general, and David a king, with many more, instructed their families in the knowledge and fear of God: but now people are too idle or too great to pray for themselves, and so they worship God by proxy. How can a minister of the Gospel be at the beck of any mortal living, or give his soul and conscience to the time and appointment of another? The thing in itself is utterly wrong, and against the very nature and worship of the new and everlasting covenant. You had better meet to read the Scriptures, the Book of Martyrs, &c., if you cannot sit and wait in silence upon the Lord, till his angel move upon your hearts, than to uphold such a formal, limited, and ceremonious worship. This is not the way out of Babylon. And I have a deep sense upon my soul, that if the young man strive, beyond the talent God hath given him, to answer his office, and fill up his place, and wait not for the pure and living word of God in his heart, to open his mouth, but either studieth for his sermons, or speaketh his own words, he will be utterly ruined.

"Wherefore, dear friend, have a care thou art no snare to him, nor he to thee! Man's works smother and stifle the true life of Christ. What have you now to do, but to look to Jesus, the author of the holy desires that are in you, who himself hath visited you. Tempt not the Lord, provoke not God. What should any man preach from, but Christ? And what should he preach people to, but Christ in them, the hope of glory? Consider, nothing feedeth that which is born of God, but that which cometh down from God, even the bread of God, which is the Son of God, who giveth his life for the world. Feel it, and feed on it; let none mock God, or grieve his Eternal Spirit, who is come to seal them up from the mouth of man, who hath deceived them, that Jesus the anointing may teach them and abide with them for ever.

"Be steadfast and immovable; and this will draw the young man nearer to the Lord, and empty him of himself, and purge away mixtures; and then you will all come to the Divine silence. And when all flesh is silent before the Lord, then is it the Lord's time to speak, and if you will hear, your souls shall

live. O! my soul is in great pain, that you may be all chastely preserved in that divine sense, begotten in your hearts by the eternal Word of God, that abideth for ever; that nothing may ever be able to extinguish it. But more especially that thou my dear friend, mayst be kept in faithfulness: for the Lord is come very near to thee, and thou must begin the work; the Lord God expecteth it at thy hand. If one sheep break through, the rest will follow. Wherefore watch; O watch! that thou mayst be strengthened and confirmed; and strengthen all that is begotten of God in that family, by thy weighty, savoury, and circumspect life. O how is my soul affected with thy present condition! It is the fervent supplication of my heart, that thou mayst, through the daily obedience of the cross of Jesus, conquer and shine as a bright and glorious star in the firmament of God's eternal kingdom. So let it be, Lord Jesus! Amen.

"We tenderly, yet freely spoke our hearts to him, before we parted; which done, in God's love we took our leave of him at Dusseldorf, and got that night to Duysburg, being the third-day of the week. We first visited Dr. Mastricht, a man of a good natural temper, but a rigid Calvinist. I perceived by him, that they held a consultation about seeing us at Bruck; but they all concluded, it was best to decline meeting with us, because of the Graef, he being ready to fling our name in reproach upon them, in his displeasure; and this would confirm him in his jealousies of them. This might excuse the Countess, but by no means Kuper; and if I had any sense, Mastricht was there with them upon design, to frustrate the hopes we had conceived of meeting with her. We, from that, descended to other things of weight, and in love and peace parted.

"From his house we returned to our inn; and after supper we visited the Schult, who with much civility and some tenderness received us. His sister also came to us, and we had a good little meeting with them, and our God was with us; and his pure and tender life appeared for our justification, and pleaded our innocent cause in their consciences: and so we parted with them, leaving our Master's peace amongst them.

"The next day we came to Wesel, being the 3rd of the eighth month; where we understood by Dr. Schuler, that thy sister desired we would be so kind as to see her when we returned. Upon that we went and visited her; she received us very kindly. Thy brother-in-law's two sisters were present; we staid with her at least two hours. Many questions she put to me, which I was glad to have an opportunity of answering, for it made way for a meeting. She entreated us to come again if we staid, and told us our visit was very grateful to her: adding, that because we passed her by the last time, she concluded with herself, we had no hopes of her; with more to that effect. From thence we went to Dr. Schuler's, who freely offered us his house for a meeting next day: and indeed, the man is bold, after his manner.

"The next day about seven o'clock I wrote a billet in French to thy sister, to inform her of the meeting, to begin about eight: she came, and her two sisters with her. There were Rosendale, Colonel Copius and his wife, and about three or four more; and to our great joy the Lord Almighty was with us, and his holy power reached their hearts, and the Doctor and Copius thereby confessed to our testimony.

"The meeting lasted about four hours: being ended, we took our leave of them in the spirit of Jesus, and so returned to our inn. The tailor was all this while afraid of coming to our inn, or to the Doctor's to the meeting: great fears have overtaken him, and the poor man liveth but in a dry land. After dinner we visited Copius and Rosendale; and at Copius's we had a blessed broken meeting, he and his wife, Rosendale and his wife, with another woman, wife to one Dr. Willick's brother, being present; they were extremely affected and overcome by the power of the Lord, it was like one of our Herwerden meetings; indeed much tenderness was upon all their spirits.

"This done, and having left books both there and with thy sister, we left Wesel with hearts full of joy and peace: and let me say this, that more kindness and openness, we have scarcely found in all our travels. O that this blessed sense may dwell with them! A seed there is in that place, that God will gather; yea, a noble people he will find out; and I doubt not but there will be a good meeting of Friends in that city, before many years go about: my love is great to that place. O how good is our dear Lord to us, who helpeth our infirmities, and carrieth through all opposition, and feedeth us with his Divine presence, in which is life! His candle hath hitherto rested on our tabernacle, and he hath made us glad in his own salvation: eternal glory be to his excellent name.

"We immediately took a post-car and came next day, about two in the afternoon, to Cleve; where we had a very precious meeting at an honest procurator's house, who received us with much love: four or five more were present, all grave and tender: our hearts were greatly affected with their love and sim-

plicity. We also visited the Lady Hubner, who was kind to us.

"The following morning the 6th, we set out for Nimeguen, and thence immediately to Utrecht, where we arrived that night; and took the night boat for Amsterdam; because of a pressure upon my spirit to be next day at the meeting, and the rather, having intimated as much from Cologne.

"We arrived in the morning at Amsterdam, where we found our dear friends generally well, the city much alarmed, and great curiosity in some, and desires in others, to come to the meeting. We had a very great meeting, and many people of note resorted: God's Gospel bell was rung, the great day of the great God sounded, and the dead were raised, so that much tenderness appeared in several. O blessed be the name of the Lord, whose work and testimony prosper!

"The next day was spent in divers affairs relating to the Truth. The day following, the 9th, we had a meeting with Galenus Abrahams, the great father of the Socinian Menists in these parts, accompanied by several preachers, and others of his congregation: divers of our friends were also present. It continued about five hours; he affirmed in opposition to us, that there was no Christian church, ministry, or commission apostolical now in the world; but the Lord assisted us with his wisdom and strength, to confound his attempts.

Here endeth the narrative.

"I intend a visit at the Hague to the Lady Overkirk, sister of the Somerdykes, and some others who have sober characters of Truth and Friends; and thence to Rotterdam, where I have much to do, both with respect to meetings and the press.

"Thus my dear friend, have I given thee a tedious narrative, yet I hope not altogether unpleasant. Perhaps the brevity of my letters hereafter may best apologize for the length of this: however I consider two things; one is, that thou hast time enough, one time or other to look over it; and next, that I have plentifully answered thy requests, and demonstrated I have not forgotten thee.

"Dear friend! let us live and remember one another, now absent, in that Divine sense in which the Lord God dissolved our spirits when together. O the unity of this faith, the purity of this love, and the bond of this peace! The Lord Jesus be with thy spirit, and keep thee in this the hour of thy temptation, that thou mayst come forth as gold seven times tried: so shall thy testimony shine for the God that hath called thee, and he will reward thee with honour, glory, and eternal life. Amen.

"'Thus saith the Lord, I remember thee, the kindness of thy youth, the love of thine espousals, when thou wentest after me in the wilderness, in a land that was not sown.' Dear friend, consider this. Yet again: 'The way of the just is uprightness; thou, most upright, dost weigh the paths of the just. Yea, in the way of thy judgments, O Lord, have we waited for thee; the desire of our soul is to thy name, and to the remembrance of thee. With my soul have I desired thee in the night; yea, with my spirit within me will I seek thee early; for when thy judgments are in the earth, the inhabitants of the world will learn righteousness. Lord, thou wilt ordain peace for us; for thou also hast wrought all our works in us. O Lord our God, other lords besides thee have had dominion over us; but by thee only will we make mention of thy name. Lord, in trouble have they visited thee; they poured out a prayer when thy chastening was upon them. Thy dead men shall live, together with my dead body shall they arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust, for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast out the dead. Come my people, enter thou into thy chambers, and shut thy doors about thee; hide thyself as it were for a little moment, until the indignation be overpast. For, behold, the Lord cometh out of his place to punish the inhabitants of the earth for their iniquities; the earth also shall disclose her blood, and shall no more cover her slain.'

"So come, dear Lord Jesus, who was dead, and is alive, and liveth for ever. Amen. Very dearly farewell.

"Thy friend, that faithfully travaileth for thy redemption,

"William Penn.

"Amsterdam, the 10th of the Eighth month, 1677."

CHAPTER XIX.

On the 10th of eighth month, at Amsterdam, we had a blessed public meeting, never to be forgotten. O the majesty, glory and life, with which the Lord attended us! Our hearts were deeply affected with his presence; great reverence and brokenness was over the meeting, more than I had seen. The meeting done, we were opposed by a preacher, who was closely encountered and pursued by several merchants, &c., (not of us) who cried, he was rude and ignorant, and that they had a testimony for us; and offered to dispute in our defence, but the priest ran away: they followed him till they housed him; but what followed I know not.

It was upon me this day to engage Galenus

Abrahams to a second conference; that we might more fully debate and confute his grand objections against the present dispensation of Truth, and the heavenly ministry, witnessed among Friends. He refused not my offer of a second meeting; but sent me word, his business would not give him leave to let it be any time this day. Upon which, the next morning was fixed for the conference, to begin at eight o'clock; which accordingly it did, and held till one. The account of both the conferences is not yet found, but with the latter some of his own friends seemed better satisfied, and it ended very comfortably to us, because to a general satisfaction.

The meeting thus ended, and having refreshed ourselves, after a solemn leave taken of our dear friends at Amsterdam, George Fox and myself went that night to Leyden, accompanied by Benjamin Furly; coming there late at night, we forbore to inquire after any worthy in that place.

But the next morning we found out two, one a German of or near Darmstadt; who not only expressed much love to the principle of Truth, and unto us the friends thereof; but also informed us of a retired person of great quality, that liveth about two hours back again towards Amsterdam, at a village called Wonderwick. Our resolution of being that night at Rotterdam, and having the Hague to visit by the way, made our return at that time impracticable: however, the relation of the German concerning the good inclinations of the great man and his wife, their disdain of the world, and voluntary retreat from the greatness and glory of it, rested strongly upon our spirits. This person presently conducted us to the house of one who had formerly been a professor in the university; and there left us.

To this person both George Fox and myself were more than ordinarily open: he was of a sweet, yet quick, of a wise, yet very loving and tender spirit: there were few strangers towards whom we felt greater love. He assented to every thing we said: and truly his understanding was very clear and open to the things that lay upon us to declare. He expressed his firm belief of great revolutions at hand, and that they should terminate in the setting up of the glorious kingdom of Christ in the world.

What shall I say? The man felt our spirits, and therefore loved us, and in the fresh sense of that love, wrote a letter by us to a retired person at the Hague, like himself: which, in several places of Germany, was the way whereby we found out most of the retired people we visited. After nearly two hours time with him, we took wagon for the Hague, leaving the peace of God upon him.

The first thing we did there, was to inquire out the Lady Overkirk; a person of a retired and religious character, separated from the public worship of that country: she was at home, but her husband with her; and being a great man of the army, of another disposition and way of living, hindered our access at that time.

The next person we went to, was a judge of the chief court of justice in that republic. He received us with great respect, and a more than ordinary desire to know the truth of our faith and principles. We declared of the things most surely believed amongst us, in the power and love of God. He made his observations, objections, and queries upon several things we spake; to whom we replied, and explained all matters in question; insomuch that he declared himself satisfied in our confessions, and his good belief of us and our principles. We took a solemn and sensible leave of him, and we felt the witness of God reached in him, and his spirit tendered; which filled our hearts with dear love to him: he brought us to his street door, and there we parted.

From him we went to visit that person for whom we had a letter from the doctor at Leyden; but he was not at home. We immediately took wagon for Delft, and from thence an express boat for Rotterdam, where we arrived about eight o'clock at night.

The 13th of the month was mostly spent in visiting Friends, and the friendly people in that place, who consisted of several persons of worldly note.

The next day, being the first-day of the week, we had a large and blessed meeting; wherein the deep mysteries of the kingdom of Christ and antichrist were declared, in the power of an endless life. Several of divers religions were there, but no disturbance or contradiction; a profound silence and reverent attention were over the meeting.*

That night I had a blessed meeting at my lodging, with those persons of note, who at some times had visited our public meetings, as on that day; and they have a convincement upon them: the Lord's love, Truth, and life preciously reached towards them, and they were very sweetly affected.

Next day I bestowed in perfecting and correcting several public letters, which I was

* A person then convinced, [says W. P.] though the world prevailed, died lately, acknowledging it, and cried out, "How happy had I been, if I had then obeyed!"

moved to write both in my first and second journey in Germany, and after my return to these Low Countries. The titles of them follow.—1. "A Summons or call to Christendom, in an earnest expostulation with her, to prepare for the great and notable day of the Lord, that is at the door."—2. "Tender Counsel and Advice, by way of Epistle, to all those who are sensible of the day of their visitation, and who have received the call of the Lord by the light and spirit of his Son in their hearts, to partake of the great salvation, wherever scattered throughout the world; but more especially in the High and Low Dutch nations: faith, hope, and charity, which overcome the world, be multiplied among you."—3. "To all those Professors of Christianity, that are externally separated from the visible sects and fellowships in the Christian world, so called, wherever hidden or scattered: true knowledge, which is life eternal, from God the Father, by Christ Jesus."—4. "A tender Visitation, in the love of God that overcometh the world, to all people in the High and Low Dutch nations, who hunger and thirst after righteousness, and desire to know and worship God in truth and in sincerity; containing a plain testimony to the ancient and apostolical life, way and worship that God is reviving and exalting in the earth, in his Spirit and Truth."

The sense of the serious retreat of the great man we heard of at Leyden, was so strong upon me, that I could not see myself clear to leave the country before I had given him a visit. I purposed therefore the next morning, the 16th, to set forward to the Hague, from thence to Leyden, and so to Wonderwick.

I arrived there in the evening with Benjamin Furly, A. Sonnemans, and M. Sonnemans; and immediately made known our coming, and the end of it to him and his wife by means of the young German, who was got thither before us, to visit them. An invitation came to us all at our inn; and immediately we repaired to his house, which was very stately, and yet plain. He presently came to us, took us by the hand, and bid us heartily welcome. We immediately sat down; and after some time of retirement, I spoke something of what was upon me, yet not before he had given us a sober and pathetical account of his life, and of the present frame and disposition of his spirit.

All this was in the absence of his wife: but so soon as I had finished what was then upon me to speak of the witness of God, and of its work in man, upon the occasion of the history he gave us of his life; he led us into another room where his wife was. He told her, here were some Christian Friends come to visit her: she saluted us very kindly.

We all sat down; and after some silence, the heavenly power of God did in a living and tender manner open their states and conditions to me, and open my mouth to them. The substance of my testimony was to this purpose, that death reigned from Adam to Moses; Moses was till the prophets, the prophets till John, and John till Christ: what Christ's day was, how few see this day; and whilst people are talking of being in Christ under grace, and not under the law, death reigneth over them, and they are not come to Moses, nor the shaking or quaking mountain, the thunderings, lightnings, and whirlwinds: and what was that way which led to Christ; and what it was to be in him, and under the government of his grace; directing them to the blessed light of Christ, Spirit of Truth, and grace, which God had shed abroad in their hearts. I declared the nature and manner of the appearing and operating of this Spirit; and appealed to their own consciences for the truth of what was said: and I can truly say, the holy life of Jesus was revealed amongst us, and like oil, swam on the top of all. In this sense I was moved to kneel down and pray: great brokenness fell upon all; and He who was before the world began, was richly manifested in and amongst us.

The meeting being done, the great man and his wife blessed us, and the work of God in our hands; saying with tears in his eyes, "My house is blessed for your sakes, and blessed be God that I ever lived to see you." And thus we left them, though with much difficulty; for they pressed us with great earnestness, both to eat and to lodge with them; and it was hard for them to bear our refusal. They said it was a scandal to their house that they should let such good people as we were go out of it; or suffer us to lodge at any other place: but we declared our pre-engagement elsewhere, and that it was not for want of true kindness towards them.

One passage I had almost forgotten to mention: "I was," said he, "once at a table with the Duke of Holstein at Fredericstadt, when the magistrates came to complain against a people called Quakers in that city. The Duke was ready to be prejudiced against them; but at the very naming of them, I conceived a more than ordinary kindness in my mind towards them. I asked the magistrate, What they were for a people? He told me that they would not pull off their hats to their superiors. I asked him, Whether they would pull off their hats to God? He said, 'Yes.' Said I, 'That may be the reason why they will not pull them off to man. Do they live peaceably?' 'Yes.'

'Do they pay their taxes?' 'Yes.' 'Do they rub their hats in your eyes?' 'No.' 'Do they do any harm with them?' 'No.' 'Why, what is your quarrel then?' 'They meet in silence, and they will not speak or pray, unless they be moved by the Spirit.' 'Why that is according to the doctrine of Scripture: if this be to be a Quaker, I would I were a Quaker too.' But," said he, "I never saw one before, but I bless God I see you now." He very much inveighed against the false Christianity that is in the world, and greatly magnified a tender, mortified and retired estate. I have great hopes he and his wife will die in the Truth. We returned to our inn to supper and to bed.

Next morning, we took wagon for the Hague; where we met with Docemius, the King of Denmark's resident at Cologne, who had been at Rotterdam to seek us, and came back thither, with hopes to meet us. We had some service there with a lawyer; but were again disappointed of visiting the Lady Overkirk, because of her husband's presence; and the other retired man before mentioned was again from home: the judge would gladly have received us, but a great cause then depending commanded his attendance. That afternoon we took boat for Delft, and so to Rotterdam, where we all arrived well.

It was my desire to have been the day following at a meeting at Dort; but it seems, the way that we hoped had been open for us, was shut; insomuch that we were prevented of that service. However, I applied myself to the perfecting of what yet wanted to be completed in those writings I left behind me to be printed.

The next day, being the 19th of the eighth month, we had a very blessed public meeting, therein taking our leave of the country. And after that was done, we had another amongst Friends, recommending to them the peaceable, tender, righteous Truth; desiring that they might live and grow in it, and be a people to the Lord's praise; so should his work prosper, his dominion be enlarged and increased among them. In the evening, I had also a meeting at my lodging, among the great people of that place, of which I have before made mention. And magnified be the name of the Lord, his power did so sweetly visit them, and effectually reach them, that at their departure, some of them fell upon our necks, and with tears of love prayed that they might be remembered by us, and that they might have strength to answer our great travail for them. We recommended them unto the Lord, and the pure word of his grace in their hearts.

The next day the generality of Friends of that place met at Simon Johnson's house early in the morning; where we took our leave of one another, in the love and power of the Lord, feeling his living presence with them that staid, and with us who went.

Several accompanied us to the Briel; where we arrived about noon. There accompanied us the King of Denmark's resident at Cologne, who had been with us at those meetings at Rotterdam, P. Hendricks and C. Rocloffs of Amsterdam, and A. Sonnemans, Benjamin Furly, M. S. and S. J. with several others of Rotterdam. The packet-boat not being come, we were necessitated to lie there that night.

That night it was upon me in the earnest love of God, to salute the Princess and Countess with a few farewell lines, as followeth:

"*To the Princess Elizabeth. Salvation in the cross. Amen.*

"Dear and truly respected friend,

"My soul most earnestly desireth thy temporal and eternal felicity; which standeth in thy doing the will of God now on earth, as it is done in heaven. O dear Princess do it! Say the word once in truth and righteousness, 'Not my will, but thine be done, O God!' Thy days are few; and then thou must go to judgment;* then an account of thy talent, God will require from thee. What improvement hast thou made? Let it prove and show its own excellency, that it is of God, and that it leadeth all that love it to God. O that thou mayst be able to give an account with joy!

"I could not leave this country, and not testify the resentments I bear in my mind, of that humble and tender entertainment thou gavest us at thy court: the Lord Jesus reward thee! And surely he hath a blessing in store for thee. Go on: be steadfast, overcome and thou shalt inherit. Do not despond; One who is mighty is near thee; a present help in the needful time of trouble. Let the desire of thy soul be to his name, and to the remembrance of him! Wait upon the Lord, and thou shalt renew thy strength! the youths shall faint, and the young men shall fail, but they that trust in the Lord shall never be confounded.

"I wish thee all true and solid felicity, with my whole soul. The Lord God of heaven and earth have thee in his keeping; that thou mayst not lose, but keep in that Divine sense, which by his eternal Word he hath begotten in thee. Receive, dear Princess, my sincere and Christian salutation. Grace, mercy and peace be multiplied among you all that love the Lord Jesus.

* "She died about four years after," adds W. P in a note.

"Thy business I shall follow with all the diligence and discretion I can, and by the first opportunity give thee an account, after it shall please the Lord to bring me safe to London. All my brethren are well, and present their dear love to thee and the rest in thy family that love Jesus, the Light of the world. Thou hast taught me to forget thou art a Princess, and therefore I use this freedom; and to that of God in thee am I manifest; and I know my integrity. Give, if thou please, the salutation of my dear love to Anna Maria de Hornes, with the enclosed. Dear Princess, do not hinder, but help her. That may be required of her, which, considering thy circumstances, may not yet be required of thee. Let her stand free, and her freedom will make the passage easier unto thee. Accept what I say, I entreat thee, in that pure and heavenly love and respect, in which I write so plainly to thee. Farewell, my dear friend, and the Lord be with thee!

"I am, more than I can say, thy great lover and respectful friend,

"William Penn.

"P. S. I refer thee to the enclosed for passages. We visited Giftall and Hooftman, and they us. They were at one or two of the meetings at Amsterdam. *Vale in æternum!*"

"*For Anna Maria de Hornes, styled Countess of Hornes.*

"Jesus be with thy spirit. Amen.

"Beloved, and much esteemed for the sake of that love which is raised in thy heart to the eternal Truth of God; the increase of which I earnestly desire; that thou mayst be more than conqueror, through the powerful workings of that Divine love in thy soul, which casteth out all false fear and overcometh the world. In this eternal love, it is that I love thee, and would be loved of thee: blessed are they that hold their fellowship in it. It is pure, harmless, patient, fervent and constant: in fine, it cometh from God, and leadeth all that receive it to God. Indeed, it is God; and they that live in love, live in God. If we keep and abide in him who hath visited us, we shall always feel this love as a fountain; and wonderful are the effects of it. It can lay down its life for its friend! It will break through all difficulty and hath power to conquer death and the grave. This transcendeth the friendship of the world, and the vain-glorious honour of the courts of this world. This kindness is inviolable: our purest faith worketh by this love. O the tenderness of that soul in which this love liveth and hath place! the humility and compassion that always keep it company!

"And who can lively enough describe the lovely image it giveth, the attracting and engaging conversation it hath? But it is discerned and greatly valued by the children of love, who are born of it, which all the children of light are. What shall I say? It is the great command, and it keepeth all the commands; love, pure and undefiled, fulfilleth the law and Gospel too: blessed are they that feel any of this love shed abroad in their hearts.

"With this love, it is that God hath loved us; and by the power of this love, Christ Jesus hath died for us. Yea, it is this love that quickeneth us to Jesus, that inflameth our souls with pure and ardent love to him, and zeal for him: yea, it is this holy love that [engages to] forsake father and mother, sister and brother, husband, wife and children, house and land, liberty and life for the sake of Jesus; that leaveth the dead to bury the dead, and followeth Jesus in the narrow way of regeneration; that can trust him in the winds and in the earthquakes, in the fire and in the waters, yea, when the floods come in even unto the soul, this despondeth not, neither murmureth.

"And as it cannot despair, so it never presumeth; yea, it can triumphantly say, What shall be able to separate me from the love of God that is in Christ Jesus? Shall principalities or powers, things present or things to come, shall life or death? O no, neither time nor mortality!

"My dear friend, let this noble plant of paradise grow in thy heart. Wait upon the Lord, that he would water it, and shine upon it, and make an hedge about it; that thy whole heart may be replenished with the heavenly increase and fruits of it. O! that thou mayst grow in thy inner man, in wisdom, strength and a pure understanding; in favour with God, and with all people that are in the same nature and image: for the world only loveth its own.

"I hoped not to have been so quick upon my last long letter; but God's pure love which hath redeemed me from the earth, and the earthly nature and spirit, moved fervently upon my spirit to visit thee once more before I leave this land. I deferred it to this extremity; and being not clear to go hence, I send thee my Christian salutation, in this pure love, that many waters cannot quench, distance cannot make it forget, nor can time wear it out. My soul reverently boweth before the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that it would please him to preserve thee. Fear him, and thou needest not fear; for the angel of the Lord encampeth about those that trust in his name. The angel of

his eternal presence guard thee, that none of the enemies of thy soul's peace may ever prevail against thee! Perseverance and victory be thy portion in this world, and a crown of endless glory be thy reward in that which is to come. Amen!

"Since my last (being the next day after the date thereof) we had a meeting with Galenus Abrahams and his company: the success thou mayst perhaps see suddenly in print; and therefore I shall defer the narrative: only in general, our dear Lord, our staff and strength, was with us, and Truth reigned over all.

"That night we went to Leyden, where we visited some retired persons. Thence, next day, to the Hague, where also we had a little meeting. O the lust and pride of that place! Thou camest into my mind as I walked in the streets; and I said in myself, 'Well, she hath chosen the better part.' Be faithful, and the Lord will give thee an eternal recompense!

"Thence we came to Rotterdam, where the Lord hath given us several heavenly opportunities in private and public. We are now come to the Briel, and wait our passage. The Lord Jesus be with you that stay, and with us that go, that in Him we may live and abide for ever!

"Salute me to my French friend; bid her be constant. I wish thy servants' felicity; but thine as mine own: God Almighty overshadow thee, hide thee under his pavilion, be thy shield, rock and sanctuary for ever. Farewell, farewell!

"Thy friend and the Lord's servant,

"William Penn.

"Briel, 20th, (30th,) Eighth month, 1677."

Next morning, the 21st, the packet-boat arrived; and about ten o'clock we went on board, having first taken our solemn leave of those Friends that accompanied us thither. We immediately set sail with a great number of passengers: but by reason of contrary and tempestuous weather, we arrived not at Harwich till the 24th about the sixth hour. Whence next morning, I wrote this following salutation and account to the Friends of Holland and Germany to return with the boat.

"My soul magnifieth the Lord, and my spirit rejoiceth in God my Saviour, who hath rebuked the winds and the seas, and made us to drink of his salvation upon the great deeps. Yea, we could not but praise him in the tempest; for all things are full of his majesty. Blessed is the eye that seeth, and the heart that dependeth upon him at all times! There is not another God; he is the Lord alone, whom the holy ancients trusted in, and were not confounded. What shall my soul render unto the Lord? We are full of his mercy; he hath made us witnesses of his care. We can say in righteousness, they are blessed whose God is the Lord, and that serve all the day long no other master than our God.

"Friends, this is an endeared salutation to you all in High and Low Dutchland, in the deep and fresh sense of the Lord's preserving power. O! that you may abide in that sense of him, which he hath begotten in you, and in the reverent knowledge of him, according to the manifestation which you have received of him, in the light of his dear Son; that you may be faithful and fervent for the Lord; that his glorious life and power may break through you; and these lands, long dry and barren as the wilderness, may spring and blossom as the rose. For what have we to do here, but to exalt him who hath visited and loved us, yea, saved us in great measure? Ah, he is worthy! my spirit reverenceth him, my heart and soul do bow before him: eternal blessings dwell for ever with him.

"Dear friends, my love floweth to you as a fountain. God, even my God and your God, hath made you dear to me; yea, dearer than all natural kindred. You are flesh of my flesh indeed. Nor sea nor land, nor time nor place can ever separate our joy, divide our communion, or wipe out the remembrance that I have of you. Yea, the living remembrance, which my God often giveth me of you, in the life of his Son, abideth; which breaketh my heart to pieces: and I can say, I left much of my heart behind me; and the Lord alone could have outwardly separated me so soon from you. This love is stronger than death, more excellent than the love of women; for it endureth for ever: this privilege have all the saints. Jesus, the Light of the world, who saveth from the world, be with you. Amen.

"We got well last night at about seven o'clock to Harwich, being three days and two nights at sea: most part of the time there was a great storm of wind, and rain, and hail; the weather was against us, and the vessel so leaky, that two pumps went night and day, or we had perished. It is believed, that they pumped twice more water out than the vessel could contain; but our peace was as a river, and our joy full. The seas had like to have washed some of the seamen overboard, but the great God preserved all well. Frights were among the people, and despondencies in some; but the Lord wrought deliverance for all. We were mightily thronged, which made it the more troublesome.

"But it is observable, that though the Lord

so wonderfully delivered us, yet some vain people soon forgot it, and returned quickly to their wanton talk and conversation, not abiding in the sense of that hand which delivered them: nor can any do it as they should, but those who are turned to his appearance in their hearts; who know him to be a God nigh at hand; which, O may it be your experience and portion for ever!

"And the Lord be with you, and refresh and sustain you; and in all your temptations never leave you, nor forsake you; that conquerors you may be, and in the end of days and times, stand in your lot among the spirits of the just made perfect. Amen, amen.

"Yours in that which is eternal!

"WILLIAM PENN.

"P. S. Let this be sent to Friends in High and Low Dutchland.

"Harwich, 24th of the Eighth month, 1677."

At Harwich, I left dear George Fox and Gertrude Diricks and her children, who came over with us, to follow me in a coach: but having a desire to be that day at Colchester meeting, I went early away on horseback, George Keith accompanying me. We got to the meeting, and were well refreshed in Friends.

That evening we had a mighty meeting at J. Furly's house, where we lay; many of the town being there, who would not come to a public meeting. And indeed the Lord's Divine power and presence were in the assembly.

Next day the 26th, we had a great meeting at a marriage, where we had good service for the Lord. That afternoon about four o'clock we took horse for London; George Fox and the others, through the miscarriage of a letter about the coach, not being come to Colchester. That night we lay at I. Ravens, eight miles on our way. There we met Giles Barnardiston and William Bennet; with whom, and some other Friends thereabout, we were comforted in the life and power of the Lord.

The day following, we took our journey for London, and came there in good time that evening; where I found all things relating to Friends, in a good condition: blessed be the name of the Lord. I staid about a week in town; both to visit Friends at meetings, and to be serviceable in the more general affairs of the Truth.

The fifth-day of the next week I went to Worminghurst, my house in Sussex, where I found my dear wife, child and family all well: blessed be the name of the Lord God of all the families of the earth. I had that evening a sweet meeting amongst them; in which God's blessed power made us truly glad together; and I can say, truly blessed are they who cheerfully give up to serve the Lord: great shall be the increase and growth of their treasure, which shall never end.

To him that was, and is, and is to come; the eternal, holy, blessed, righteous, powerful, and faithful One, be glory, honour and praises, dominion and a kingdom, for ever and ever! Amen.

WILLIAM PENN.

At London, the following letter from the Princess Elizabeth came to hand.

"Herford, the 29th of October, 1677.

"Dear friend,

"YOUR tender care of my eternal well-being doth oblige me much, and I will weigh every article of your counsel to follow as much as lies in me; but God's grace must be assistant; as you say yourself, He accepts nothing that does not come from him. If I had made me bare of all worldly goods, and left undone what he requires most, (I mean, to do all in and by his Son,) I shall be in no better condition than this present. Let me feel him first governing in my heart, then do what he requires of me; but I am not able to teach others, being not taught of God myself.

"Remember my love to George Fox, Benjamin Furly, George Keith, and dear Gertrude.* If you write no worse than your postscript, I can make a shift to read it. Do not think I go from what I spoke to you the last evening; I only stay to do it in a way that is answerable before God and man. I can say no more now, but recommend to your prayers,

"Your true friend,

"ELIZABETH.

"P. S. I almost forgot to tell you that my sister writes me word, she had been glad you had taken your journey by Osnaburg to return to Amsterdam. There is also a drossard of Limburg near this place, (to whom I gave an exemplar of Robert Barclay's Apology,) very desirous to speak with some of the Friends."

Another letter was received some time after, in answer to one which he had written to her while in Holland—being as follows.

"This 17th of November, 1677.

"Dear friend,

"I HAVE received a letter from you, that seemeth to have been written at your passage

*This was Gertrude Diricks, who had visited the Princess. She afterwards came to live in England, and was married to Stephen Crisp.

into England, which I wish may be prosperous, without date, but not without virtue to spur me on, to do and suffer the will of our God. I can say in sincerity and truth, 'Thy will be done, O God!' because I wish it heartily; but I cannot speak in righteousness, until I possess that righteousness which is acceptable unto him. My house and my heart shall be always open to those that love him. Gichtel has been well satisfied with the conferences between you. As for my business, it will go as the Lord pleaseth, and remain in him,

"Your affectionate friend,

"ELIZABETH."

The following short Epistle, written to Friends in Germany &c., who were under severe persecution, is a beautiful specimen of the Christian sympathy of our author, and the religious consolation which he was capable of imparting, viz.

"*To all suffering Friends in Holland or Germany, particularly in Fredericstadt and in or near Dantzic.*

"Rickmansworth, 1st of Seventh month, 1673.

"My dear friends,

"IN God's everlasting Truth, and that heavenly power, strength, and dominion that stand therein, doth my soul very dearly salute you all, who have tasted of the invisible and heavenly life, that is made known unto those who have been begotten into the living way of light and righteousness. Oh! pleasant are the outgoings of the Lord to and in his children, whose minds are truly stayed upon him, and are freely resigned up to his all-wise disposal;—such shall abound in the joy of God's salvation, even in sufferings, persecutions, tribulations, yea, deaths, and every peril that may attend your most holy faith. Therefore, hold up your heads, and be ye comforted, little flock! your Shepherd will not fly, though the wolf come. Know your Shepherd, and dwell with him, and he will bring you into sweet and green pastures, in the midst of your enemies. Consult not with flesh and blood, to know what may be the cause of your trials, how you may shun them, or which way you may keep mammon and a good conscience too; but eye the Lord, without whose providence a sparrow falls not to the ground. No new or strange thing can happen unto you: dwell in the faith that works by love, and that will cast out all fear which begets any staggering from your holy testimony. Remember that many eyes are upon you, and as you acquit yourselves in this exercise that may quickly be suffered to come upon you, so will God's Truth be well or illy spoken of; for people will measure your most holy way by you. The way they see not, you they will behold; what know ye, but the Lord is now preparing and brightening you for further service, both where you live, and in other places. In the light of Jesus, the just man's path, live and walk, that to the end you may endure; so shall you glorify God, answer their labours who have travailed among you, and obtain unto yourselves eternal salvation. So dear hearts! be still, quiet, and given up in life and death. God's great work is going on: he comes upon the world in a storm, and sometimes to his children, that they may be the more weaned from the world, that people may be the more stirred up to mind them, and that Truth may be more effectually manifested through their self-denial, patience, and resolution. Stand then, be valiant, and keep your minds to the invisible life, which is felt in the light; and then I am persuaded, neither principalities, nor powers, nor life, nor death, nor any other thing, shall be able to separate you from the love of God, that hath been and daily is revealed to you in Christ Jesus, the Lamb of God, and Light of the world.

"The God of all peace keep your minds and spirits in perfect peace, amidst the greatest trials and disquiets from without, that you may finish your testimonies with us, to His eternal praise who hath called us, who is over every name worthy, even God, blessed for ever. Amen, amen!

"Your fellow-feeling brother in the unchangeable Truth,

"WILLIAM PENN.

"P. S. Truth greatly prevails in these islands, and grows daily famous over the heads of its peevish opposers: and Friends, who have heard lately of you, travail and sympathize with you; you are not alone, and He that is in you, is greater than he that is in the world. Farewell."

The subjoined extracts from a letter written in 1676 to the Princess Elizabeth and the Countess of Hornes, are deemed worthy of insertion, viz.

"Jesus be with your spirits, the immaculate Lamb of God, and glorious Light of the world! His pure Spirit redeem you from the evil and ignorance that are in it, and replenish you with his everlasting righteousness, whose end is peace and assurance for evermore!

"Noble of this world, but more noble for your inquiry after the Truth and love to it, the fame whereof hath sounded to the ears of some of us in this island, whom God hath made both his certain witnesses and messen-

gers, through many and great tribulations: heavenly praises to his holy and powerful name, who lives and reigns over all principalities, and powers, and thrones, and dominions for ever!

"I have had you, worthy women! often in my remembrance, with that honour which is not of this world; even when my soul has been in its purest retirements, not only from all visibles, but from their very ideas in the mind, and every other imagination; resting with the Lord in his own sabbath, which is the true silence of all flesh indeed, which profits above the formal Christian's bodily exercise. And in these heavenly sequestrations of soul, and true resignation unto the divine will of my Father, have I taken a most clear prospect of you, and every circumstance that may be fit for me to know: your education, your quality, your dignity, the envy of the clergy, the fury of the rabble, and the strength and power of temptation, arising from all these considerations, if possible to smother your blessed beginnings; and as so many bands of soldiers, employed and commissioned of their great prince of darkness, to watch and to hinder Jesus from rising in you. In a weighty sense of all which, my heart opens itself unto you in God's counsel, after this manner.

"Be faithful to what you know, and obedient to that which God by the light of his Son makes manifest in your consciences. Consult not away the pure and gentle strivings of the Holy Ghost; drown not his still voice with the crowd of careful thoughts, and vain contrivances: break not the bruised reed, neither quench the smoking flax in yourselves. If you truly love Jesus, hear him: and since it hath pleased God in some measure, as with Paul, to reveal his blessed Son in you, consult not with flesh and blood, which are below the heavenly things; for that inherits not the kingdom of God: but with sincere Mary, from a deep sense of the beauty, virtue, and excellency of that life, that is hid with Christ in God, wait out of all cumber, free from that running, willing, sacrificing spirit that is in the world, in the pure obedience, humiliation, godly death or silence, at the feet of Jesus, choosing the better part, which shall never be taken from you: and Jesus will be with you, he will shed his peace abroad in the midst of you, even that which flows from the crystal streams of life, that arise from under the throne of God."

After describing the sad declension and apostacy from the life and power of the religion of the primitive believers, which had come upon professing Christendom, and the unfaithfulness and worldly compliances, he proceeds thus;

"And though the Lord has not left himself without witnesses in any age; yet they were so few, and most of them, though accepted according to their day and work, so short as to the main work, that a remnant can say, When the Lord first opened the eyes of their understanding, the world lay in a great heap of wickedness, vanity and confusion; all following the desires of their own hearts, to gratify the lusts of the same, living vainly and wantonly upon the earth; yea, the whole earth looked like one great wilderness, full of briars and thorns, birds and beasts of prey.

"And when God poured out of the Spirit of judgment and of burning upon us, not only making us sensible of his holy terrors in and for ourselves, but of that day of fiery trial he would overtake the world with; our faces gathered paleness, and our knees smote together, our hearts fainted, our lips quivered, and our bodies trembled; and all that we might rest in the day of trouble. Hab. iii. 16.

"But while we were under the lightning and thunders, and great earthquakes, wars, and rumours of wars, such as had not been since the foundation of the world, as to us—for the sun became darkened, and the moon was turned into blood, and none of the stars of the night appeared,—while our agonies took strong hold upon us, and we were in the extremity of our pains; O! the gazing-stock that we were made to all, yea, spectacles to angels and to men. Some said, we were bewitched; others that we were strongly possessed of the devil; all astonished: parents beating and disowning their children; children insulting over their parents; masters evilly entreating their servants: servants abusing their masters: the husband using violence to the wife: the wife becoming strange and unnatural to her own husband; and all most cruelly vexed, abused, and tormented by the magistrates, through the wicked and unwearied instigations of the priests of all sorts, by gaols, dungeons, whippings, stocks, pillories, plunders, &c. O the calamity! the bitter distress of that day! and though we were but few in that day, and very low, poor, and even despicable in our own eyes; yet were we exceedingly strong and valiant in the Lord Jehovah, our everlasting strength. For our inward man was daily renewed, and we greatly loved one another: but never till now, did we truly know who Christ was, either in conception, birth, reproaches, sufferings, death, resurrection, or ascension; a mystery to the whole Christian world at this day, who are not turned to his light in their own consciences.

"And as in the holy watch we kept, not being staggered by the reproaches of the men of this world, but with Moses choosing them,

rather than the treasures and pleasures of Egypt, where our dear Lord lay crucified; we exceedingly grew in the grace and favour of God, and we were very tender, by any wandering thought, much more by any evil act, to grieve his holy Spirit of righteousness in ourselves, whom we desired should reign; being overcome with joy, that He brought life with him to our immortal souls. And after we had staid at Jerusalem, the city of our God and King, to receive his instructions, commission, and authority, abroad we went, upon the pourings out of his Spirit. And we went in the name and power of our God, to declare of his judgments and to tell of his terrible day, to call all to repentance, and to prepare to meet the Lord, to make ready the way of our God; who was coming to lay judgment to the line, and righteousness to the plummet, to examine, sift, and winnow the sons and daughters of men, to judge in righteousness; who will not be deceived by vain shows of religion: for he is a jealous God of his honour; and his glory will he give to no man, neither will he acquit the guilty, nor punish the innocent.

"But after this breaking forth and publishing of our message to the world, especially to professors; the Scribes and Pharisees took the alarm, finding their call, qualification and credit, and which is most of all in their eye, their maintenance, brought into question, and their whole kingdom shaking; man-made ministry being proved insufficient; forced maintenance anti-christian; and that no man could know, much less preach, Divine things without Divine revelations and inspirements; and that no man was a true Christian, much less a true minister, who was not born of water and the Spirit, the fire and Holy Ghost. They raged greatly, despatched their Sauls to Damascus, to the rulers of the nation, crying, 'Help, help, or religion is lost, and the kingdom of Christ will go down; behold great deceivers and seducers, and false prophets, and anti-christs are risen, as was prophesied should come in the last days: now they are come, bestir yourselves, make laws, catch them, whip them, imprison them, banish and burn them.'

"And truly, they lay in wait for blood, and several of us were tried for our lives, for blasphemers, haled out of their synagogues for our pure testimony's sake, some crying, 'Knock the rogues down;' 'They are witches,' said others; 'Devils,' said others; 'We have a law, and by our law they ought to die.'

"They never wanted false evidence to produce, as well as that we were frequently made offenders for our true and savoury words, whether in reproof or exhortation uttered, with our lives in our hands, in obedience to the heavenly vision. No justice, no mercy: if we escaped the multitude, the magistrate had the stocking, imprisoning or whipping of us; if we escaped the magistrate, the multitude, at the instigation of the priest, fell like so many greedy wolves or hungry tigers upon us, beating and kicking and dragging us, till some part of our flesh has been like a jelly, often breaking our heads and bones; and some they have murdered by the like barbarous usage: we not daring all this while to fly the place, or return them one railing accusation; committing our cause to God alone, to plead our innocency; having no helper in the earth.

"Nor were these things all our sufferings, or the depths of our tribulation. By no means; for the sharpest of our trials were from men of a religious profession, whose hearts contrived mischief, and their tongues and pens uttered it with all manner of slander and contradiction; insomuch that when we were not in the hands of the magistrates or multitude; we were almost perpetually employed in disputations and conferences, personally or by writing. On which occasion, the world loving its own, we had great difficulty and wrong; such perversions of our words and sayings, such flouts and jeers, such interruptions and noises, as would have been abhorred of sober heathens.

"However, we bore it all through the holy patience of Jesus; and in the end of these encounters with Ephesian-like beasts, we rarely missed of gaining some to the faith. And finding at long run, that they could neither wrangle, slander, nor persecute us out of that testimony we had borne for the living God, and perceiving that the multitude began to flag, and would no longer be the instruments of their cruelty, taking notice of our great increase, notwithstanding all these oppositions; as also seeing that some of their own kindred and acquaintaince were converted, whom they always confessed to be more religiously addicted than themselves, and that this change augmented both their virtue and their tender love to their kindred; many gave over this way of proceeding, and some moderate respite we had for a time. But persecution came by fits; that is, as at any time the clergy has prevailed with the civil magistrate: and because most, if not all other ways of non-conformity hid for self-preservation; and that we cannot desert our standard or testimony, (since it were to be accessory to the prevalence of darkness,) therefore hath suffering been our lot above all other non-conformists; as our nation can witness.

"But blessed be the name of the everlasting God, he hath been as a pillar of fire by night, and a pillar of cloud by day, and a rock in a weary land, and a pure spring by the way-side; and has sustained us by the invisible cordials of his own love, life, peace and joy; and in the ark of his eternal testament preserved us; making good to us what he promised of old, That the old lions should be hungry, and the young lions lack their food, and the youth should faint; but they that waited upon the Lord, and trusted in their God, should renew their strength: and no good thing would be withheld from them; they should run and not be weary; they should walk and not faint. Yea, he often compassed us about with many and precious promises, and great was our resolution for the Lord; that with Habakkuk we could say, 'Though the fig-tree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vines, the labour of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no meat; the flock shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stalls; yet we will rejoice in the Lord, we will joy in the God of our salvation: the Lord God is our strength, and he will make our feet like hinds' feet, and he will make us to walk upon the high places;' and this hath he done many a time to our astonishment. For he hath given us power from on high to bind kings in chains, and nobles in fetters of iron, to tread upon the necks of our enemies, and to possess the gates of them that once hated us. I could write a volume of the judgments and mercies and faithfulness of the Lord; who hath kept us, increased us, confirmed us, protected us, and comforted us to this very day: for which thousands are the souls and spirits, that day and night in white linen, the raiment of the first resurrection, bow and reverence, honour and praise, glorify and exalt him, that sits upon the throne, and the Lamb who is worthy for ever!

"But much of that wonderment, suffering and reproach is over; the rigour of our enemies abated; and the blessed Light and Truth in the conscience becomes valuable in the esteem of many, and the sincere followers of it are greatly respected; and that by persons of very great quality. And though the laws, oaths, and other customs of our country restrain men of authority from entirely falling in with us, or conferring any secular employments upon us; yet have they with great importunity sought to us in their own personal and family concerns, and reposed all trust and confidence in us. And blessed be the Lord, who hath kept us in the way of integrity, and has so marvellously turned the hearts of the great ones in the earth, insomuch that we can say, when those who would be thought as the heavens, have sought our destruction, 'the earth,' mere worldly great men, have often helped 'the woman,' and saved us from the raging envy of the Scribes and Pharisees: blessed be the name of the Lord our God! Who is a God like unto him?

"And furthermore, this we know: now that God hath made this passage in the land of our nativity; and cast his firm anchor of hope in the souls of many thousands in this island, he will break in upon the nations about us; and all these distresses that now are in Europe are to prepare the way of the Lord. God will thin the people: he will pinch, pine and wither countries; and Europe shall run into confusion more and more: and when their distress is complete, then shall they cry early and earnestly after the Lord. And welcome, O beauteous, shall the feet of them be, that bring glad tidings to the weary and the distressed; and when Europe is brought so low as to see there is no helper in the earth, then shall heaven be in request; and to heaven shall her inhabitants look; and from thence shall he come into their hungry souls, whom they have looked for.

"And this is the word of the Lord that lives in my soul to you: the Lord whom you look for, shall suddenly come to his temple, even your hearts. O prepare, prepare! make ready; watch unto his appearing in you, to make you a fit habitation for his holiness to dwell in. Let him have your whole hearts; let the mangers be for the beasts, and not for the Babe of glory, whose very birth brings glory to God on high, peace on earth, and good will towards men. Yet sorrow goes before, and will gird all nations; for in that day, when they shall see Him whom they have pierced, all kindreds, tribes and families shall mourn, as one would sorrow for his first-born, and be in bitterness as for an only child—and with such shall it be well; for to them will it be not only a day of visitation, but redemption.

"But woe unto the idol shepherds in that day, who have fed themselves and not the flock; who have run, and God never sent them; and cried, 'Thus saith the Lord,' and God never spake to them; and who have preyed upon the flock, and prepared war against those that in conscience could not put into their mouths; that have been the great emissaries of the false prophet; and to all that commit sin with greediness, and will have none of the Lord, nor of the knowledge of his ways.

"'Behold I stand at the door and knock,' saith the Lord God, I am ready to be revealed. It shall not be said, the fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set

on edge: but thus saith the Lord, Every soul shall bear his own burden, and for the iniquity that he hath done, shall he die; unless he die to sin by unfeigned repentance; for my swift Witness, who is faithful and true, is arising, and by him will I plead with all flesh.

"Wherefore, woe to all the inhabitants of the earth, who have cast my law behind their back, and grieved my holy Spirit; have taken counsel and not of me, and have forgotten me days without number; that have lived wantonly upon the earth, and consumed their days in pleasures; have multiplied sacrifices unto me, but have not hearkened unto my word; that serve me with their lips, while their hearts are far from me; that offer unto me incense, and yet oppress the Holy One of Israel with their iniquities: my soul loathes your assemblies, and your sacrifices are an abomination unto me. O, repent! repent! why will you die? Turn unto me that I may give you life: obey the light of my Son in your hearts, and ye shall yet live before me.

"And all you that separate yourselves from the multitude, in whom my Spirit has been stirring, but have quenched it with your own stirrings, and have made a fire of the sticks that you have gathered; and that compass yourselves about in the sparks of the fire that you have kindled, which is not the fire that comes from heaven; behold, 'This shall you have at my hand; you shall all lie down in sorrow.'

"Wherefore, hear and live; my sacrifice is in mine own Spirit; whose motions do thou wait for, in the silence of all flesh; and give up thyself in obedience unto the same, and I will touch thy heart with a coal from my own holy altar; and a living sacrifice shalt thou offer unto me on my sabbath-day, in which thou shalt rest from thy own works, and therein shall my soul be delighted, and thou shalt rejoice before me: for with me, the Lord, is everlasting wisdom, strength and refreshment.

"This is the ancient way of the Lord; this is the path of our God. To you I write, worthy and great women, that you may walk in it, and be of that number, who at this day, wherein one cries, 'Lo here,' another, 'Lo there,' may lay hold on the skirt of the true Jew, the spiritual circumcision, revealing himself, it may be, but as a day of small things at first in your souls; that you may see Him, the only Rock to build upon, that your peace may be great in the Lord, when troubles are round about you. For by this shall the begotten of God be known, and eminently discovered in the days of universal calamity; tranquillity, patience, faith and perseverance, shall conspicuously shine in their very countenances."

A summons or call to Christendom, in an earnest expostulation with her, to prepare for the great and notable day of the Lord, that is at the door.

Awake, O Christendom! Awake, and come to judgment, for the great and notable day of the Lord is drawing apace upon thee: prepare to meet him, thou and thy children, for the hour of his judgment hasteneth upon you; in which all your works shall be tried, and that by fire. For the day of the Lord shall burn as an oven, and all the proud, and all that do wickedly, shall be as stubble. Yea, by fire and by sword will the Lord God Almighty plead with all flesh; with all fleshly worshippers and workers, who live after the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof: and with the spirit of judgment, and the spirit of burning, that is, with spiritual judgment and burning will he visit all ranks and religions upon the earth: yea, his holy terrors shall take hold of the rebellious, and anguish and distress shall fill the souls of the guilty. The faces of nations shall gather paleness, and their knees smite together, because of the anger of God, that is kindling against them, and his fierce wrath, that is revealing from heaven against all the ungodly; but more especially against the children of the mystery of iniquity: it is in this day that the kindreds of the earth shall mourn with a great lamentation.

O Christendom! thou hast long sat as a queen that should never know sorrow; great have been thy pretences, and large thy profession of God, Christ, Spirit and Scriptures; come, let me expostulate with thee and thy children in the fear and presence of Him, who shall bring every word and work to judgment. God is pure, and the pure in heart only see him. Are you pure? Do you see him? God is a Spirit, and none can worship him aright, but such as come to his Spirit, and obey it: do you so? Christ is the gift of God; have you received him into your hearts? Does he rule there? Then have you eternal life abiding in you: if not, you are not true Christians. The Spirit of Truth leadeth into all truth, and the children of God are born of it and led by it. But are you led into all the holy way of Truth, born of this eternal Spirit? Then you follow not the Spirit of this world, nor do your own wills, but the will of God. You profess the holy Scriptures; but what do you witness and experience? What interest have you in them? Can you set to your seal they are true, by the work of the same spirit in you, that gave them forth in the holy ancients? What are David's roarings and praises to thee, who livest in the lusts of

this world? What are Paul's and Peter's experiences to thee, who walkest after the flesh?

O you, who are called Christians, give ear a little unto me, for I am pressed in spirit to write to you: read with patience and consider my words; for behold, what I have to say unto you, concerneth your eternal good.

God hath so loved the world, that he hath sent his only begotten Son into the world, that those who believe in him, should have eternal life. And this Son is Christ Jesus, "the true Light, that lighteth every one coming into the world;" and they that abide not in him, the Light, dwell in darkness, in sin, and are under the region and shadow of death, yea, dead in sin, and see not their own states, neither perceive the sad condition of their own souls. They are blind to the things of God's kingdom, and insensible of true and spiritual life and motion, what it is to live to God; and in that state are alienated from God, without true judgment and living knowledge, and under the curse. For in Jesus Christ, the Light of the world, are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, redemption and glory; they are hid from the worldly Christian, from all who are captivated by the spirit and lusts of the world. And whoever would see them, (for therein consist the things that belong to their eternal peace,) must come to Christ Jesus, the true Light in their consciences, bring their deeds to him, love him and obey him; whom God hath ordained "a light to lighten the Gentiles, and for his salvation to the ends of the earth." Light and salvation are joined together; and none can come to salvation, but as they come first to the light, and submit to the manifestation of it, which leadeth to salvation. For the nations of them that are saved, shall walk in the light of the Lamb, Christ Jesus. Light and sanctification are also joined together. If we walk in the light, as God is in the light, the blood of Jesus Christ his Son shall cleanse us from all sin. And light and life eternal are joined together; for in the Word, that was with God in the beginning, and was God, by whom all things were made, that were made, was life, and that life is the light of men. And this is the testimony of Jesus, "I am the light of the world; he that followeth me, shall not abide in darkness, but have the light of life." Yea, it is eternal life to believe in him, in Christ the Light, to receive, embrace, and to follow him. And this is that "true light (saith the same beloved disciple) that lighteth every man that cometh into the world." Now this light shineth in darkness, in the children of darkness, in their dark hearts, in their defiled souls and consciences; but in this darkness they comprehend it not. Neither can man know the nature and benefit of it, whilst he rebelleth against it; for the virtue and excellency of it is shut up and hid from the children of disobedience. To as many as received him of old, gave he power to become the children of God; and they that did his will, knew his doctrine to be of God, and of power and efficacy to their salvation.

But this is the great condemnation of the world at this day, that though God hath sent his Son, a light, into the hearts of all men and women, to manifest and reprove their evil deeds, and to save them; yet they love darkness, they love the lusts and imaginations of their vain hearts better than this holy light, that is given unto them for salvation: they choose Barrabas rather than Jesus. Yea, they have set up other lights than Christ Jesus, God's great Light; and other prophets than Christ, God's great Prophet; and other priests than Jesus, the High Priest of the new covenant: but they are dark lights, false prophets and blind priests. "All that came before me," saith Christ, "are thieves and robbers:" and all that pray, preach, sing, worship, &c. and not by the light and spirit of Jesus, they go before Christ, before Christ cometh, before he prepareth their hearts and toucheth their lips with a coal from his heavenly altar; and perform worship in their own will, time and power, and stay not for his leadings. And therefore all such rob Christ of his office, who is the Leader of the true Christians; their heavenly High Priest to anoint them and offer up their sacrifice to God for them; and Prophet, to let them see and know, by his light in their hearts, what they ought to do; according to the new and everlasting covenant, "I will write my law in their hearts, and put my Spirit in their inward parts, and they shall be all taught of me, saith the Lord."

Now this is the question to the whole world called Christian: do you see with this Divine light? have you searched your hearts with it? And are you anointed by this High Priest with his holy unction that leadeth into all truth? Doth this heavenly Prophet give you vision, and reveal the Father to you? Is he your eye, your head, your wisdom? Do you live, move and have your life and being in him, in praying, preaching and singing, yea, in your whole conversation? Are you renewed into his life and image, and have you heard his voice and seen his shape? Are you witnesses of his holy rebukes, his pure judgments, the shame and death of his cross? Is he the fountain of your knowledge, the author of your faith? O consider! Are you of those that have spoken with Jesus, who have been taught in the school of his holy cross, students in his heavenly acad-

emy? O have you drunk of his cup, and been baptized with his baptism? Tell me, in the fear of the Lord God, you that call yourselves Christians; doth he go before you, and lead you, as a master teacheth his disciples, and a captain leadeth his soldiers? and do you follow him in all the weighty things of this life? and doth he order your minds and rule your affections? If not, you are thieves and robbers; for you rob Christ of his office. For God hath appointed him to be the Leader and Ruler of all people; yea, it is God's decree; and those whom he leadeth not in their thoughts, words and works, shall never come to God: for all must come to God by him, that is, by his Light and Spirit ruling in their hearts, which sanctifieth, regenerateth and converteth the soul to God.

And the cause of the confusion and contention which is about religion in Europe at this day, is, that men have deserted this true Light and holy Spirit, and so are degenerated from the life and power of pure and unspotted religion, and have attempted to comprehend Christ's doctrines without Christ's light, and to know the things of God without the spirit of God. And being thus miserably erred by wicked works from the one Spirit of Truth, they have wandered into the fallible conceits and opinions of men. And in this state, one party hath contended against another: from words they have fallen to blows, and the strongest hath oppressed the weakest. And not knowing what spirit they were of, have called light darkness, and darkness light; putting the sheep's-skin upon the wolf, and the wolf's-skin upon the poor sheep of Christ, endeavouring by carnal weapons to enforce their opinions, and to extort conformity to their persuasions by worldly laws and punishments. All this is out of the light, life and doctrine of Christ Jesus, and in the spirit of darkness, confusion, strife and bloodshed, which are of the devil. All which Babel, must and shall come down by the light, power and spirit of Jesus, now rising in the world; and hell, death and the grave shall not be able to hinder it. For the set time, the appointed time of the Father is come, and the judgment is begun.

O ye, that are called Roman Catholics, tell me, are you truly catholic, that is, of an universal spirit? Then you will not persecute, but love all, and be tender to all. Are you truly Roman, and successors of that ancient apostolical church? Then you walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit; yea, the spirit of Christ dwelleth in you, and you are led by the spirit of God, and can call him Father in truth and righteousness, and the Word of God in the heart is your teacher, and not the traditions of men; for so the Romans of old time were instructed. O consider, if you are true successors, you must follow them in the same nature, spirit and life; for in that alone standeth the Christian succession, to wit, in Christ: and every branch, church or person, that abide not in this great Vine, are rejected for the fire. Therefore, deceive not yourselves, as the Jews of old did, with crying, "The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord:" and saying, "We have Abraham to our Father, and to us belong the fathers, covenants, law, priesthood and chair of Moses:" for, as the apostle said of old, so say I to you; his servants you are, whom you obey; and he that worketh wickedness, is of the devil. So that Christ's successors are they that take up his cross, follow him, and abide in his holy doctrine, that keep his commandments and themselves unspotted from the world. And those who follow the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh and pride of life, are not of Christ, nor of the Father, but of the world; subjects of the prince of the power of the air, and successors of Sodom, Gomorrah, Egypt, Tyre, Sidon and persecuting Jerusalem; and not of the harmless, self-denying, holy, suffering spouse of Christ Jesus, who is ruled in all things by her husband, her head, her Lord. O search and try with the light of Jesus, if you are not degenerated from primitive simplicity and purity? For great are the abominations of all sects, that flow like a deluge throughout your countries! Repent and turn to the ancient apostolical spirit and life, that you may enter into the rest of God.

O you, that call yourselves Evangelics or Gospellers, are you evangelical? Are you saved from the lusts and pleasures, and dead worships of the world, by the mighty power of God, and led by an evangelical spirit? If not, you are not yet redeemed, you are not yet under grace, which is the Gospel state. For you are not taught by it, but rebel against it; how then are you, who are yet subjects and servants of sin, true Gospellers, men of Gospel liberty, men of deliverance and redemption; to whom immortality is brought to light, as it is to all that truly know and receive the blessed Gospel? How can you sing the song of the Lamb, who are not delivered by the Lamb; but by your vain conversations crucify the Lamb, and do despite to the Spirit of grace, and that every day? The true Gospellers are those that receive the angel's message, who is the great preacher of the everlasting Gospel, namely, Fear God, give glory to his name, for the hour of his judgment is come; and no more worship the beast. Do you fear God in truth and in sincerity? Then are you fearful of offending the

Lord, and tender of God's glory; then are your hearts kept clean, then are you wise to salvation; and so you can glorify God indeed: otherwise your prayers and praises are not evangelical in God's sight.

But tell me, O ye Gospellers, is the hour of his judgment come to you? is it begun at your houses yet? How do you feel it? hath it broken your hearts? hath it contrited your spirits? Have ye known the godly sorrow? the chastisements of the Lord, and rebukes of the Almighty? Hath his pure eternal Word divided yet between your souls and spirits, the joints and marrow? Have you ever been weary and heavy laden with sin? hath it been a burden to you? Did you ever cry out in the agony of your spirits, "Men and brethren, what shall we do to be saved?" "Who shall deliver us from the body of sin here, and the wrath to come?" the travail of the holy ancients. If not, you are yet strangers to Christ and his kingdom; and if you die in that state, where he is gone you shall never come. For Zion, God's city, must be redeemed through judgment, and her converts through righteousness: yea, the house of God cannot escape it; wherefore, said one of old, "If judgment begin at the house of God, where shall the ungodly and sinner appear?" Woe to them that live without the judgments of the Lord! woe to them that cast his reproofs behind their backs, and live in earthly pleasures, fatting themselves in their lusts and pleasures, as for the day of slaughter, and treasuring up wrath against the day of wrath! The ancient saints lived not thus; they worked out their salvation with fear and trembling; yea, they gave all diligence to make their calling and election sure. Which way do you work out yours? Habakkuk, that holy prophet, his lips quivered, and his body trembled, that his soul might rest in the day of trouble; is this your state? Or are you not rather worshippers of the beast at this day, lovers of the worldly, sensual, voluptuous life, walking in the lusts of the eye, the lusts of the flesh, and pride of life; like rebellious Israel of old, forgetting God days without number? But this know, that all who forget God shall be turned into hell.

What is become of the fatherly visitation made to your progenitors; those good beginnings sown in persecutions and martyrdoms? Have you answered the loving-kindness of God therein? Have you advanced in the way of righteousness? Are you become a holy nation, and a peculiar people to God, zealous of good works? Have you not betaken yourselves to the wisdom and learning of this world to make ministers, and deserted the spirit of the Lord, and fled to the power and policy of this world to defend and protect you, and not to the name of the Lord, which hath always been the strong tower of the righteous? Nay, are you not divided one against another, and turned persecutors for religion yourselves, denying that liberty to others, you took for yourselves? Ah! where is the royal law, of doing as you would be done unto?

Thus have you decayed and degenerated into a worldly clergy, and a carnal people, holding and maintaining reformed words, in an unreformed spirit. Yea, are not the same evils, pride, passion, malice, wars, bloodshed, persecution, deceit, fleshly lusts, wantonness, vain pleasures and sports, yea, all manner of worldly-mindedness to be found in you, that were in the persecutors of your fore-fathers, and against which your most serious and best ancestors faithfully testified? So that the difference now is about words and sentences, and not about the life, nature and spirit of pure and undefiled religion; and men are to be known now by their denominations and subscriptions to certain human creeds, man-made faiths and forms, and not by the spirit and image of Christ Jesus, by the nature of the true sheep, and by that holy unction, that was the bond of the heavenly fellowship of the saints of old.

And you, that are called Reformed, with the rest of the sub-divided sects, what better are you for your names? Are ye regenerated yet? Are you reformed from the lusts of the eye, the lusts of the flesh, and the pride of life; from the devil and all his works? Are you born of the incorruptible Seed, that liveth and abideth for ever? And are you come out of the corruptible things, and doth Christ lead you? Is the government of your souls upon his shoulders? Tell me, is it the new birth, that which is born of God through many tribulations, the new man created in Christ Jesus, that calleth God Father in your prayers, and that maketh mention of him in your preachings? Or is it the first birth, of the earth, earthly, the old man, the corrupt and unregenerated nature, that which is born of the flesh, that is to say, of the seed of the evil one, the father of all the fleshly lusts, inventions, imaginations and traditions of men, that taketh pleasure in the vain and wicked sports and pleasures of this apostate world, that forget God, and turn his grace into wantonness; reproaching, nicknaming, and persecuting the children of regeneration with scornful names and cruel punishments; calling God Father as the Jews did, and crucifying Christ afresh by a vain conversation at the same time.

O you degenerated Christians of all sorts, who have deserted your first love, and degenerated from the life and power of primitive

godliness; with the light of Christ Jesus in your hearts, examine yourselves. God hath lighted your candle, search and try yourselves; see how it standeth with you as to your eternal condition, before you go hence, and be no more in this world. Consider, are you in the true faith of Christ, or no? For without true faith, none can please God; and without pleasing him, no man can be saved. The devils believe, yea, and tremble too; that is more than thousands, called Christians, do; and so far they are short of the very devils. Have you faith? let us try it in the name of God. What is it for faith? Doth it overcome the world? doth it live and depend upon God? can it forsake country and kindred? turn out Ishmael? offer up Isaac? live a pilgrim, a stranger in the world? Doth it work by that love which can forsake all for Christ's name's sake? doth it fight against the devil? resist his fiery darts? overcome his assaults and temptations? and finally, purify the soul to God's use? Is this your faith, O you carnal, outside Christians? No such matter; for you live in the flesh, fulfilling the lusts thereof; and your care is, what you shall eat, drink, and put on, and how you should get the mammon, friendship, and glory of this world. Examine yourselves, and prepare; for the day of the Lord hasteneth upon you. And have a care, lest you partake of the plagues, that God hath prepared for Babylon;—she that calleth herself the Lamb's bride, and is an harlot, that is, those who by a lying spirit have had their hearts seduced from God and his holy fear, yet in words profess to be his people; who call themselves Jews, but are not; Christians, and are not, but of the synagogue of Satan; being strangers to the circumcision in spirit, and the baptism that is with fire and with the Holy Ghost—with fire, to consume the fleshly nature; and with the Holy Ghost, to beget the heavenly nature in man. The downfall of this great city, and the desolation of this false church through all the sects in Christendom, is come and coming! yea, in one day shall it be accomplished, even in the day of the appearance of Christ; who is the second Adam, the Lord from heaven, who by the brightness of his coming and by the breath of his mouth in the hearts of nations, shall reveal, and destroy this great anti-christ,—this man of sin in man, that sitteth in the place of God, yea, exalted above all that is called God, requiring conformity to all his inventions and injunctions upon pain of life, liberty, and estate: nor are any suffered to buy or sell in this great city, but such as will receive his mark.

Woe to you all, in the name of the Lord, that call God your Father, and are not born of him; that name his name, and hate to be reformed; that call Jesus Lord, and not by the Holy Ghost; who take his pure name into your mouths, and depart not from iniquity. I say to you on God's behalf, as God said to the Jews of old; your prayers, your sacrifices, and your solemn assemblies, &c. in an unconverted state, are abomination to the Lord. No matter for your names, your pretences, your creeds; if you live without God in the world, that is, without his holy awe in your hearts, without a Divine sense of his presence in your souls, and know not that godly sorrow, that worketh unfeigned repentance, the only way to eternal life, your worship God loatheth: a dog's neck, swine's blood, yea, to bless an idol, or kill an ox, is altogether as acceptable with the Lord. God is wroth with the feigned worships, as well as common ungodliness of the world. Come to Christ's Spirit, be led of it, and do not your own wills, but the will of Christ Jesus; and then you shall know the true worship. The true ministry and worship of God stand not in the will, wisdom, or appointment of men, nor can they be performed by unregenerated men; but in the leadings of his eternal Spirit, by whom all the faithful offer up themselves, an acceptable sacrifice to God, not to live unto themselves, but to him that hath purchased them. It is true, Christ Jesus died for the ungodly, but not that they should continue ungodly, but take up his daily cross, and follow him. Christ, said Peter, hath offered up himself once for all, leaving us an example, that we should follow his steps; as he was in this world, so we should be, saith John, not conformable to the rudiments, fashions, and customs of this world, that pass away; but transformed and renewed in our minds, by the grace that he hath given us; which grace bringeth salvation to all that obey it, teaching such to deny all ungodliness, and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godlikely in this present evil world: because without holiness, none shall ever see the Lord; that is God's decree.

Wherefore, be you not deceived, you formal and titular Christians! God will not be mocked: such as you sow, such shall you reap at the hand of the Lord; yea, for every idle word shall you give an account in the day of judgment. Think not with yourselves, you have Christ to your Saviour, and you are reconciled to God through Christ, and that God looketh not upon you, as you are in yourselves, but as in Christ; whilst you walk not after the Spirit, but after the flesh: for the wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord. To whom? Not to them that despise his light in their hearts, that grieve his Spirit,

and by a worldly conversation go on to crucify him; and who follow not Jesus in the way of tribulation and regeneration. God is of purer eyes, than to behold iniquity; and he looketh upon men and women to be, what they really are, and not what they imagine themselves to be: behold, he cometh, and his reward is with him; and he will reward all according to their works. Sinners, while they continue in sin, can no more come into Christ, than into God; for God is in Christ, and Christ is in God: Christ is holy, harmless, pure and undefiled, and separate from sinners. And if ever you would have God look upon you to be in Christ, you must come into Christ: and you can never come into Christ, the new and heavenly man, who is undefiled and separated from sinners, till you come out of sin and the author of it, the devil, the old man of sin, and leave your deeds of darkness.

Therefore be ye separate from every evil way: Christ the immaculate Lamb of God, came not only to save men from wrath, but from sin, which is the cause of wrath. "Behold the Lamb of God," saith John, "which taketh away the sin of the world:" not their sin, who will not believe in him; but the sins of those that are weary and heavy laden, that wait, hunger, thirst, and cry for his salvation; whom God hath given for a light to lighten the Gentiles, and for his salvation to the ends of the earth. O you, that are called by his sacred name, repent, repent! Prepare, prepare to meet the Lord, who is coming in the way of his judgments to visit the inhabitants of the earth; and put away the evil of your doings, and turn to him that he may receive you.

But woe, in the name of the Lord to all that rebel against the light of Christ Jesus, who serve another master, and follow another captain, and obey the prince of the power of the air, who reigneth in the hearts of the children of disobedience. Yea, woe unto all, who are covered with a covering, and not of my Spirit; that take counsel, and not of me, saith the Lord: who gather sticks, and kindle a fire of their own, and compass themselves about with the sparks which they have kindled; for this shall they have at my hand, they shall lie down in sorrow.

Woe from God to all the will-worshippers, who worship, but not in the Spirit and in the Truth; their worship is not available. He that worships God aright, is turned to the Spirit, and is taught and led by the Spirit. And such as have received the Spirit of Christ, are not led by their own spirits, nor by the spirit of this world, nor according to the inventions and traditions of men: neither do they conform themselves to the customs and fashions of this world, nor will they bow to the glory of this world, or the God of it. But having seen Him, whom they have pierced with their vain conversation in times past, they mourn, and are in great bitterness, because they have done despite to his Holy Spirit of grace, that strove so long with them for their redemption. And being called by his spiritual call in their hearts, to come out of Babylon, the great city of will-worship, confusion, and darkness, that is in the earth, they cheerfully resign up all to follow him in the narrow way of self-denial, as his holy disciples did of old. And such have learned by good experience, that without Christ they can do nothing: though in these days scarcely any thing is done with him, or by him. For he is resisted in his spiritual appearance in the consciences of those, who make a profession of him with their mouths; and therefore he doth not many mighty works in them; yea, he is smitten, spit upon, crowned with thorns, pierced and crucified of all false Christians, through their rebellion and wickedness.

Woe from the great and just God, that made heaven and earth, upon all people, that work iniquity, and forget God! Woe to you kings and princes, that have crucified the Lord of life and glory; yea, you have crucified him in yourselves, and helped to crucify him in others: he lieth slain at this day in your streets. For you have not ruled for God, as you ought to have done; but for yourselves, to please your own lusts; and have not sought the glory of the Lord, nor the prosperity of his work in the earth, so much as the greatness of your own names, and to enlarge your worldly dominions; often oppressing the poor, and persecuting conscientious dissenters; but suffering almost all manner of vice and vanity to go unpunished. How doth the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life reign in your territories? Are not your courts the very schools of vanity, and nurseries of worldly lusts and pleasures, which war against the soul, and lead to eternal destruction? O! you have much to answer for before the great God, at the day of his terrible tribunal, who have power in your hands, to chase away wickedness, and to reform the world. It is written, "A king upon his throne of judgment scattereth all evil with his eye:" O! that the kings and princes of the world knew this throne of true judgment! That they had this godlike majesty, that they would purge their lands of evil doers, that they and their people might escape the wrath and vengeance of God, that is ready to be poured forth upon them!

And woe to you, nobles of the earth, that

spend your estates in pleasures, and your days in vanity; that like those of old, drink wine in bowls, and stretch yourselves upon couches of ivory: that invent musical instruments for your mirth, but remember not the afflictions of Joseph, neither consider of your latter end. What pride, lust and excess lie at your doors! What spoil and waste do you make in the world! You live as if you should never die, caring only, what you should eat, what you should drink, and what you should put on; how you should trim, perfume and beautify your poor mortal selves, and at which plays and sports you should divert and spend away that troublesome and melancholy thing, called time, as you esteem it, instead of redeeming the time, because the days are evil, and preparing for the eternal judgment. Is this the way to glory? Did Jesus give you this example? O, he is crucified by these things! This is far from the true nobility and Christian honour that cometh from above.

Woe to you, judges of the earth, who pervert judgment for a reward, that oppress the poor, and despise the cause of the needy, who regard the mighty and rich in judgment, and delay justice for the fear or favour of man; that subject the laws to your wills, and righteous rules to your passions and interest. Repent and be just, for God, the just God, the great Judge of heaven and earth, shall judge you all according to your works: and dreadful shall that day of his reckoning and tribunal be to all the workers of iniquity, but especially to unjust and corrupt judges!

And woe to you, lawyers, that refuse no cause for money; but will plead even against law, truth and justice, for advantage, teaching your tongues to advocate for a lie, and your mouths for gain, to plead the cause of unrighteousness; raising unreasonable wealth unto yourselves, by the folly, ignorance and contention of the people. O the equivocation, deceit, falsehood and iniquity, that is in your profession; in which you let your consciences out to hire at every summons for all sorts of causes: insomuch that it is the money, and not the cause, that prevaileth. And the worst cause most commonly is most desired; because the client, doubtful of his success, is usually the most liberal to you: this also is for judgment.

And woe to you, merchants and traders, that have not the Lord's fear before your eyes; whose god is gold and gain, that neither buy nor sell with regard to his just principle in your consciences, that use vain and deceitful words, and that are not come to the just measure and the righteous balance; but use frauds for advantage: that neither eye the Lord's providence by sea, nor his care by land; but day and night cast about how to raise to yourselves a great name and estate, to exalt your nests, and rank your families among the rich and the noble of the earth! The Lord will also plead with you! Repent and fear before God.

Woe to you, farmers and countrymen, that reward the Lord evil for good, who giveth you increase of all things in their proper seasons; yet you discern not his hand, you regard not his care; you live without God in the world: yet no life is fuller of the Lord's providence, who preserveth and prospereth your flocks, who increaseth your wine, your corn and your grass; instead of remembering his goodness with reverence, and in your harvests praising him with fear, you sacrifice to your lusts, and rejoice only in your fulness; making merry at your harvests without the fear of God, or looking to him that giveth you to increase. Repent and fear before the God of the whole earth.

But above all others, woe to you scribes, pharisees and hypocrites, you priests and pastors, who have taken a charge that God never gave you; who run, and he never sent you; who say, Thus saith the Lord, and he never spoke to you or by you: that steal the words of the prophets and apostles, and with them, make merchandize of the people; not knowing the pure word of God in your hearts to be as a hammer, a fire, a sword, to destroy sin, and to purge, redeem and reconcile you to God; but boast in other men's lines, and speak things made ready to your hands: that teach for hire, and divine for money; who seek honour of men, and love the uppermost places at feasts: who speak peace to the wicked, and sow pillows under their elbows for reward: pleasers of men more than pleasers of God. Woe to you in the name of the Lord, that counterfeit his commission and deceive the people; requiring their money for that which is not bread, and their labour for that which doth not profit: at your doors lieth the blood of souls in which you have traded. O you physicians of no value, whom have you cured? Where is the seal of your ministry? Is it not an abominable cheat, that you take money to cure, yet cannot cure; that have no medicine to cure; and at last maintain that the disease is incurable? You are they that will neither enter into the kingdom yourselves, nor suffer others. For whenever we have seen your delusions, and deserted your assemblies, presently a packet of letters must be sent to Damascus: the magistrate must be called upon to be a gaoler and hangman for the priest. What wars, changes and persecutions ever befell the world, since you had a being, in which you have not been at the head

or tail? Your practices shall more and more come to light: and the day hasteneth, that your very name and calling as now held shall be had in abhorrence by the nations. O! you numerous offspring of the great, false prophet, that hath been a liar from the beginning; hereby is it known, that God hath never sent you, that you have not profited the people; they are God's words by the prophet Jeremiah. Weep and howl, for the day of your great calamity hasteneth upon you! Your father and mother are come into remembrance before the Lord; the hour of their judgment is at the door. God will fill you the cup of his fury, you shall drink it at his hand.

I cannot but cry aloud to you all, of all ranks and qualities, from the highest to the lowest, that walk not after the Spirit, but after the flesh, daily fulfilling the lusts thereof; that you would repent and be saved. How hath Christ's religion been profaned, and his holy name blasphemed by the lewd life of professed Christians! The very heathen are scandaled, and the nations round about have you in scorn and derision. Arise, O God, for thy name's sake! O what tremendous oaths and lies! What revenge and murders, with drunkenness and gluttony! What pride and luxury! What chamberings and wantonness! What fornications and adulteries! What masks and revels! What lustful ornaments and enchanting attire! What proud customs and vain compliments! What sports and pleasures! What plays and romances! What intrigues and pastimes! Again, what falseness and treachery! What avarice and oppression! What flattery and hypocrisy! What malice and slander! What contention and law-suits! What wars and bloodshed! What plunders, fires and desolations!

And it is not only committed by Christians in general one against another, but by Christians of the same faith, sect and church one against another; praying to the same God to destroy one another; and singing psalms to God, when they have wickedly destroyed one another. O the fires, murders, and rivers of blood, that lie at the doors of professed Christians! If this be godly, what is devilish? If this be Christian, what is paganism? What is anti-christian? But to make God a party to their wickedness. O profanation! O blasphemy! What need is there of any other demonstration, that Christendom is foully apostatized from the doctrine and example of Christ Jesus and his true followers; who saith, "If ye love me, keep my commandments: by this you shall be known to be my disciples, if you love one another. Whosoever doth not love his brother, is of the devil, and whosoever hateth his brother, is a murderer; and ye know that no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him." And it is not to be supposed that they kill one another in love: for murder is not the effect of love and brotherly-kindness; but of malice, envy and revenge. O Christendom! how art thou and thy children degenerated from God, and fallen from the doctrine of Christ, whose holy name thou professest! Thou art become a city full of uncleanness, following other lovers than Jesus, whose spouse thou professest to be. O thou rebellious city, thou cage of unclean birds, thou and thy children have filled the earth with your abominations!

O how expert have you been in these impieties! How ingenious to work wickedness, and how fruitful in your inventions to gratify the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life! O how hath the heathen nature as an evil leaven prevailed, and leavened the great body of Christians at this day, as if the end of Christ's coming into the world had been to furnish us with a new profession, but not to give us a new nature; to teach men to talk, and not to live; to cry Hosanna, but in works to crucify him. What did the heathens, that Christians have not done? Yea, the same lusts, vanities and impieties that reigned among them are to be found improved among Christians. So that it is paganism made free by the Christian profession, or heathenism christened: and not to conform to the heathen in the Christian, is not to be a Christian, but an heathen. O the ignorance as well as wickedness of the present Christian world! Verily, the Christian life is oppressed under this mass of darkness and impiety, found in the conversations of apostate Christians; even as Christ was grieved and burdened with the darkness and obstinacy of the apostate Jews. And as the hard-heartedness of the false Jews crucified him outwardly, so hath the hard-heartedness of the false Christians crucified him inwardly: which hath fulfilled what is recorded in the Apocalypse, namely, that the Lord was crucified in Sodom and Egypt spiritually so called: for the false Christians are the spiritual Sodom and Egypt, who love and live in Sodom's sins, and Egypt's lusts and pleasures. Yea, they are of the race of them that stoned the prophets and crucified the Lord of glory: of the same nature and spirit. The blood of Jesus lieth at their doors shed, spilt and trod under foot of them; and will one day cry for eternal vengeance against them, if they repent not with unfeigned sorrow, and turn to the Lord with their whole hearts: certainly, woe, anguish and tribulation shall be their portion for ever! That which they have grieved shall grieve them; and that which they have bruised and resisted

shall reject and torment them: yea, it shall be a never-dying worm, and an endless pain to them. O woe to the worker of iniquity in that day! Woe to the slothful servant! Woe to the mocker and scoffer! Woe to the drunkard and unclean person! Woe to them that spend their days in vanity, and their life in earthly pleasures! Woe to the proud pharisee, and disdainful scribe! Woe to the fearful and unbelieving! Woe to idolaters and liars! Yea, and woe from God to all the cruel persecutors of the innocent lambs and sheep of Jesus, for their pure conscience to him! For they shall have their part in the lake, that burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death.

O that you might escape this great damnation! And I testify to you in the word of the Lord, that God giveth unto you all a day of visitation, in which you may escape the wrath to come. For this end, God hath sent his Son a light into your hearts; it is he who manifesteth all your thoughts, words and deeds unto you; it is he who checks and reproves you; yea, it is he who expostulates and strives with you; it is he that knocketh at your doors and awakeneth you to judgment: who condemneth every unfruitful thought, word and work in you. Repent, I exhort you, turn to him, hear his voice, and harden not your hearts; but while it is today, and the light shineth, and the Spirit striveth, O humble yourselves, bear his judgments, love his reproofs! And though his word be as a fire in your hearts, and though you are even scorched within you, because of the heat thereof; yet bear the indignation of the Lord, in that you have sinned against him. Wait, watch and walk in the light of the Lord Jesus; that in his blood you may feel remission of sins, and sanctification unto life eternal: that you may no more walk after the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof, but in the spirit of holiness; that you may be sealed unto the day of redemption. O the peace, the joy, the pleasure, and the undeclarable comfort that is daily met with in the holy and righteous way of the Lord!

This riseth powerfully in my soul, that his form hath no comeliness in it that will please flesh; his way and worship are most remote from it. Flesh and blood have no share in his worship; the will and runnings of man have no part in his way. It is neither at the mountain, where one sort runneth; nor at Jerusalem, whither another sort goeth; but in spirit, within the vail, hid from flesh and blood; yea, there it is that his worship is known and performed. Any form is more pleasant than this: his visage is more marred than any man's. All will-worship, all human invention findeth acceptance, where he cannot find a place to lay his head. O this is a bitter cup to the creature; few will drink it! They are hard to be persuaded to sit still, and patiently to wait for the salvation of God to let him work all their works in them and for them. They know not what it is to have the mouth in the dust, to have all flesh silent before the Lord, that the voice of God may be heard; that he may prepare them, and that the will of God may be brought forth in them. O this mystery of iniquity, how hath it wrought and how doth it yet work! It claimeth a right to the living child; but she hath no right to it: she can bring forth no living fruit to God. All nations have drunk her cup: but the hour of her judgment is come. She is seen, unvailed and condemned by the living spirit of God, that is felt and received, and obeyed by a remnant, who are gathered from the mouths of idol-shepherds, and all the errings and strayings of false prophets, that have no vision; and are come to the Lord to know his law in their hearts, and his fear and Spirit to be in their inward parts, and are taught and led by him. These follow the Lamb, and are his host this day, that fight under his banner with his holy testimony against the false prophet and beast: and behold they shall prevail. For greater is he that is in them, than he that is in the world.

O this is a great mystery, but a greater truth; Moses, the servant, is externally more comely than he: yea, the prophets were as pleasant singers, and as delightful instruments of music; their visions, sights and glorious prophecies of the last days and new covenant times, were (says one of them of old,) as a pleasant song: but the Son, the substance, when he came,—no beauty, no excellency, no comeliness. What is the matter? The way is narrow for flesh and blood; there is a cross must be taken up, a bitter cup drunk, and a baptism, yea, of blood gone through. Man must die to his own will, affections, imaginations and carnal conceptions; he must wait and watch, yea, continually: his own religion and righteousness is as odious as his sin and iniquity, yea, in a sense more dangerous. It is no outside will do; not that which pleaseth the busy, active will and mind of the creature; that gratifieth the external senses, that have prevailed against the soul. O no! it is a hidden life, a hidden temple, a hidden worship, and that in God's time; yea, a hidden manna, a hidden supper, not discernible by the vain sects in this world. Of this tabernacle is Jesus the builder, of this covenant and worship is he author, of this altar is he priest: to this did he gather his of old, and to this is he gathering the na-

tions. And the bride saith, Come; and the Spirit saith, Come; and he saith, Come: and blessed are they that come, and see how good he is.

But such, who like Sodom of old, go on to grieve the spirit of the Lord, to rebel against his light, and vex God's just Lot, that liveth in the midst of them, persisting in their lusts and abominations, God's angel shall smite them with blindness: the day of their visitation shall pass away, and the forbearance of God shall be at an end, and fire from heaven shall devour them. Which, with my soul, I fervently and tenderly desire you may all escape, whom God hath taught to hate your sin, deny your glory, and separate from all your false worships by his own light, Spirit and truth, and to follow his dear Son in the way of regeneration, whose love to me hath taught me to love all mankind, and to seek their salvation.

WILLIAM PENN.

Amsterdam, the 20th of the Eighth month, 1677.

Tender counsel and advice, by way of epistle, to all those who are sensible of their day of visitation; and who, wherever scattered throughout the world, have received the call of the Lord, by the Light and Spirit of his Son in their hearts, to partake of the great salvation: faith, hope and charity, which overcome the world, be multiplied among you.

My dearly beloved friends,

WHO are sensible of the day of your visitation, by the light of the Lord Jesus in your hearts; and who have gladly received the holy testimony thereof, by which you have beheld the great apostacy that is in the world, from the life, power and spirit of God; and the gross degeneracy that is amongst those called Christians, from the purity, self-denial and holy example of Christ Jesus and his primitive followers; and how pride, lust and vanity reign, and how Christendom is become a cage of unclean birds; who have mourned under the sense thereof, and have cried in your souls, "How long, O Lord God! holy and true, will it be, ere thou takest to thyself thy great power and reignest?" to whom the world is become a burden, and the vanities and glory of it but vexation of spirit; who despise the things that are seen, which are temporal, for the sake of the things that are not seen, which are eternal; whose eyes look through and beyond time and mortality, to that eternal city, whose builder and Maker is God; whose daily cries and travails are, to follow Jesus in the way of regeneration, to live as pilgrims in this world, for the sake of that glory, which shall hereafter be revealed and can never fade away, that you may attain unto the eternal rest of God. To you, my dear friends, it is, that the God and Father of Him who was dead, and is alive, and liveth for evermore, Christ Jesus, the faithful and true witness, who hath loved and visited my soul, hath now moved upon my spirit to write, and visit you with this epistle. Receive it then, and with it, the endeared salutation of that love and life, which are not of this world, but overcome the world. Great and frequent are my travails for you, that you may persevere and not faint, but endure to the end; that you may obtain that glorious salvation and redemption which is in Christ Jesus. Yea, for this are my knees bended before the God of the spirits of all flesh, that you may be entirely kept, that you may so run, as to obtain, and so fight as to overcome; that an immortal crown and kingdom may be your portion, when all sins and sorrows shall be done away.

And that you may do this, hear my exhortation to you in the Spirit of truth. Dwell in the sense, that God hath begotten in your hearts by the light and spirit of his Son, who is now in his Son in you, reconciling you unto himself. Watch, that this blessed sense be preserved in you, and it will preserve you. For where the holy sense is lost, profession, even of the highest truths, cannot preserve against the enemy's assaults; but the gates of hell will prevail against them, and the enemy's darts will wound them, and they will be carried again captive by the power of his temptations. Wherefore, I say again, live and abide in that light and life, which hath visited you, and begotten an holy sense in your hearts, and which hath made sin exceeding sinful to you, and you weary and heavy-laden under the burden of it; and hath raised in you a spiritual travail, hunger and thirst after your Saviour, that he might deliver you, that ye might be filled with the righteousness of his kingdom, which is without end.

Dear friends, God hath breathed the breath of life in you, and in measure you live; for dead men and women do not hear, or hunger, or thirst; neither do they feel weights and burdens as you do. The day of the Lord is dawned upon you, and it burneth as an oven: you know it; and all the works of iniquity are as stubble before it: you feel it so—they cannot stand before the Lord: his judgments take hold of them, and consume them. O love his judgments! that with those of old you may say, "In the way of thy judgments, O Lord! have we waited for thee; the desire of our soul is to thy name, and to the remembrance of thee. With our souls have we de-

sired thee in the night, yea, with our spirits within us will we seek thee early: for when thy judgments are in the earth, the inhabitants of the world will learn righteousness." Part with all, my dear friends, that is for judgment: let him arise in your hearts, that his and your enemies may be scattered; that you may witness him to be stronger in you, than he that is in the world. If the desire of your soul be to his name, and to the remembrance of him, you will love his judgments, and abide there the days he alloweth for your purification. Behold, his blessed visitation is upon you; and his holy Spirit hath begotten holy desires in you, I pray, that they may never be extinguished, and that you may never faint. Wherefore, look unto Jesus who is the author, that he may be the finisher. I testify for God, he has appeared to you; yea, he hath said to you, as to Andrew, Philip, &c., "Follow me:" and I say unto you, follow him: come and see where he dwelleth; do not lose sight of him, let him be lifted up in you, and your eye unto him, who, wherever he is lifted up, draweth all such after him. And this is the reason why people are not drawn after Christ, because he is not lifted up in their hearts, he is not exalted in their souls; he is rejected, oppressed, crucified and buried; yea, they have rolled a stone upon him, and set guards, that he should not rise in them to judge them. But blessed are you, whose eyes have seen one of the days of the Son of man: blessed are you at whose doors he has knocked, to whose heart he hath appeared, who have received his holy visitation, who believe it is He, and not another, and therefore have said in your hearts, with Nathaniel of old, "Thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel!" and with Thomas, "My Lord and my God!" O what have you, my dear friends, to do, but to keep with him for ever! For whither should you go, the words of eternal life dwell with Him. He is full of grace and full of truth, and of his fulness ye have received grace for grace. And this is that grace which bringeth salvation to all who receive it, embrace it and will be led by it. For it teacheth such, as it did the ancient Christians, to "deny all ungodliness and the world's lusts, and to live soberly and godlikely in this present evil world; looking for that blessed hope, and glorious appearing of the great God and their Saviour Jesus Christ, who hath given himself for them to deliver them from all sin, and to redeem them from all iniquity." You know that you are bought with a price; now you feel it, and in measure discern the preciousness of that price which hath bought you, namely, the life of the dear Son of God. Grieve not his Spirit, that is ready to seal you to the day of your perfect redemption; but give up your bodies, souls and spirits to his service, whose they are, that they may be ordered by him to his glory.

I write not to you as to the world, for you are called out of the world by him that hath overcome the world; that as he is not of this world, so you may not be of this world. Come then out of it more and more, out of the nature, out of the spirit, out of the fruits, and out of the fashions of the world! They are all for the fire. Christ said, "The world loveth its own." Search with the light of the Lord Jesus, what there is in you, that the world owneth and loveth; for that is its own. And consider what it is that the world is offended with; not that which cometh from itself, of its own making and inventing, but that which crosseth its inventions, that is of another nature, and springeth from another root. Be not conformed to the fashions of this world, that please those lusts, which grieve the spirit of God: but be ye renewed in your minds; and being so within, you will be a new people without.

They that have been truly with Christ are quickly discovered, they cannot be hid. So it was of old; the Jews said of the disciples, "These men have been with Jesus;" their speech and carriage betrayed them; their outsides were not like the outsides of other men; they were not current with the fashions and customs of that time. Nor can they that have been with Jesus, conform to the vain fashions and customs of this world; wherefore be not you, in any sort, of this world, but give diligence to make your holy high calling and election sure: for many are called, and few are chosen; and the reason is, they are slothful servants, they hide their talent in a napkin, neglect the day of their visitation, and work not out their salvation with fear and trembling: and then the night overtaketh them, in which they can never work the works of repentance; and the things that belong to their peace are hid from their eyes for ever.

But the Lord forbid that it should be so with any of you! I hope, yea, I believe better things of you. And I am assured, that as you keep your hearts chastely to the light and grace, with which you have been visited of the Lord, you shall be kept to eternal salvation. For they are saved that walk in the light: into the light the enemy cannot come; for the Light is Christ Jesus, and the enemy hath no part or place in him; he is driven out from the holy place by transgression, and he is now a fugitive from heaven; but he

goeth up and down the earth, seeking whom he may devour, whom he can catch and carry away with his baits and snares.

Wherefore, woe to the inhabitants of the earth, that is, the earthly inhabitants, such as love and live in the earthly nature; for all such shall be a prey to him, he shall have power over them, and keep up his kingdom in them. But those who receive and abide in Christ Jesus, the Light, Life and Truth, are out of his reach; they are in the munition of rocks, under the pavilion of the Lord, and in the safe ark of the most high God. However, he is permitted to tempt and try, till the time shall come, that he is not only trodden under foot, but also bound and cast into the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone. And he is the greatest enemy to those who turn their backs upon him; wherefore, he watcheth to surprise them, that he might take them at unawares, and triumph over their failings. And for that reason, Christ Jesus preached the watch earnestly and with repetition to his disciples.

My dear friends, there be several things, or the enemy in several appearances, that will attend you in your holy march to the eternal land of rest; of which I would caution you, that you may none of you make shipwreck of any of those holy beginnings you have experienced by the light and spirit of the Lord. Beware of vain thoughts, for they oppress and extinguish the true sense. These vain thoughts arise from the enemy's presentations of objects, and the mind's looking upon them till they have made their impressions upon the mind, and influenced it into a love of them. This is a false liberty, a dangerous, yea, destructive liberty to the holy sense that God hath begotten in any. For as that is not received but hindered by such thoughts, so it is not improved, but destroyed by them. The Divine sense in the soul is begotten by the Lord: it is his life and Spirit, his holy breath and power that quickeneth the soul, and maketh it sensible of its own state and of God's will; and that raiseth fervent desires in it to be eternally blessed. This is that at which Satan rageth; he feareth his kingdom, he findeth that He is come who will cast him out of his possessions. He crieth out, "Why art thou come to torment me before my time?" He is the father of vain thoughts, he begetteth them in the mind, on purpose to draw it off from that sense, and to exercise it in a variety of conceptions, in a self-liberty of thinking and imagining concerning persons and things. Here he offereth his baits and layeth his snares, and never faileth to catch and defile the unwatchful soul.

If you should say, What are these vain thoughts? I tell you, my friends, all those thoughts and conceptions, that either bring not real profit to the soul, or that grieve, hurt or oppress that holy sense, which is begotten of God in the soul. And that by which thoughts are to be examined, is the light of Christ Jesus. For as "whatever may be known of God is manifested in man, for there God hath shown it him," as saith the apostle Paul to the Romans; so "whatever is reproved, is made manifest by the light; for whatever maketh manifest, is light," saith he to the Ephesians. By this light of Christ Jesus, examine your own thoughts; see whence they rise, from whence they come, and to what they tend. Friends! here is a mystery; and the evil one worketh here in a mystery. For where he cannot prevail to draw out the mind from its sensible habitation, to embrace his representations of old lusts and pleasures, that are wicked in themselves; he will present you with lawful objects, your outward enjoyments, business and calling, and steal upon your minds in the crowd of these lawful things, and there lay his snares, hid and covered, and at unawares catch you.

My dear friends, blessed are they who see Jesus their Captain, going before them, and counselling and leading them in all their outward and lawful concerns, that they offend not. For my friends this know; you may unlawfully think of lawful things, either in thinking on them unseasonably,—mark that, when your souls should be wholly retired and exercised in the Lord's light, to feel his presence, in which is heavenly life: or in thinking on lawful things carelessly, not with regard to your Guide, even Him that hath bought you throughout with his own precious blood, that he might have the government of your bodies, souls and spirits; that is, of your bodily concerns, as well as of the things relating to your souls and spirits. This prevents much harm and mischief in business and families, and preserveth the Divine sense that God hath begotten, and the creature in it; so that its fellowship and peace with the Lord runneth as a river—it is not stopped or hindered by the designs of the enemy. Or lastly, in thinking on lawful things excessively, too much, more than is needful, without limits; thereby gratifying the fleshly mind, which is enmity with God, and that sense which he begetteth in the soul. O the mountains that are raised by such vain thoughts, between God and the soul! How doth the soul come under an eclipse, lose sight, and at last all sense of the living God, like men drowned in great waters! And thus many have lost their condition and grown insensi-

ble; and then questioned all former experiences, if they were not mere imaginations; till at last they arrived at atheism, denying and deriding God and his work, and those who kept their integrity; for whom is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever, unless they timely and truly repent.

But when this subtle enemy of man's salvation, seeth that he cannot make you bow to the glory of this world, that all his snares which he layeth in the things that are seen, which are temporal, are discovered and broken; and that your eyes are directed to those things that are eternal, then will he turn accuser; he will aggravate your sins, and plead the impossibility of their remission: he will seem to act the advocate for the justice of God, that he might cast you into despondency, that you may doubt of deliverance and salvation. Many are the thoughts, with which he perplexeth the sons and daughters of men: but this know, that he was a liar from the beginning. For the Lord doth not visit the souls of any, to destroy them, but to save them. For this end hath he sent his Son, a light, into the world; and they that bring their deeds to it, are not of the devil, who hateth the light. Neither doth the Lord cause people to hunger and thirst after him, and not fill them with his good things. Be assured, my friends, wherever the Lord hath begotten desires after him, and wherever sin is become exceeding sinful, yea, a burden to the soul, the devil's kingdom is shaken, the prince of this world is begun to be judged, and God is at work for the redemption of that soul. Hearken not to the voice of the serpent, for that lost your first parents their blessed paradise; and with the same subtle and lying spirit, he would hinder you from returning into paradise.

But when he is herein disappointed he shifteth his temptation, and presenteth another; namely, that though you have begun well, yet ye will never be able to hold out to the end; that the temptations are so many, and the enemies so strong, they are not to be overcome by you; and that it were better, never to profess such high things, than to fall short of them; that this will but bring reproach to the way, and the people of it. Again, that it is curiosity, and spiritual pride, and conceitedness, for you to be thought better than others, with the like suggestions, on purpose to stagger your resolutions, and weaken your faith. Ah! he is a devil still, a liar, and a destroyer; look not to him, but to Jesus, who hath called you. Keep but your eye to him, of whom the brazen serpent in the wilderness was a figure, and he shall cure you of all diseases, of all wounds and stingings of serpents and scorpions, &c. that may attend you in the wilderness travel, which is the hour of your temptation. God is exalting him in you, a Saviour; therefore he is manifested, namely, to destroy sin. Yea, stronger is he that is in you, than he that is in the world: he is able to bind the strong man, and cast him out; do but believe truly in him, and cleave to him. Remember there were evil spies of old, those who brought false intelligence, that Canaan was a pleasant land, but the way impassible; but the faithful entered and inherited. Keep therefore in the righteous life of Jesus, and walk in his holy light; and you shall be preserved through all exercises and difficulties unto the eternal Canaan, the land of rest. Neither wonder at these things, that temptations attend you, or that the Lord trieth and proveth you; it is the way of all that are gone to God. For even Jesus was tempted and tried, and is therefore become our Captain, because he overcame. Neither be ye cast down, because the Lord sometimes seemeth to hide his face from you, that you feel not always that joy and refreshment, which you sometimes enjoy. I know what work the enemy maketh of these withdrawings of the Lord. Perhaps he will insinuate, that God hath deserted you in his displeasure, that you must never expect to see him, that he will never come again: and by these and the like stratagems, he will endeavour to shake your faith and hope, and distract you with fear, and to beget great jealousies and doubts in you; and by impatience and infidelity frustrate your good beginnings. But though David said of old, in the distress of his soul, "One day shall I fall by the hand of Saul;" yet he overcame him, and had the crown. Yea, the Lord Jesus himself cried out in the agony of the cross, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me!" nevertheless he gloriously triumphed over all, and led captivity captive, for the joy that was set before him: which joy is before you: it is the mark of the prize of your great and holy calling. Wherefore faint not, neither murmur, if your spiritual Moses seem to withdraw awhile from you. Do not make images in his absence, neither wax wanton; but possess your souls in holy fear and patience, waiting with holy reverence and diligence for his appearance, who is your victorious Leader.

All these things are for your good, that proud flesh may be debased, and that the soul may be redeemed. Wherefore, bear the hand of the Lord; whom he loveth, he chasteneth; his anger lasteth not for ever, but his mercies endure for ever. Shrink not from the pure operations of his holy Word, let it divide asunder between the soul and spirit, the joints and marrow in you; suffer your right hands

to be cut off, and your right eyes to be plucked out, that do offend; let not the pain scare you. O bear the pure searchings of this heavenly Word! Yea, if your minds be stayed in it, you will find it to be a word of patience, which will keep you; for all virtue is in it: keep it and be still. "It is good," said one of old, "that a man should both hope, and quietly wait for the salvation of God. Yea, it is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth;" this is your youth, and such an one "sitteth alone, and keepeth silence, because he hath borne it upon him." Ah! blessed are they that bear this holy yoke, who are come to this silence, who die daily; that not they, but Christ may live and rule in them: therefore hear him, and take up his cross, and follow him. Follow him, keep him company; he hath beaten the path, and trodden the way; start not aside at his cup, neither shun his baptism: go with him to Caiaphas, to Pilate, and to the cross; die with him to the world, and you shall rise with him unto life eternal. Honour, glory, and immortality, are at the end of this holy race: O that you may run it with cheerfulness and perseverance!

But this is not the utmost stratagem of the enemy: he hath yet a more plausible and a more dangerous device, wherewith to destroy the holy sense that God hath quickened, where he seeth these temptations resisted, and that he cannot hinder a religious work in the soul, by any of his baits taken from the things that are seen; and that is, his drawing you into imaginations of God, and Christ, and religion; and into religious duties, not in God's way or time, nor with Christ's Spirit. Here he is transformed into the appearance of an angel of light, and would seem religious now, a saint, yea, a leader into religion, so that he may but keep Him out of his office, whose right it is to teach, prepare, enable, and lead his children with his holy power and Spirit. Yea, if he can but keep the will of the creature alive, he knoweth there is a ground for him to work upon; a place that he can enter, and in which his seed will grow. If this will of man is standing, he knoweth that the will of God cannot be done on earth, as it is done in heaven. O! this will is God's enemy, yea, the soul's enemy; and all will-worship ariseth hence: it is the offspring of the serpent and of the will of man; and it can never please God. Let all beware of this; God is a Spirit, and he will be worshipped in his own Spirit, in his own life. The worship of God standeth in the will of God: and is not brought forth of the will of the flesh, or of the will of man. Remember that the word came not to Esau, the first birth, the hunter who staid not at home; but to Jacob, the plain man, he that dwelt in tents; to him came the word of the Lord, that dwelt in a still and quiet habitation. For in the true silence is God's word heard, into which the hunting nature of Esau, the first birth, can never come. It can never stand still, and therefore it can never see the salvation of God. Against this nature watch, and know Jacob that inherits the birth-right, the election of God, though now a worm, to wrestle and prevail. Then worm Jacob, is Israel a prince, to whom belongs the statutes and the ordinances. The word came to Jacob, and the statutes to Israel: here is dominion, government, exaltation. This is the lot of worm Jacob. Wait therefore, till the angel move upon the waters, before you step one step. Are ye followers of the lamb, who hath visited you, the Captain of your salvation? Run not in your own wills, wait for his word of command, do nothing of thy own head and contriving, yet do all with diligence that he requireth. Remember what became of them of old, who offered false fire: and stay, till a coal from his holy altar touch your hearts and your lips. Jesus told his mother at the marriage in Cana in Galilee, his time was not come: he rejected the will in her, and staid till his time was come, that is, his Father's time, "in whose hands are the times and seasons;" whose will he came to do, and not his own; leaving us therein a blessed example, that we should also follow his steps, that is, not to attempt to perform even the things of God in our own wills, nor out of God's season and time, which is the best: for in his seasons he is with us; but in our own seasons and wills, he withdraweth himself from us. And this is the cause, that the nation's worshippers have little sense of God in their hearts, and that their priests cry out against inward sense; lest the people should go alone, and come to a more acceptable worship.

My dear friends, as you would enjoy God's presence, love, and life, and be acceptable with him, wait in his holy light, and Spirit that hath visited you, against these stratagems of Satan, and wake not your Beloved before his time: watch against the will, that instrument of Satan and enemy of God's glory, and your own comfort. Let it be bridled, subjected, and kept under Christ's yoke, yea, subdued; that the will of God may be done in you, and by you, which bringeth glory to the Lord, and eternal peace to the soul. One sigh rightly begotten, outweigheth a whole volume of self-made prayers; for that which is born of flesh, is flesh, and reacheth not God's kingdom, he regardeth it not; and all that is not born of the Spirit is flesh. But a sigh or a groan, arising from a living sense of God's

work in the heart, pierceth the clouds, entereth the heavens; and the living God heareth it, his regard is to it, and his Spirit helpeth the infirmity. He loveth that which is of himself, and hath care over it, though as poor as worm Jacob. "For the cries of the poor, and the sighing of the needy, will I arise," saith the Lord; even the poor in spirit, who have parted with all that they may win Christ; who need him only and seek him above all; who have no helper in the earth, but have denied all earthly helps, that he might bring and work their salvation for them. And as you are not to run in your own wills, or to offer up sacrifices of your own preparing, so have a care how you touch with those that do; how you bow to their wills, and join with their sacrifices. For all these things greatly help to extinguish the Divine sense begotten in your hearts by the Word of life. And as you are faithful to the light and Spirit of Christ, which giveth you to discern and relish between that which standeth in your own will, and the will and motion of the Spirit of God in yourselves; so will you, by the same light, discern and savour between that which proceeds from the will of man, and the will and motions of the Spirit of God in others; and accordingly, either to have or not to have fellowship with them. For what hath light to do with darkness? or what hath spirit to do with flesh? or what hath life to do with death? for "the grave cannot praise thee, O Lord; death cannot celebrate thee; they that go down into the pit cannot hope for thy truth. The living, the living, he shall praise thee, as doth my soul this day." This was the testimony of king Hezekiah, and it standeth true for ever; according to the prophet Isaiah, "Thou hast ordained peace for us, for thou hast wrought all our works in us."

Wherefore, I exhort you in the Spirit of truth, and in the counsel of the God of truth, keep in the Divine sense and watch, if you would endure to the end in the will of God. And I say again, Touch not with man-made ministries, nor man-made worships, let their words be never so true:—'Tis but man, 'tis but flesh, 'tis but the will; and it shall have no acceptance with God. This is the golden cup of her, who has gone from the leadings of the Spirit, with which the nations are defiled; have nothing to do with it. Keep to Christ Jesus, God's great Light; follow him as he shineth in your hearts, and ye will not walk in darkness, but have the light of life; not of death to condemnation, as in the world; but unto life, which is justification and peace. And remember, that nothing bringeth to Christ, that cometh not from Christ. Wherefore, all ministry that cometh not from Christ, God's great Prophet and High Priest to all true-born Christians, cannot bring people to Christ. Man only gathereth to man, to hear and believe in man, and depend on man. And if the church of Corinth sought a proof of Christ's speaking in Paul, who had begotten them, and had wrought the signs and works of an apostle in them, how much more reason have you to demand a proof of Christ's speaking in the priests and ministers of this world, who have not wrought the signs and works of apostles or true ministers? And by what should you try them, but by the light and Spirit of Christ in you? Yea, it is Christ Jesus in you, that giveth you to savour, if others speak from Christ in them. And to this the apostle referreth the Corinthians, for a proof of Christ's speaking in him: for nothing leadeth to God, but that which came from God, even Christ Jesus, the Son of God. O let him be your vine: and know him to be your fig-tree: sit under his holy teachings, whose doctrine shall drop as myrrh upon your souls: he will feed you with the bread of God, that cometh from heaven, that feedeth and leadeth them thither that feed upon it: and He is that bread.

Therefore, wait and watch unto his daily and hourly visitations to your souls, and against all the approaches of the enemy; that so he may not take you at unawares, but that you may be preserved from the power of his darts, and the force of his temptations, by the holy armour of light, the defence of the faithful ancients; if you be willing and obedient, you shall eat the good of the land. Now is your day, now is your time: work while the Light is with you; for the night cometh, in which none can work: not only the night of eternal darkness to the wicked, but the night of death unto all; for, in the grave there is no repentance, neither can any man there, work the works of God. You know the foundation; is he elect? is he precious to you? have ye chosen him? yea, I am satisfied you have: see what you build upon him. Have a care of hay, straw, and stubble! have a care of your own wills and spirits! Labour not for the bread which perisheth, as all the bread of man's making doth: but, labour you in the light and strength of the Lord for the bread which never perisheth, that bread which cometh from heaven, which nourisheth the soul in that life that is heavenly, and is hid with Christ in God, the root and father of all life; that of this fountain you may drink, which is clear and pure, and cometh from the throne of God and of the Lamb, and not of the muddy puddle of man's invention. There is a bread that perisheth, and there is a drink that perisheth, and woe to them that feed thereon, for their souls shall perish also, if

they repent not. But there is a bread that never perisheth, and there is a fountain that springeth up unto eternal life, and blessed are they that feed and drink thereof; for they shall have eternal life with God. This is that which only satisfieth what is born of God; it will feed on no other bread, and drink of no other water. I cannot but warn you all, who are come to the Lord's day, that you cease from all other food, from man and man's will and invention; for that stifleth the Divine sense, that overlayeth and killeth this heavenly birth. There are no grapes to be gathered of thorns, nor figs of thistles: keep to your own vine and fig-tree, Christ Jesus; sit under him, that you may eat of his fruit, which is the fruit of life, the hidden manna; hid from the nature and spirit of this world, a mystery unto it. Two things consider; first, you must wait till the manna cometh; and then you are not to be idle, you are to work; and next, as it daily cometh, so it must be daily gathered and fed upon: for the manna that was gathered yesterday, will not be food for to-day; it will not keep for that use. As it was outwardly, so it is inwardly. Time past is none of thine: it is not what thou wast, but what thou art; God will be daily looked unto. Didst thou eat yesterday? That feedeth thee not to-day: therefore, Jesus taught his disciples, and us in them, to pray for our daily bread, for the present sustenance; and to look no further, but depend upon the Lord, and live by faith in him that raised up Jesus from the dead; so that the time to come is no more ours than the time past can be recalled.

Wherefore, blessed are they that fear the Lord and confide in him, they shall never be confounded: they shall lack no good thing, for the Lord loveth Israel; he "is good unto Israel," and to all "that are of an upright heart;" whose hearts look up to heaven, and not down to the earth; neither love nor live in the vain lusts of the world. Such shall abide in his holy tabernacle, such shall dwell in his holy hill, even they that walk uprightly, that work righteousness, and speak the truth in their hearts; in whose sight a vile person is contemned, but who honour them that fear the Lord.

O! my dear friends, I know experimentally, that this is hard to flesh and blood, to that which is born of the corruptible seed; but that can never enter into the kingdom of God: that must be crucified by Christ, which hath crucified Christ: blood requireth blood. Wherefore, give that which is for the famine to the famine; for the fire to the fire; and for the sword to the sword. Let all the sinful lusts be famished, let the stubble be burnt, and the corrupt, yea, and the fruitless tree that cumbereth the ground, be cut down and cast into the fire. Let the work of the Lord be done in you; let him purge his floor thoroughly; that you may come out as pure as gold seven times tried, fitted for his use who hath chosen you; that you may bear his mark and wear his inscription, "Holiness to the Lord;" so you will be vessels of honour in his house. Therefore, I say, let your houses be swept by the judgments of the Lord, and the little leaven of the kingdom, leaven you in body, soul and spirit, that holy temples you may be to his glory. This, I know is your desire, who are on your travel to this blessed enjoyment.

Well, you believe in God, believe also in Christ the Light, who hath visited you: and if you truly believe, you will not make haste: you will not make haste out of the hour of judgment; you will stay the time of your trial and cleansing, that you may be, as I said, pure as gold seven times tried; and so receive the Lord's mark and stamp, his image and approbation; that you may be his throughout, in body, soul and spirit; sealed to him in an eternal covenant.

Dear friends, gird up the loins of your minds, watch and hope to the end; be not slothful, neither strive; despond not, nor be presumptuous: be as little children; for of such is the kingdom of God. Dispute not, neither consult with flesh and blood: let not the prudence of this world draw you from the simplicity that is in Christ Jesus. Love and obey the Truth; hide his living Word in your hearts; though it be as an hammer, a fire, a sword; yet it reconcileth and bringeth you to God, and will be sweeter to you that love it, than is the honey and the honey-comb. Fear not, but bear the cross; yea, without the camp, the camp of this world's lusts, glory and false worships. But this know; when the enemy can prevail by none of these stratagems, if you resist him, as the god of the world's glory, the prince of the air, and the false prophet, then he turneth dragon; then he declareth open war; then you are heretics, fanatics, enthusiasts, seducers, blasphemers, unworthy to live upon the earth. But in all these things "rejoice, and be exceeding glad, for great shall be your reward in the kingdom of the Father." What if your parents rise up against you; if your brethren betray you; if your companions desert and deride you; if you become the song of the drunkard, and the scorn and merriment of the vile person; yea, though the powers of the earth should combine to devour you, "let not your hearts be troubled." Shun not the cross, but despise the shame, and cast

your care upon the Lord, who will be afflicted with you in all your afflictions; in the fire he will be with you, and in the water he will not forsake you. Let your eye be to Him, whose name is as a strong tower, the sanctuary of the righteous in all ages; that you may be able to say in your hearts with David of old, "The Lord is my light and my salvation, whom shall I fear? The Lord is the strength of my life, of whom shall I be afraid? Though an host should encamp against me, my heart shall not fear; though war should rise against me, in this will I be confident. One thing have I desired of the Lord, that will I seek after,—that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, to behold the beauty of the Lord, and to inquire in his temple. For in the time of trouble he shall hide me in his pavilion, he shall set me upon a rock. When my father and my mother forsake me, then the Lord will take me up. I had fainted, unless I had believed to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living. Wait on the Lord, be of good courage, and he shall strengthen thine heart: wait, I say, on the Lord."

My dear friends, let it be your daily and hourly work to wait upon God. How often does David speak of waiting upon God? he felt the sweetness of it; therefore retire into your holy chamber: be still, and the Lord will speak comfortably unto you. Blessed are they that wait upon him, whose expectations are only from him: "for though the youths shall faint and be weary, and the young men shall utterly fall, they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles, they shall run and not be weary, they shall walk and not faint!" "I waited," saith David, "patiently upon the Lord, and he inclined unto me and heard my cry." And this was his testimony, "Behold the eye of the Lord is upon them that fear him, to deliver their soul from death, and to keep them alive in famine: for the Lord is nigh unto them that are of a broken heart, and saveth such as be of a contrite spirit:" David knew it, therefore he could speak it.

My dear friends, who are compassed about with many tribulations; the Lord God, your staff and strength, is near you to sustain you. Have ye borne the reproach of Jesus and despised the shame of his cross, and did he ever desert you? Be not cast down, though to the eye of reason there seemeth none to help, no, not one to save: though enemies within, and enemies without, encamp themselves against you; though Pharaoh and his host pursue you, and great difficulties be on each hand, and the Red Sea before you; stand still, make no bargains for yourselves, let all flesh be silent before the Lord, and his arm shall bring you salvation. Yea, when you are ready to go down into the pit, when your throat is dry with crying, and your eyes seem to fail with waiting, his salvation shall spring as the morning; because his mercies are to all generations, and the seed of Jacob never sought his face in vain. "This poor man crieth," saith David; what poor man was this? He that is poor in his own eyes; that hath no helper in the earth but God. "This poor man cried, and the Lord heard him and saved him out of all his troubles." "Our souls," said the righteous of old, "waited for the Lord, for he is our help and our shield for ever."

Wherefore, my dear friends, be not you discomforted, for there is no new thing happened unto you: it is the ancient path of the righteous. "For thy sake," says David, "have I borne reproach; I am become a stranger to my brethren, and an alien unto my mother's children: when I wept and chastened my soul with fasting, that was to my reproach. I made sackcloth also my garment, and I became a proverb to them. They that sat in the gate, spake against me; and I was the song of the drunkards. Save me, O God! for the waters are come in unto my soul; and the water floods are ready to swallow me up. They persecute him whom thou hast smitten; and they grieve those, whom thou hast wounded." Do you not know this, dear friends? are not your tears become a reproach, your fasts a wonder, your paleness a derision, your plainness a proverb, and your serious and retired conversation a by-word? Yea, when the Lord hath wounded, have not they also grieved? And when the Lord hath smitten you, have not they mocked? But this was David's joy, "The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall not want: he restoreth my soul, he leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for his name's sake; he maketh me to lie down in green pastures: he leadeth me beside the still waters. Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil; for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me." Who was the comforter and preserver of Shadrach, Meshech and Abednego, that refused to obey the king's command against the commandment of God: they would not bow to his image; but rather chose the fiery furnace, than to commit idolatry, or bow to another thing, than to the living God. "Did not we cast three men into the midst of the fire?" said Nebuchadnezzar, "Lo! I see four men loose, walking in the midst of the fire, and they have no hurt: and the form of the fourth is like the Son of God." O my friends! the fire obeyeth him, as well as the winds and

seas: all power is given to the Son of God, who is given to you for your salvation. Well, Shadrach, Meshech and Abednego, the king calleth out of the fire, and they have no harm; though the mighty men that cast them into the fiery furnace were consumed. The God of Shadrach, Meshech and Abednego, is magnified by the king's decree, and Shadrach, Meshech and Abednego, are by the king highly preferred. Here is the end of faithfulness; here is the blessing of perseverance. God will bring honour to his name, through the patience and integrity of his people.

And it was this Son of God who preserved Daniel in the lion's den; it was his voice, that David said, "divideth the flames of fire; he rideth upon the winds, he sitteth upon the floods. The voice of the Lord is powerful, the voice of the Lord is full of majesty: they that trust in him shall never be confounded. Blessed are they whose God is the Lord: for he is a present help in the needful time of trouble. The angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear him, and he delivereth them. O taste and see that the Lord is good: blessed is the man that trusteth in him. O fear the Lord; for there is no want to them that fear him. The young lions shall lack, and the old lions suffer hunger; but they that seek the Lord, shall not want any good thing. Many are the afflictions of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth them out of them all; for the Lord redeemeth the souls of his servants, and none of them that trust in him shall be made desolate."

For which cause, my dear friends, cast away every weight and every burden, and the sin that doth so easily beset you. Neither look at the enemy's strength, nor at your own weakness; but look unto Jesus, the blessed author of your convincement and faith: the mighty one, on whom God hath laid help for all those that believe in his name, receive his testimony and live in his doctrine; who said to his dear followers of old, Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world. Fear not, little flock; it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom: and they that endure to the end shall be saved. I will not leave you comfortless, said he, I will come to you: he that is with you, shall be in you. This was the hope of their glory, the foundation of their building, which standeth sure. And though sorrow cometh over night, yet joy shall come in the morning. "Ye shall weep and lament," said Jesus, "but the world shall rejoice: and ye shall be sorrowful, but your sorrow shall be turned into joy," and their rejoicing into howling. "And lo! I am with you always to the end of the world." Be ye therefore encouraged in the holy way of the Lord; wait diligently for his daily manifestations unto your souls; that you may be strengthened in your inward man, with might and power to do the will of God on earth, as it is done in heaven. Watch, that you enter not into temptation! Yea, watch unto prayer, that you enter not into temptation, and that you fall not by the temptation. Christ said to Peter, "Canst not thou watch one hour?" Every one hath an hour of temptation to go through; and this is the hour that every one is to watch. Jesus, the Captain of our salvation, was under great temptations; he was sad unto death; he sweat drops of blood; but he watched, he prayed, he groaned, yea, he cried with strong cries; but through suffering overcame: and remember, how in the wilderness he was tempted, but the angels of the Lord ministered to him. So they that follow him in the way of the tribulations and patience of his kingdom, God's angel shall minister unto them all: yea, he will keep them in the hour of temptation; he will carry their heads above the waves, and deliver them from the devouring floods.

Wherefore, finally, my friends, I say unto you, in the name of the Lord, Be of good cheer! Look to Jesus and fear not man, whose breath is in his nostrils: but be valiant for the Truth on earth, love not your lives unto the death, and you shall receive a crown of life and glory; which the God of the fathers, the God of the prophets, the God of the apostles, and the God of the martyrs and true confessors of Jesus, yea, the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, shall give unto all those, that keep the pure testimony of his Son in their hearts, and patiently and faithfully endure to the end.

Now to him that is able to keep you from falling, and to present you faultless before the presence of his glory with exceeding joy; to the only wise God, our Saviour, be glory and majesty, dominion and power, both now and ever, Amen!

I am your friend that sincerely loves you, and earnestly travails for your redemption,

William Penn.

A Tender Visitation, in the Love of God that overcometh the world, to all people, [especially] in the High and Low Dutch nations, who hunger and thirst after righteousness, and desire to know and worship God in truth and in sincerity: containing a plain testimony to the ancient and apostolical life, way and worship, that God is reviving and exalting in the earth, in his Spirit and Truth.

Friends,

In that love wherewith God, the Father of all mercy, and our Lord Jesus Christ hath

loved and visited my soul, I likewise love and visit you; wishing in the same love, that you with all the saints, might come to experience what is the knowledge, faith, hope, worship and service, that are of and from God, and which alone are truly acceptable unto him. And that you might so run as to obtain; and being armed with the spiritual weapons, may so fight, as to gain the prize and inherit the crown; so that the great God, the Lord of heaven and earth, he who shall judge the quick and the dead, may be known by you to be your God, and you may know yourselves to be his children; born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but born again of his holy and incorruptible Seed, by the Word of God, born of his Spirit, and joined unto him in an everlasting covenant: that while you live here, you may not live to yourselves, but to the glory of God; and when you have finished your course may lay down your heads in peace, and enter into everlasting rest with the faithful; where all tears shall be wiped away from your eyes, and everlasting joy and gladness shall be the portion of your inheritance.

Let me therefore, friends, speak freely and be open hearted unto you, and consider you my words in the fear of God, for I am pressed in spirit to write to you.

First, Have you all turned yourselves to God, who was the teacher of Adam, while in his innocency, who was the teacher of the Israelites, through his prophets, and of the true Christians through his Son Jesus, through whom he speaks his will in the hearts of all true Christians? if not, then are you yet erring from his Spirit, and going astray from the Lord who is the teacher of the new covenant.

Secondly, Know you the end and design of the coming of Christ? are you come to an inward experience of what the same is? Hearken to the words of his beloved disciple, who has said, For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might put an end to sin, and destroy the works of the devil.—1 John iii. 8. Do you know this by your own experience? Deceive not yourselves; where, pray, does sin dwell? and where are the works of the devil? are they not in the hearts of men and women? is not that the seat of wickedness, the tabernacle of sin, the temple of the devil? have not men there worshipped his spirit? have not men there bowed down before him? and are not all such born of his evil seed? Must not Christ, who is the Seed of God, there bruise his head, there destroy his work and take his kingdom from him? The soul, which by Satan is defiled and kept in captivity, must not Christ redeem, purify and save, that it may be changed and seasoned with the Divine nature, and so come to bear the holy image of the same; to the end that Christ may come to dwell in a pure heart, and that God may be worshipped in his own evangelical temple, in his own Spirit in man and woman? What of these things are you truly come to know, and what have you felt hereof? Christ is therefore come into the world, even for that very end is he called Jesus, namely, that he should save his people from their sins; Mat. i. 21. and to that end has John directed all to him by these words, "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world."

Look now to yourselves, O inhabitants of Christendom, whether he has taken away your sins, and what those sins are. Examine and try yourselves by his holy light; from what evil things you are now redeemed, unto which you were before subject; for Christ saves no man from the wrath of God, whom he hath not first redeemed from sin: for the wages of sin is death, and whatsoever men sow, that they shall reap, in the great and last day of judgment.

To whom then do you live, my friends, and in what life? Do you live in the life of God and Christ, wherein the saints of old did live, whose lives were hid with Christ in God; and who did live, because Christ lived in them? Is the old wine, and are also the old bottles put away? Is the old man with all his deeds put off? The old evil and corrupt ground, which brings forth all evil and corrupt fruits; is that burnt up by the fire of God? for his word is like a fire. The old heavens, the old service of God, in the fallen nature, are they rolled up as a scroll and vesture, and melted through the strong heat of the burning and judging Spirit of God? Are you become as new bottles, which receive the new wine of the kingdom of God that endures for ever? Have you my friends, put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness? Can you feel that there is brought forth in you the new heaven and the new earth, wherein righteousness dwelleth? Consider, you who truly and sincerely seek to know the Lord and his works in you, and spend not your money for that which is not bread, nor your labour for that which satisfieth not, nor will profit any thing in the day of account; that your souls be not deceived, but that you may be saved in day of the Lord.

Come, you that are weary and heavy laden, and you that hunger and thirst after righteousness, and desire to walk in the purity and righteousness of the saints; be it known unto you that Jesus Christ, who can discharge, ease, help and save you all, is near you, and stands at

the door of your hearts and waits to be gracious to you; he knocks that you may open unto him. It is he who has visited you with his saving light, whereby he has manifested your state and condition to you, and begotten a holy feeling in you, whereby you are become weary of your evil doings, and raises up a holy thirst in you after better things. If you desire, and expect ever to be filled and satisfied from him, then must you receive him as he is revealed, and as his holy will is made known in your hearts, and keep yourselves under his holy judgments and reproofs; for the reproofs of instruction are the way of eternal life. Prov. vi. 23. Love, therefore, that which reproves you for evil, and turn from those evils for which you are reproved; for Zion shall be redeemed through judgment, and her converts with righteousness. Isa. i. 27, iv. 4. Love, I say, the judgments of Christ and submit thereunto, and wait for him, to feel him yet more and more, that you thus may say, with one of old, "In the way of thy judgments, O Lord, have we waited for thee; with our souls have we desired thee in the night season, and with our spirits within us will we seek thee early: for when thy judgments are in the earth, the inhabitants of the world will learn righteousness." "For judgment," said Christ, "am I come into this world," that is, as an holy light, to make manifest, and as a righteous judge to condemn all unrighteousness of men: and all those that love his reproofs, and willingly suffer his chastisings and fatherly rebukes, they shall see judgment brought forth unto victory, and that the prince of this world, and the corrupt root and nature in you, as well as the evil fruits, and ungodly works thereof, shall be judged. And when this is done and fulfilled, then you shall know what it is to sing his high praises in truth and righteousness: then you shall come to sing the song of the Lamb; and know that you, by that Lamb, are redeemed and saved.

But, it may be, some will ask, Who is able to perform so great and blessed a work? Fear not, you that seek the kingdom of God and his righteousness, with all your hearts: for God has laid help upon One that is mighty, namely, upon Jesus Christ, and he shall make your sins known unto you, and redeem you from all unrighteousness, if you will walk in his light, as his beloved disciple speaks, saying, "If we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin." And, therefore, friends, if you will be saved by the blood of Christ, then must you leave and forsake all which the light of Christ does condemn in you; yea, you must watch against your own thoughts, words and deeds, that you at unawares may not be overcome by the enemy of your souls; for he comes as a thief in the night to destroy you. Do not live or act so as to grieve the holy Spirit of God; but turn your minds from all evil, in thoughts, words and deeds. If you love the light of Christ, then bring your deeds every day to the light, and see whether they are wrought in God or no; for all things that are reproved or justified are made manifest by the light, for whatsoever doth make manifest is light: and that light burns as an oven against all unrighteousness; yea, it is like a refiner's fire. For it is the fiery part of the baptism of Christ, and therefore it is called in 2 Thess. ii. 8. and Isa. x. 17, the brightness of his coming, the consuming spirit of his mouth, whereby that wicked one shall be revealed and burnt up, and rooted out: the thorns and briars shall be burned up and devoured, and the filthiness both of flesh and spirit purged away. If now your sins are become a burden to you, if you thereby are wearied, and if you heartily desire that they may be weakened in you, and at last conquered also; then let the holy watch of Jesus be sincerely and earnestly kept in your hearts; which watch is in the light; for in darkness there is no safe or true watching. Watch therefore in the light of Christ wherewith you are enlightened; against every unfruitful thought, word and work of darkness. Stand upon your guard in the blessed light, and be you armed therewith, like the saints of old, that you may discern the enemy, and resist him, when and howsoever he does appear and approach unto you; that so he may not overcome you, but that you may obtain victory over him; for when he sees his allurements ineffectual, his snares discovered and broken, (which is done in the light of Christ,) then is he weakened in his attempts, and your souls grow stronger to resist him, until at last he is wholly defeated and conquered. For this was the way of the ancients, who were more than conquerors, and walking in the light and spirit of Jesus, were redeemed from condemnation, which will come upon all those that live after the flesh. This light and this grace bringeth salvation; for it teacheth us to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, which bring condemnation, and to live soberly, righteously and godly in this present world: and this is the only living way to the everlasting rest and peace of God. This was the teacher of the saints, this was Paul's refuge and comfort in his greatest temptations: "My grace," said the Lord, "is sufficient for thee." And as it has been in time past, so is it in this our day, to all them that

come to receive, embrace and love it, and who are willing to be guided by it, and follow it: and to them saith the Lord, Depart from all evil ways, from all vain uses and customs, and from the vanities of this world: receive my counsel, which is the living oracle, the fountain of all wisdom, and do not hew out to yourselves cisterns, broken cisterns that can hold no water.

Thirdly, Are your preachers and teachers sent by God, or by men? How are they come to be your teachers? consider of this seriously. Are they of those who have accompanied with Jesus? are they instructed and sanctified by him? are they born again? have they received their commissions, and are they sent forth by him? are they true and faithful witnesses? have they heard, seen, tasted and handled that which they speak and deliver unto you? Is it the living word which they preach unto you? or do they, by their own spirit and understanding, in their own time and will, explain and interpret those matters, which the saints of old and the primitive Christians spake forth as they were moved by the Holy Ghost? If it be so, then have they not received such work, or such victory, through the holy Spirit in themselves, as the saints had experience of.

Fourthly, Do your preachers turn your minds to the light of Christ, that is, the life in him, which shines in your hearts; which discovers sin to the creature and shows every man what the Lord doth require of him? Do they direct you to that light which did lead the saints of old, and by their believing in the light, made them children of light, wherein the nations of them that are saved shall walk? Do they turn you, I say, to this light, to this grace and spirit in yourselves, which cometh by Jesus Christ? Does your knowledge, feeling, experience and worship, consist in the revelations and works which this blessed spirit of God begets in you? so that your faith and hope consist not in words only, though they may all be true words, nor in the education of an outward religious persuasion by vain teachers; but that your faith and hope are grounded and builded upon the power of the living God, who gives victory over the world, unto all those, who in their hearts believe in the light of Jesus; and this blessed hope purifies the heart, and fortifies the soul.

Fifthly, When you come to your meetings, both preachers and people, what do you do? Do you then gather together in body only, and kindle a fire, compassing yourselves about with the sparks of your own kindling, and so please yourselves, and walk in the light of your own fire, and in the sparks which you have kindled; as those did in the time of old, whose portion it was to lie down in sorrow? Isa. l. 11: Or rather do you sit down in true silence, resting from your own will and workings, and waiting upon the Lord, with your minds fixed in that light wherewith Christ has enlightened you, until the Lord breathes life in you, refresheth you, and prepares you and your spirits and souls, to make you fit for his service, that you may offer unto him a pure and spiritual sacrifice? For that which is born of the flesh, is flesh; and he that soweth to his flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption; for flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; but he that soweth to the Spirit, shall of the Spirit, reap life eternal, through Christ who has quickened him.

What have you felt then, my friends, of this work in your hearts? has Christ there appeared? what has he done for you? have you bowed down before him, and received him in your hearts? Is he formed in you? Do you live no more, but does Christ live in you? for if you know not Christ to be in you, then are you yet reprobates, though you confess him in words; as the apostle said of old. 2 Cor. xiii. 5.

All you, therefore, that hunger and thirst after the righteousness of God's kingdom, which is an everlasting, blessed kingdom, turn in my friends, and come to Christ, who stands at the door of your hearts and knocks. Rev. iii. 20. He is the light of the world; and it concerns all true servants of the Lord to direct all men to this light, else they have not a right discerning, nor true sight or taste of the things of God; namely, to turn men from darkness to light, from the kingdom of Satan, to the power and kingdom of God; from the dark inventions and human traditions of men, to Christ, the great Light of God, the high Priest and holy Prophet, whom all men must hear, and out of whose mouth the law of the Spirit of life must be received. By this he judges men in righteousness, and in him are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. He is the high Priest of all true Christians, and their chief treasure.

Happy, therefore, are all those that receive him in their hearts, those that know him to be their Light, their Guide, their King their Lawgiver, their Bishop, and their heavenly Shepherd; who follow him through all things, through all persecutions and sufferings, and steadfastly love his cross, the power of God, and with all gladness embrace the reproach thereof: who have experienced, that without Christ they can do nothing; John xv. 5; and therefore wait for his Divine power, strength and wisdom, to govern and guide them. For such can receive no testimony from any preachers, except that testimony which is given from the holy unction, in and through them; be-

cause men, without Christ, can do nothing, as he has said; for men cannot preach, men cannot pray, men cannot sing, as it ought to be done; yea, men, without him, can do nothing to the praise and glory of God. For it is only the Son of God that glorifies the Father through his children.

And therefore let him kindle the fire with the pure coals from his holy altar; and do you not offer to him in your self-will; no, Jesus did not do his own will, but the will of his Father. So let us not do our own, but his will. He has done nothing but what his Father had made known unto him; and we must all witness what Christ has declared unto us, and what he has wrought in us, or else we shall be false witnesses. "Woman," said Christ to his mother, "mine hour is not yet come." So that he waited his Father's time, in whose hands the times and seasons are. We must wait, but God orders, and happy are those who do his will. "My sheep," said Christ, "hear my voice and follow me; but they will not hear the voice of strangers." Now those that speak, if their voices and conversations are not with the life, the power, and with the spirit of Christ, they are strange voices, (I pray you observe well,) and Christ's sheep will not sit under such voices, nor under such shepherds; who do but steal the words of the prophets and apostles, but do not experience them, or succeed them in their spirits and conversations. Christ's sheep discern those that so teach, from his, for he has given them that spiritual gift to see them, which is not to be had or found in the crafty wisdom of the world, with all its learning, arts and sciences, but in the innocent nature of the true sheep; namely, souls that are become harmless, and are arrived at the state of a little child, for to such God doth reveal his secrets; because, by the work of regeneration, they are become his own begotten; and to such belongs the kingdom of God and the knowledge of the mysteries thereof.

Wherefore, pray take notice how it is with you. Is sin revealed? Yes. Through what? By the light of Christ. But is sin likewise judged? Have you submitted yourselves to his light? And are you therewith united? Is your old self-righteousness thereby judged? and are thereby all your false judgments judged? Is the prince of this world judged in you? Does Christ go before you? And does he give you eternal life? Examine and search yourselves, for thus he deals with his sheep: "I go before them, they follow me, and behold, I give them life eternal." Does Christ go before you, and lead you in all your worship, which you do as your bounden duty to God? Do you wait for his leadings? Is it the religion of Christ wherein you walk? Read his holy sermon on the mount. Or else, do you go before him, and do you climb up another way, before he stirs in you, before he moves you, before he gives you power and ability to approach his throne? Ah! true silence before the Lord, is better abundantly than forward prayers and self-willed offerings, or any traditional and formal performances: for consider, that it is life eternal to know God. Now, no man can know him, who has not heard his voice. And no man can hear his voice who is not silent in himself, and waits not patiently for him, that he may hear what God will speak to his soul, through Christ Jesus, the great, holy and heavenly High Priest of God to mankind, who is the heavenly Prophet also, unto all them that believe in his name. But, my friends, do you know the fellowship of his holy life, of his blessed cross, death and resurrection? Do you confess him inwardly in yourselves, as well as outwardly before men? If so, then has he given you life eternal. Again, if you feel not in you, life and immortality brought to light, then are you yet in your sins, and know not the Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world. For "as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the children of God." And they know by the witness of God in themselves, that they are of God, as said the beloved disciple John, and that the whole world lieth in wickedness. 1 John v. 19.

Beloved friends, beware therefore of idolatry and worshipping of images, I mean the worship of inward images, which is an inward idolatry; for if you show a great aversion against outward idolatry, yet if you worship God after the imagination you have of God, and which you conceive in your own minds, without the inspiration of the Almighty, you worship images of your own framing, and so come to commit idolatry. And therefore take heed that your worship does not consist in your own imaginations and self-conceits of God; and do not bow down to such, (which is indeed to yourselves,) and then think or presume that you are bowing down to God and Christ; when on the contrary, it is nothing else but a mere picture of your own making. And this is the great abomination and loss of poor Christendom, namely, That the spirit which deceives man, sits in the place of God, and is worshipped as God, (see Daniel xii. 11, and 2 Thess. ii. 4,) by those that know not the true and living God, who is as a consuming fire, and as everlasting burnings in the soul against sin, the righteousness and judgment of the world.

Now he that revealeth the Father, is the

Son, the true Light; for he has said, "No man knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal him." Has Christ revealed the Father unto you? Are you come to Jesus? If so, then you have known the godly sorrow, the true mourning, and that repentance which men need never to repent of. But if you have not known this day of judgment and contrition, then are you not come to Christ. Wherefore, come you to Jesus, to his appearance in you, by his Divine Light and Spirit, which every way discovers and judges the world's nature, spirit and image in you. To him is all judgment committed, and he will reveal the Father; yea, he that has seen the Son, has likewise seen the Father; for he is in the Father, and the Father is in him. John xiv. 10, 11. If now the manifestation of Jesus in you, as well of the Father, as of the Son, is the foundation of your knowledge, so that God and Christ, (whom to know is life eternal,) are become the holy object of your worship; then are you real worshippers in his Spirit and Truth; John iv. 24; then are you come out from the workmanship, from the will and imaginations of your own spirits, and from all human worship, and are come to the worship of the spirit of the living God, and to live in him, be led and moved by him in all godly performances; for the spirit of man only knows the things of man, but the spirit of God knows and reveals the things of God. 1 Cor. ii. 11. And this worship of his kingdom and church, has Christ raised up again in these our days, which was set up by Christ sixteen hundred years ago. And in this worship the true followers worshipped the Father before the great apostacy from the spirit and power of the Lord broke in upon the primitive ages of the church. And after such a glorious manner shall it be restored; yea, so it is already with many thousands, whom God, through the appearance of Christ in the heart, has gathered, both in our and other countries, whereby he has judged them as men in the flesh, in their fleshly lusts and worships, that they might live unto God and Christ, who quickened them by the death of the cross, and justified them as men in the spirit, risen from the dead.

Glory be therefore to God, who lives and reigns on high, that that dark and sorrowful night is vanishing, and that the sun-rising of the eternal day has already appeared, and is arising more and more over the nations in the world: in which day, Babylon, the mother of harlots [false worshippers,] shall come in remembrance before the God of the whole earth; Rev. xvi. 19; namely, that Babylon, which has followed merchandizing with the Scripture, and with the souls of men, and has persecuted the spiritual Seed, the children of God and faithful witnesses of Jesus, although clothed in sackcloth, because they would not receive her mark, and her fine linen too, nor submit to her fleshly birth, invention, profession, worship and dominion. Rev. xviii. 13, and Rev. xiii. 16.

This Babylon lives but too much yet in every one, of all sorts of people or professors, by whom the Truth is held in unrighteousness; when they see not through the light of the spirit of Christ, and when their knowledge and worship of God is not received and performed by that same blessed Spirit: there, I say, is Babylon, that is, confusion: "Come out of her, my people!" saith the Lord, "and I will receive you."

He that calls God his Father, and is not born of God; he that calls Christ Lord, and not by the holy Spirit, but meanwhile is serving another master; and those that attribute to themselves the words of the regenerate, their revelations and experiences, when they are yet unregenerated and have no part therein, but endeavour in all these things to make themselves a fair covering; they shall experience in the day of the Lord, that it shall profit them nothing; for, "Woe to those," saith the Lord, "that cover with a covering, and not of my Spirit; that take counsel, but not of me." Let, therefore, all those that are yet in Babylon, hasten out of her speedily, and you that are in the suburbs of that great city, hasten you away; yea, make haste with all speed! Prepare yourselves to meet the Lamb, your Bridegroom; who comes now to you who are mourning, hungering and thirsting after him, to lead you out of your bewildered states, to his saving light and blessed appearance: for now he sees you, and now he calls you, and knocks at your doors to come in unto you. And therefore open ye unto him and let him in; let him no longer lie as in the manger, nor at your doors; but rather give him your hearts, and let him reign over you as a king, for he has bought us with his own precious blood, and is therefore worthy that we should serve and honour him, and he reign over us; and that he be our King and Law-giver, who gave his own life for us, that we should not perish, but have everlasting life in him. He has laid down his life for you, and can you not lay down your sins for his sake; yea, for your own sakes? Consider, that he descended from the glory of his Father to bring you to glory; and can you not depart from the withering glory of this world, that you may inherit his glory which is everlasting? It is that wrong, false self in man which only hinders it; it is that

only which objects against it, that consults and endeavours to avoid the cross.

This self has in all times been desirous to be in great esteem, and has therefore in all ages hindered men from doing the will of God on earth, as it is in heaven; but where self is disannulled, and men have had no great esteem for the selfish part, but have humbled themselves to the death of the cross of Christ, that he might deliver them from the wrath to come, and give them an inheritance in the kingdom of his Father, there the will of God will be done on earth, as it is in heaven, and therein will the heavenly Father be glorified. On the contrary, those that live in sin, are in communion with the devil, and drink his cup of unrighteousness; which, however it is sweet in the mouth, is afterwards bitter in the belly. And though it be sweet here for a time, it shall afterwards be crabbed and distasteful. Again, the cup of Christ is here bitter in the mouth, but sweet hereafter in the belly; here sour, but hereafter pleasant: "You," said he, "shall weep and lament, but the world shall rejoice:" but observe the end hereof, "Your sorrow shall be turned into joy," but their rejoicing into weeping.

And this is therefore the word of truth; No man shall enjoy the cup of blessing, or drink out of the cup of salvation, but he that has first drunk of the cup of tribulation; he that has first known his fellowship with the sufferings of Christ, and of his holy mystical cross: for those that suffer with him, shall reign with him, and—no cross, no crown.

Lean then upon his breast, for so does the bride in spirit. Cant. viii. 5. Trust in him and not in man, nor in yourselves; for he will guide you best, because he is given you of God, to be your heavenly Guide. And if it should be in a way under the cross, (which way is proper to him,) yet it is notwithstanding, a way of joy and pleasantness, and all his holy paths are peace to those that love him. Therefore, feel his holy drawings, and wait in his light upon his holy movings in your souls; stand still and see his salvation wrought in you by his own arm; that you may know him to be Jesus indeed, namely, a Saviour as well from your sins here, as from the wrath to come; and that he may preserve you from vain thoughts, vain words and conversations, yea, from the voluntary worship of this world, and from the slavish fear of man; to the end that he may work his own work in you, and make you conformable to his own blessed image; and that you may be made free by the Lord, through the power of his everlasting Gospel, which is now again sounded forth by his own angel, to the inhabitants of the earth, calling with a loud voice, "Fear God, and give glory to him; for the hour of his judgment is come." And you must feel this judgment in your hearts, that the prince of this world, with all his evil seed, with all his wrong plants and appearances, may be judged in you; and that you may be witnesses upon earth for God and the Lamb, that sits upon the throne, against all darkness of men and devils: nay, against death, hell and the grave: and that God may bless you with all sorts of blessings in Christ Jesus.

I find myself pressed in spirit, to give you one warning more; namely, that you would no longer use vain words, though true in themselves, because they are worth nothing, for they take God's name in vain, who use it without life and power. And I entreat all those that endeavour to know God, and come up to the true life of his dear Son, that you make no profession of worship, without the feeling, preparing and ordering of the true and overcoming power of God, for such worship is not of God, and such professors are poor, lean, naked and miserable people; yea, they are only as chaff among the corn. And therefore, beware you of that false prophetess, of whom the early Christians were warned, who has the words, but not the life of the Son of God. Rev. ii. 20. Her preaching tends to death, she makes a talk of the sound and fame of wisdom, but will not afterwards harbour her when she cries in her streets; she awakens none, she brings no man to God; she does not build up in the heavenly work, nor administer the right spiritual bread to the soul. For Christ only is the bread which gives life eternal, and those that will eat of this bread must first come to him; John vi. 32, 33, 35, 51; let him into their hearts as Lord and Master, to provide and order his, to his praise, and as such must he be received, when he appears in their souls, even as a refiner's fire, and as a fuller's soap, to purify and refine from all unrighteousness; yea, to reveal unto men their sins, and destroy the same with the brightness of his coming, and with the spirit of his mouth, in which no deceit is found. He is that Light, in the brightness of his coming, which you must love, and whose testimony you must keep; and he is "the quickening Spirit," the breath of whose mouth revives the soul, and destroys the sin that slays it: for all those that come to receive him in this office, in this way, and in this work, shall also know, that he is "the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world," the spiritual Passover, the heavenly Bread, the true Vine, which bringeth forth the new wine of the kingdom, the bles-

sed Olive-tree; yea, the Tree of life and eternal salvation, which grows in the midst of the paradise of God, whose leaves are for the healing of the nations. Rev. ii. 7.

This is a salutation to you all from the holy and fervent love which God has poured into my heart; who am in a travail to help the nations to be gathered to Christ, the Light and salvation thereof, that Zion may be the joy and Jerusalem the praise of the whole earth. Amen, Amen!

The narrative of this journey, is the only portion of auto-biography which William Penn has left, and furnishes the most complete account which is extant, of the industry and fervour with which he prosecuted his religious services. This extensive journey was accomplished in about three months; during which time, in addition to the numerous religious meetings and conferences which he held, and the distances traversed, sometimes on foot, and at others in the tardy conveyances of that day, his letters and epistles occupy about sixty-five folio pages in his printed works. Yet, at a subsequent period of his life, he expressed a belief, that if he had then had his time to live over again, he could with God's grace, not only serve him, but his neighbour and himself, better than he had done, and have seven years to spare.

If we are to consider the portion of his life, which he has so minutely described, as a specimen of the rest, it is not easy to perceive, out of what portion of it these seven years could have been obtained. The reflection, however, furnishes a striking admonition to others, to consider carefully while their time is passing, how much of it is employed in the service of God and their neighbours, to their own permanent advantage.

Soon after his return from the continent, he wrote a letter to John Pennyman, who had once professed with Friends, but was now become an opposer of them. This letter, containing advice which might advantageously apply to some in our times, is as follows:

"John Pennyman,

"I RECEIVED a letter from thee since my arrival in this land. Let me tell thee in the spirit of Truth and meekness, my soul has been frequently sad and heavy for thy sake, because of those degenerate and sour grapes, which thou hast brought forth, the unnatural and unkindly fruits, that of late years have proceeded from thee. Ah! whence art thou fallen, and what art thou turned to? What is become of thy tenderness and thy zeal for the way of Truth, as professed amongst us? Verily thou art increasing thy burthen, and strengthening the Lord's judgments against thee, and treasuring up wrath against the day of wrath.

"Hadst thou been told ten years since, of the things that thou hast done, thou wouldst not have believed it; thou wouldst have cried out, God forbid, far be it from me. But one weakness brings on another, and one unfaithfulness increaseth another. O that thou wouldst be advised! That thou wouldst see from whence thou art fallen, and repent and turn to thy first love, and do thy first works. I have nothing but love and good-will in my heart, both to thee and thy wife; and it is with the grief of a friend of God, and of you both, that I behold the evil and pernicious use that some envious, prejudiced and unreasonable people make of you and your carriage to us; yet scorn and deride you in their hearts, after they have served their turns of you. O return, if yet mercy may be found with the Lord, and be not found fighting against him. O that my love could take hold of you, and that my life could raise any tenderness in you, that yet you might be gathered and not utterly perish.

"This I tell you in the name and fear of the Lord, the weighty power and life and glory of God is amongst us as a people, and though there may be some personal weaknesses or miscarriages, through the unfaithfulness of some particulars, that serve as food for prejudiced spirits to feed upon, and though some go out from us, and turn against us, speaking lies in hypocrisy, that is, under the pretence of truth, which may cause some to stumble, and several to be astonished, yet all this shall work together for good to them that fear the Lord. It shall tend to greater watchfulness, diligence and faithfulness to the Lord; and the just shall live more and more by faith, through which they shall overcome all their enemies, and stand in their lot at the end of days, and live and reign with the Lord for ever. I should willingly spend an hour with thee upon this subject, if I knew when and where, without inconvenience to either of us. In the mean while I wish thee well, and for ever;

"Thy true friend,

"WILLIAM PENN.

"London, 18th of the Ninth month, 1677."

CHAPTER XIX.

1678–79–80. SOME very severe laws had been enacted against the Roman Catholics by the British parliament, in 1582; one of which imposed a fine of twenty pounds a month, for absence from the parish churches

on the days appointed for Divine worship, and another passed shortly after the discovery of the gunpowder treason in 1605, made it optional with the king whether he should exact twenty pounds a month, or all the personal and two-thirds of the real estate of the offender. The persecutors of Friends failing in their efforts to repress the rising Society by the cruel measures they had heretofore taken, had recourse to these laws, which answered the double purpose of grievously oppressing Friends, and putting money into the pockets of their oppressors.

In the beginning of this year, the parliament having the laws against popery under consideration, a proposal was made to insert a clause in the bill in favour of those who should take an oath and subscribe a declaration of a prescribed form. As the conditions upon which this distinguishing clause was to be rendered available, could not be complied with by Friends, it was concluded to make a representation of their case to the two houses of parliament. One was accordingly prepared, drawn up probably by William Penn, in which the hardships they had endured by the operation of laws, which were not intended to apply to them or to persons of their characters, were briefly yet forcibly stated. Their inability to avail themselves of the proffered distinction, was shown to arise from their conscientious objection to oaths, and not from an unwillingness to subscribe the required declaration, if reduced to an unexceptionable form. They therefore requested that their word might be admitted instead of the oath, with the condition annexed, that in case of violating it, they should suffer the penalties of perjury.

On the 22nd of the first month, William Penn being admitted before a committee of parliament, addressed them in the following terms.

"If we ought to believe that it is our duty, according to the doctrine of the apostle, to be always ready to give an account of the hope that is in us, and that to every sober and private inquirer, certainly, much more ought we to hold ourselves obliged to declare with all readiness, when called to it by so great an authority, what is not our hope, especially when our very safety is eminently concerned in so doing, and that we cannot decline this discrimination of ourselves from Papists, without being conscious to ourselves of the guilt of our own sufferings; for that must every man needs be that suffers mutely, under another character than that which truly and properly belongeth to him and his belief. That which giveth me a more than ordinary right to speak at this time and in this place, is the great abuse that I have received above any other of my profession; for of a long time I have not only been supposed a Papist, but a Seminary, a Jesuit, an Emissary of Rome, and in pay from the Pope, a man dedicating my endeavours to the interest and advancement of that party. Nor hath this been the report of the rabble, but the jealousy and insinuation of persons otherwise sober and discreet. Nay, some zealous for the Protestant religion have been so far gone in this mistake, as not only to think ill of us and to decline our conversation, but to take courage to themselves to prosecute us for a sort of concealed Papists; and the truth is, what with one thing, and what with another, we have been as the wool-sacks and common whipping-stock of the kingdom. All laws have been let loose upon us, as if the design were not to reform, but to destroy us, and that not for what we are, but for what we are not. It is hard that we must thus bear the stripes of another interest, and be their proxy in punishment, but it is worse that some men can please themselves in such a sort of administration.

"I would not be mistaken. I am far from thinking it fit, that Papists should be whipped for their consciences, because I exclaim against the injustice of whipping Quakers for Papists. No, for though the hand pretended to be lifted up against them, hath, I know not by what discretion, lit heavily upon us, and we complain, yet we do not mean that any should take a fresh aim at them, or that they must come in our room. We must give the liberty we ask, and cannot be false to our principles, though it were to relieve ourselves, for we have good-will to all men, and would have none suffer for a truly sober and conscientious dissent on any hand. And I humbly take leave to add, that those methods against persons so qualified, do not seem to me to be convincing, or indeed adequate to the reason of mankind, but this I submit to your consideration.

"To conclude, I hope we shall be held excused of the men of that profession, in giving this distinguishing declaration, since it is not with the design to expose them, but first to pay that regard we owe to the inquiry of this committee, and in the next place, to relieve ourselves from the daily spoil and ruin which now attends and threatens many hundreds of families by the execution of laws, that we humbly conceive were never made against us."

He subsequently made to this committee a second speech, but whether on the same or a

different day, does not appear. The second speech was as follows:

"The candid hearing our sufferings have received from this committee, and the fair and easy entertainment you have given us, oblige me to add, whatever can increase your satisfaction about us. I hope you do not believe I would tell you a lie, I am sure I should choose an ill time and place to tell it in, but I thank God it is too late in the day for that. There are some here who have known me formerly, I believe they will say, I never was that man; and it would be hard, if after a voluntary neglect of the advantages of this world, I should sit down in my retirement, short of common truth.

"Excuse the length of my introduction; it is for this I make it. I was bred a Protestant, and that strictly too. I lost nothing by time or study; for years, reading, travel and observation made the religion of my education the religion of my judgment. My alteration hath brought none to that belief, and though the posture I am in may seem odd, or strange to you, yet I am conscientious; and till you know me better, I hope your charity will rather call it my unhappiness than my crime. I do tell you again, and here solemnly declare in the presence of Almighty God, and before you all, that the profession I now make, and the society I now adhere to, have been so far from altering that Protestant judgment I had, that I am not conscious to myself of having receded from an iota of any one principle maintained by those first Protestants and Reformers of Germany, and our own martyrs at home, against the Pope and See of Rome.

"On the contrary, I do with great truth assure you, that we are of the same negative faith, with the ancient Protestant church, and upon occasion shall be ready, by God's assistance, to make it appear, that we are of the same belief as to the most fundamental positive articles of her creed too. And therefore it is, we think it hard, that though we deny in common with her those doctrines of Rome so zealously protested against, (from whence the name Protestants,) yet that we should be so unhappy as to suffer, and that with extreme severity, by those very laws on purpose made against the maintainers of those doctrines, we do so deny. We choose no suffering, for God knows what we have already suffered, and how many sufficient and trading families are reduced to great poverty by it. We think ourselves a useful people. We are sure we are a peaceable people; yet if we must still suffer, let us not suffer as Popish recusants, but as Protestant dissenters.

"But I would obviate another objection, and that none of the least that hath been made against us, viz., That we are enemies to government in general, and particularly disaffected to this we live under. I think it not amiss, but very seasonable, yea, my duty now to declare to you, and that I do with good conscience in the sight of Almighty God, first, that we believe government to be God's ordinance, and next, that this present government is established by the providence of God and law of the land, and that it is our Christian duty readily to obey it in all its just laws, and wherein we cannot comply through tenderness of conscience, in all such cases, not to revile or conspire against the government, but with Christian humility and patience tire out all mistakes about us, and wait their better information, who, we believe, do as undeservedly as severely treat us, and I know not what greater security can be given by any people, or how any government can be easier from the subjects of it.

"I shall conclude with this, that we are so far from esteeming it hard or ill, that the house hath put us upon this discrimination, that on the contrary we value it, as we ought to do, for an high favour, and cannot choose but see and humbly acknowledge God's providence therein, that you should give us this fair occasion, to discharge ourselves of a burden we have not with more patience than injustice suffered but too many years under. And I hope our conversation shall always manifest the grateful resentment of our minds for the justice and civility of this opportunity, and so I pray God direct you."

This application was so far successful, that the committee inserted, in the bill then depending before them, a clause, granting relief in the case, which passed the house of commons, but before it had passed the house of lords, the parliament was suddenly prorogued, and the bill lost.

In the course of this year, a work was given to the world, purporting to explain the opinions of the Quakers, by an author who chose to conceal his name. This brought William Penn again before the public, in a tract, entitled, "A brief answer to a false and foolish libel." Of this answer it is unnecessary to present any analysis, as it consists chiefly of returns to misrepresentations and perversions of the opinions of Friends. The conclusion manifesting the readiness of the author to answer all reasonable inquiries respecting his faith and principles, is subjoined.

"Lastly, I hereby offer a fair and free conference with the author or authors of the libel, or any others who can soberly pretend to a conscientious dissatisfaction about our

faith or practice, at such time as shall be mutually agreed upon to be convenient. And this I offer, not out of vanity or ostentation, but in duty to God my great Lord and Master, and in good-will to all such persons: and did not these considerations prevail, to carry me to this condescension, my manifold affairs, and the many and large books I have already written on occasion of these and the like imputations, would have dissuaded me from any fresh undertaking of this nature, and sufficiently guarded me against all reflections upon my silence."

The people of England were about this time thrown into great consternation, by the pretended disclosures of Titus Oates and others, in regard to a popish plot. However destitute of truth those disclosures and the rumours to which they gave birth, must now appear, they were probably considered at that time by the generality of the people, as having at least some foundation in truth.

To prevent his friends in religious profession from being drawn into the popular excitement, and from their accustomed reliance on Divine protection, William Penn wrote an epistle directed to "the children of light in this generation."

In this he expressed the great sorrow which he had long felt on account of the vice and impiety which so extensively prevailed in that land; and his deep apprehension that the judgments of God were likely to be poured out upon them. He then declared his belief, that the Divine mercy would still be extended to them, for the sake of those who were truly conscientious, and particularly for their sake to whom this epistle was addressed. He therefore admonished them to repair to the place of safety, even the Lord, who is the refuge of his people. He stated his conviction, that the Most High would drive the people from their false gods, by these vexations and perplexities, and bring them nearer to himself—that he would debase the mountain of an empty profession, but that the mountain of his holiness would be exalted. And that they were the people through whom the light of righteousness must so shine in the view of others, during those times of commotion and distress, that their heavenly Father might be glorified. He therefore earnestly exhorted them to flee from the spirit and cares of the world, to their watch-tower, which is the name of the Lord. A living, spiritual name, a strong tower, a peaceable habitation, where they should rest in safety, while darkness and confusion prevailed in the world. He particularly cautioned them against mingling with the crowd, lest they should imbibe the spirit of the world, instead of diffusing their spirit into the people; and thus fall into the same temptations, and be induced to fly to the mountains for protection, and to confide in the arm of flesh for deliverance. "They," said he, "must come to us, we must not go to them. Yet we cannot be insensible of their infirmities, as well as we shall not be free from some of their sufferings. We must make their case as our own, and travail alike in spirit for them, as for ourselves. Let us stand in the counsel of our God, and he will make us preachers to them of the work of his Divine power, and the virtue of that faith, which comes from heaven; that they may come to know the holy law and word of the Lord in their hearts, and have their minds turned to him, and staid upon him, that iniquity may no more abound, nor ungodliness find a place. But that in truth, righteousness and peace, they may be established and the land keep its sabbath to the Lord for ever. Then shall God lift up the light of his countenance upon us, and water us from heaven, and bless us with all temporal and spiritual blessings; and we shall yet be called the land saved by the Lord." "And the Lord God of our visitation and redemption, stir you up to these things, and keep us all in his holy fear, wisdom, love and patience, through all these travails and exercises to the end of our days; that having finished our testimonies, our heads may go down to the grave in peace, and our souls be received into the rest which is reserved for the righteous, with God and with his blessed Lamb for ever."

In the year 1679, as the nation was still in commotion, and great apprehensions were entertained of designs being on foot for the subversion of the Protestant religion, and the introduction of popery, he wrote and published an address to Protestants, in which he exposed the vices which prevailed in church and state, and laboured to excite the people to repentance and amendment of life, as the most effectual means of allaying their fears, and preventing the impending evils.

In this address he first calls the attention of his readers to the existence and attributes of God; to the justice and certainty of his judgments, and to the impossibility of concealing any thing from his all penetrating eye. From these considerations he infers the necessity of a strict examination into their own lives and conduct; that they might see whether their works were wrought in God or not.

He then proceeds to an exposition of the particular vices prevalent among them. These are, the sin of drunkenness; the sin of unchastity; the sin of luxury or excess in living; the sin of gaming; the sin of profanity. On these several points he treats at considerable length, showing how derogatory these

vices are to the character of Christians, and how destructive to the peace and good order of society. His views on these subjects are illustrated and enforced by numerous passages from the historical and doctrinal parts of the holy Scriptures; clearly proving that these evils have, in different ages, brought down the Divine judgments upon those who indulged in them.

He then addresses his admonitions to persons in authority, urging them to exercise the power entrusted to them, for the suppression of these evils. For this request three reasons are assigned.

First, The preservation of the government; which by the indulgence of these vices is greatly weakened and endangered. It is observed that history does not furnish an instance in which the hand of God was against a righteous nation; or one in which it was not, first or last, against an unrighteous one. None where a just government perished, or an unjust one was long prosperous. This is illustrated in the first instance by the destruction of the antediluvian world. The people, whose land was given to the children of Israel, were also expelled, because of their iniquities. Saul likewise perished for his transgression. The Assyrian, Babylonian and Persian empires sunk under the vices of their time. The republics of Greece, the Roman commonwealth, and several of the modern kingdoms of Europe were passed in review, to show that nations as well as individuals, rise or fall, according as the manners of the people are marked by the virtues of chastity, sobriety, temperance and frugality, or by the opposite vices. The duty of those in authority, to exercise their power in restraining the prevailing evils, is urged by the consideration, that the responsibility is increased by the amount of the talents entrusted to our care, and that the greatness of any will increase their condemnation if they neglect the performance of their duty.

The second reason assigned is, the benefit of posterity. On this head, the importance of training up the youth in the way they should go, and the irreparable injury to the rising generation which results from the general corruption of manners and morals, are largely insisted on, and the practice of allowing boys to read dissolute authors, in the study of languages, is particularly objected to, as likely to corrupt their principles and habits.

The third reason assigned, and the most important is, the promotion of God's glory. The obligation resting upon those who then held the reins of government in the British dominions, to regard this object, is urged by the consideration of the Divine goodness displayed in their restoration and preservation. Hence they are invited to manifest their gratitude by the suppression of vice, and the promotion of virtue and religion.

Having thus expostulated with them, on account of the evils which prevailed in civil society, he proceeds in the second part of his address, to treat of those which relate to the ecclesiastical state of those kingdoms. In this part five capital evils are noted.

First, Making the opinions of men, articles of faith; at least, giving them the reputation of faith, and making them the bond of Christian society.

Second, Mistaking the nature of true faith, and taking that for faith which is not gospel faith.

Third, Debasing the true value of morality, under the pretence of higher things. Mistaking much of the end of Christ's coming.

Fourth, Preferring human authority above reason and truth.

Fifth, Propagating faith by force, and imposing religion by worldly compulsion.

Under the first division he censures and exposes the practice of expounding a belief on religious subjects, in terms which are neither scriptural nor fairly deducible from the Scriptures of Truth, and requiring an assent to such exposition as the condition of Christian communion: showing that inasmuch as the Scriptures were given by Divine inspiration, and holy men gave them forth as they were moved by the holy Ghost, the language in which they were given is to be preferred to any exposition which can be framed by men who are not endued with a like inspiration.

Under the second head it is stated, that a mere assent of the understanding, to the truth and authority of the history and doctrines of Scripture, is not that true and living faith, which is the saints' victory over the world. But, as defined by the apostle, faith "is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." "True faith in God," says William Penn, "is entirely believing and trusting in God; confiding in his goodness, resigning up to his will, obeying his commands, and relying upon his conduct and mercies, respecting this life and that which is to come." This is the faith which works by that Divine love which God plants in the heart, and enables men to forsake whatever is displeasing in the Divine sight. It is by this faith that the just in all ages have lived.

In regard to belief, our author shows at large, that the great and essential article of Christian belief is, that Jesus of Nazareth was the promised Messiah, the Son and Christ of God, the Saviour of the world. Of this, the testimony of the beloved disciple is adduc-

ed as one conclusive argument. "These things are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through his name." This belief, it is observed, fully and sincerely admitted, necessarily leads to an assent to the doctrines of Christ, and to the precepts which he taught. And these precepts include the moral and religious duty of man. Hence, "as Christ is the Rock on which true Christians build, so none can be truly said to build on this Rock, but those that keep his sayings, that do his commandments, that obey his doctrine. Wherefore that faith, of Jesus to be the Son and Christ of God, must be such a faith as does the will of the heavenly Father, and keepeth the sayings of Christ."

"Those, therefore, that would obtain this precious faith that overcomes the world, must embrace the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which this faith is begotten; and they who believe not in this grace, nor receive it in the love of it, nor give themselves up to be taught and led by it, can never be said truly to believe in him from whom it comes, any more than the Jews may be said to believe in God, when they rejected him that came from God, even his beloved Son. He that denies the measure, can never own or receive the fulness. John bears record that he was full of grace and truth, and that of his fulness they had all received, and grace for grace: For the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ."

In concluding this division, he says, "I do fervently beseech Almighty God, the giver of all saving faith, mercifully to vouchsafe, more and more, to beget a serious inquiry in us, what that faith is which we have? who is the author of it? and what fruits it hath brought forth? that so we may not profane the name of God by a vain profession of it, nor abuse ourselves unto eternal perdition. But that we may endeavour, by God's assistance, to approve ourselves such believers as sincerely fear God, love righteousness, and hate every evil way, as becomes the redeemed of God by the precious blood of his Son. Since, therefore, we are not our own, but the Lord's, who hath bought us with that great price, let us glorify him in our bodies, in our souls, and in our spirits, which are his: Then shall we be children of Abraham indeed, heirs of the promises, partakers of that resurrection and life, that immortality and glory which God, the righteous Judge, will one day plentifully distribute to them that abide in this precious faith unto the end."

Under the third head he defines his moral man to be one that does to all men as he would have all men to do to him; and from this he argues that Christian morality is the fruit of a sound practical belief in Christ, and in the doctrines which he taught. In regard to the end and design of Christ's coming into the world, it is laid down that he came, to save his people from their sins; not merely to take away the guilt, by his propitiatory sacrifice on the cross, but to redeem from the nature of sin by the power of his Spirit, and to establish an actual righteousness. For the grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men, teaching us that denying ungodliness and the world's lusts, we should live soberly, righteously and godly in this present world, looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people zealous of good works.

Under the fourth head is noticed the great power of the clergy, and the people's reliance upon them for the knowledge of religion, and the way of life and salvation; so that in most protestant as well as popish countries, very few were found possessed of any other religion than the tradition of the priest. The clergy were thus become a sort of mediators between Christ and the people. This implicit faith and blind obedience to the opinions of others, is noted as a species of popery which protestants are particularly required to examine and avoid. The imposition of an implicit belief, without examination or conviction, is shown to be contrary as well to the principles professed by the most pious writers, even of the Roman Catholic persuasion, and the practice of our Saviour, who referred the Jews, for the evidence of the truth of his doctrines, both to the Scriptures and to the works which he performed.

The author declares, that every Christian ought to believe as the church believes, provided the church is right. But the church is defined to be a congregation or company of people agreed together in the sincere profession and obedience of the Gospel of Christ. The rule then which they jointly have for their belief, is the rule of each individual. Now the great foundation of the protestant religion, is the Divine authority of the Scriptures without us, and the testimony and illumination of the holy Spirit within us. Upon this ground the first reformers made and supported their separation from the Church of Rome. Hence protestant writers agree, that neither traditions, councils, nor canons of any visible church, much less the edicts of any civil jurisdiction, but the Scriptures only, interpreted by the holy Spirit in us, give the final determination in matters of religion, and that only in the conscience of every Christian to himself.

Under the last head, our author notices with just disapprobation, the persecutions on account of dissent from the national mode of worship, which prevailed in the days of Elizabeth and her two immediate successors, and more particularly those of their own times; in which many families had been reduced to poverty, not a bed left in the house; not a cow in the field, nor any grain in the barn. Widows and orphans stripped without pity, and no regard paid to age or sex. And all this for no offence, except peaceably meeting to worship God, in a manner different from that prescribed by the protestant authorities of the day. These abuses and the rigorous application of laws, intended for popish recusants, are held up as objects demanding the attention of those who expect mercy themselves at the hand of God. The impolicy and absurdity of the attempt to propagate religion by force, and the opposition of such means to the nature of Christianity are copiously demonstrated.

This address, which occupies about one hundred pages in our author's folio works, closes in the following terms.

"God Almighty open our understandings and hearts, and pour out the spirit of thorough reformation upon us; for it is in the spirit and not in the words of reformation, that the life and prosperity of reformation stands; that is, we may be all conscientiously disposed to seek and pursue those things which make for love, peace and godliness, that it may be well with us and ours, both here and for ever."

In the same year he also prefixed to the works of Samuel Fisher, which were then printing in folio, a testimony respecting the author. This Samuel Fisher was a man of liberal education, who held for a time a clerical station in the established church, but becoming dissatisfied with their doctrines and practice, he voluntarily relinquished his living of £200 per annum, left them and became a preacher among the Baptists. He was afterwards convinced of the principles of Friends, travelled considerably in the service of the Gospel, and in 1665 ended his days in prison, where he had spent most of the last four years of his life, rather than violate the command of Christ, "swear not at all."

The parliament, which had continued about eighteen years, having been dissolved and writs issued for the election of a new one, great excitement prevailed among the people, and strenuous efforts were made by the opposing parties to secure the ascendency. On this occasion Willliam Penn addressed a communication to the freeholders and electors of the kingdom, which may be considered as a political, rather than a religious production. Yet the general object of the address evidently was the promotion of justice and sound morality in the nation, and we easily perceive that he had an eye to the choice of men of more liberal and tolerant principles, than those who enacted the persecuting laws under which Friends and other conscientious dissenters were suffering.

Besides communicating this address to the electors, he used considerable efforts to procure the election of Algernon Sidney, of whose talents and character he had formed a favourable opinion. The arbitrary measures of the court, and the unrelenting rigour with which dissenters both in church and state, were prosecuted, appeared to demand the restraining hand of statesmen of firm and liberal minds. Men of that character were those whom he recommended to the electors of England, and such an one he appears to have thought he discerned in Algernon Sidney; his efforts however were not successful, and his friend did not obtain a seat in the national legislature. The efforts of William Penn to promote his election, may be considered as a complete refutation of the charge, so frequently and recklessly advanced, of his subserviency to the interests of popery and arbitrary power. For Sidney was a man of liberal, if not republican principles, and fell, a few years afterwards a sacrifice to the jealousy of the dominant party. The opposition of our author to popish doctrines in government as well as in religion, was clearly manifested on numerous occasions.

He wrote in the same year, a second pamphlet, entitled "One project for the good of England," which partakes quite as much of the political as of a religious character. Yet it is observable that his politics were kept in subserviency to his religion; and that in his efforts to influence the measures of government, the recognition of the religious rights of the people was a prominent object.

The persecution of dissenters, among whom Friends always sustained the heaviest part of the burden, still continuing, three applications were made in the year 1680 to those in authority.

The first was entitled "The Case of the people called Quakers stated, in relation to their late and present sufferings, especially upon old statutes made against popish recusants."

The second was called "An account of the late and present great sufferings and oppressions, of the people called Quakers, upon prosecutions against them, in the bishop's courts, humbly presented to the serious consideration of the king, lords and commons."

The third was styled, "A brief account of some of the late and present Sufferings of the

people called Quakers, for meeting together to worship God in spirit and in Truth, upon the conventicle act, with an account of such who died prisoners, from the year 1660, for several causes." It was addressed to the king, lords and commons, in parliament assembled. In each of these works, William Penn wrote an appropriate preface, which he signed in conjunction with a number of other members of the society.

Isaac Pennington, an eminent minister among Friends, who was married to the widow of Sir William Springett, and consequently was father-in-law to William Penn, having died in the latter part of the year 1679, the latter wrote, in this year, a pathetic testimony to his character and worth, which was prefixed, with several others, to the folio edition of his works.

In this year, died the virtuous princess Elizabeth, with whose religious disposition and kindness to William Penn, the reader of this narrative is already acquainted. When a second edition of "No Cross No Crown," was published, in 1682, the author inserted her name and character among the witnesses in favour of a religious life.

The important question to the Society of Friends, of the establishment and extent of the discipline, occasioning some diversity and even opposition of sentiments among them, William Penn wrote, in 1681, a small tract on this subject, in the way of question and answer, in which he explained the nature and extent of the authority which the church might justly exercise, and the obligation of the members to submit to that authority. This tract, containing many wise and appropriate observations, is here inserted at large.

A brief examination of liberty spiritual, both with respect to persons in their private capacity, and in their church society and communion. To the people of the Lord called Quakers.

Dear friends and brethren,

It hath of long time rested with some pressure upon my spirit, for Zion's sake and the peace of Jerusalem, to write something of the nature of true spiritual liberty; liberty, one of the most glorious words and things in the world, but little understood, and frequently abused by many. I beseech Almighty God to preserve you, his people, in the right knowledge and use of that liberty, which Jesus Christ, the Captain of our salvation, hath purchased for us and is redeeming us into, who hath led captivity captive, and is giving gifts to them that truly believe in his name. Christ's liberty is obtained through Christ's cross; they that would be his freemen, must be his bond's-men, and wear his blessed yoke. His liberty is from sin, not to sin; to do his will, and not our own; no, not to speak an idle word. It is not I that live, (saith the apostle) but Christ that liveth in me, who had set him free from the power of sin, and brought immortality to light in him; whence he learned thus to triumph, O death, where is thy sting! O grave, where is thy victory! This is the personal freedom that comes by Jesus Christ, to as many as receive him in the way, and for the end for which God hath given him, to wit, to be a Saviour and a Leader, to save us from our corruptions, and guide us in the narrow way of his holy cross, and through the straight gate of self-denial, which leads to eternal life. And as many as have entered at this door, are come to have unity with God, and one with another; to love him above all, and their neighbours as themselves; yea, to prefer each other before themselves. Such will not violate the great law of their Lord and Master, love one another; the new, and yet the old commandment. These dwell in love, and so they dwell in God; for God is love. It was the beloved disciple's testimony, and it comes up to what another man of God hath said, namely, 'The church dwells in God; if she dwells in God, then in love; consequently her members are in union, of one mind in church matters, since she has but one head to rule her.

Peruse this brief discourse in this love, and it may be to edification. My aim is to assert the truth, detect error and point in true brotherly kindness at those shoals and sands some by mistake or overboldness, have and may run upon. O Friends! I greatly desire, that the spirit of love, wisdom and a sound understanding, of meekness, judgment and mercy, may ever rest upon you, that blamelessly you may be kept, an holy family, at unity with itself, to the Lord God your Redeemer, that he over all may in you, through you and by you, be exalted, honoured and praised, who is worthy and blessed for ever.

Question. What is spiritual liberty?

Answer. It is two-fold; there is a true and a false liberty, as a true and false spirit, the right discerning of which concerns every one's eternal well-being.

Q. What is true spiritual liberty?

A. Deliverance from sin by the perfect law in the heart, The perfect law of liberty, James 2., otherwise called, The law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus, that makes free from the law of sin and death; elsewhere styled, the law of Truth written in the heart, which makes free indeed, as saith Christ, If

the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed. So that the liberty of God's people stands in the Truth, and their communion in it, and in the perfect spiritual law of Christ Jesus, which delivers and preserves them from every evil thing that doth or would embondage. In this blessed liberty, it is not the will nor wisdom of man, neither the vain affections and lusts that rule or give law to the soul; for the minds of all such as are made free by the Truth, are by the Truth conducted in doing and suffering through their earthly pilgrimage.

Q. What is false liberty?

A. A departing from this blessed Spirit of Truth, and a rebelling against this perfect law of liberty in the heart, and being at liberty to do our own wills; upon which cometh reproof and judgment.

Q. But are there not some things wherein we ought to be left to our own freedom?

A. We are not our own, for we are bought with a price; and in all things ought we to glorify God with our bodies, souls and spirits, which are the Lord's.

Q. But must we have a motion or command from the Spirit of Truth for all things that we do?

A. That may be according to the Truth, which may not be by the immediate motion or command of the Truth; for that is according to the Truth, that is not against the mind of the Truth, either particularly or generally expressed. The Truth commands me to do all to the praise and glory of God; but not that I should wait for a motion to do every particular thing. For example: The variety of actions in trading, commerce and husbandry, the variety of flesh, fish and fowl for food, with more of the same nature, in all which there is a choice and liberty, but still according to the Truth, and within the holy bounds and limits of it.

Q. Then it seems there are some things left to our freedom.

A. Yes; but it must still be according to the mind of God's Truth. There are things enjoined, such as relate to our duty to God, to our superiors, to the household of faith, and to all men and creatures; these are indispensible. There are also things that may be done or left undone, which may be called indifferent; as what sort of meat I will eat today, whether I will eat flesh, fish or herbs, or what hours I will eat my meals at, with many such outward things of life and converse; yet even in such cases I ought to act according to the Truth, in the temperance and wisdom of it.

Q. But doth not freedom extend further than this; for since God hath given me a manifestation of his Spirit to profit withal, and that I have the gift of God in myself, should I not be left to act according as I am free and persuaded in my own mind, in the things that relate to God, lest looking upon myself as obliged by what is revealed unto another, though it be not revealed unto me, I should be led out of my own measure, and act upon another's motion, and so offer a blind sacrifice to God?

A. This is true in a sense, that is, if thou art such an one that canst do nothing against the Truth, but for the Truth, then mayst thou safely be left to thy freedom in the things of God, and the reason is plain; because thy freedom stands in the perfect law of liberty, in the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus, and in the Truth, which is Christ Jesus, which makes thee free indeed, that is, perfectly free from all that is bad, and perfectly free to all that is holy, just, lovely, honest, comely and of good report; but if thou pleadest thy freedom against such things, yea, obstructest and slightest such good, wholesome and requisite things, thy freedom is naught, dark, perverse, out of the Truth, and against the perfect law of love and liberty.

Q. But must I conform to things whether I can receive them or no? Ought I not to be left to the grace and spirit of God in my own heart?

A. To the first part of the question, Nay; to the last, Yea. But now let us consider what is the reason thou canst not receive them. Is the fault in the things themselves? Are they inconsistent with Truth, or will not the Truth own or assent unto them, or is the fault in thee? That is to say, is it thy weakness or thy carelessness; if thy weakness, it is to be borne with, and to be informed; if thy carelessness, thou oughtest to be admonished; for it is a dangerous principle, and pernicious to true religion, and which is worse, it is the root of ranterism to assert, That nothing is a duty incumbent upon thee, but what thou art persuaded is thy duty; for the seared conscience pleads this liberty against all duty; the dark conscience is here unconcerned; the dead conscience is here uncondemned, unless this distinction be allowed of, that there may be an ignorance or an insensibility from inability or incapacity, or a dark education; and an ignorance and insensibility, from carelessness, disobedience, prejudice, &c. So that though thou art not to conform to a thing ignorantly, yet thou art seriously to consider, why thou art ignorant, and what the cause of such ignorance may be; certainly it cannot be in God, nor in his gift to thee; it must then needs be in thyself, who hast not yet received a sense for or against the matter, about which thou art in doubt. To the second part of the question; Ought I not to be left to the grace of God in my own heart?

Answer, That is of all things most desirable, since they are well left who are left there; for there is no fear of want of unity, where all are left with the one Spirit of Truth; they must be of one mind, they cannot be otherwise. So that to plead this against unity, is to abuse the very plea, and to commit the greatest contradiction to that very doctrine of Scripture, viz., That all should be guided by the grace and spirit of God in themselves; for the end of that doctrine is certainty. They shall all know me, saith the Lord, from the least to the greatest. And I will give them one heart and one way, that they may fear me for ever, for the good of them, and of their children after them, Jer. xxxii. 39. And I will give them one heart, and I will put a new spirit within you; and I will take the stony heart out of their flesh, and I will give them an heart of flesh, Ezek. xi. 19. And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart, and of one soul, Acts iv. 32. Is not this unity too? I will restore unto you a pure language; they shall be of one heart and of one mind, and great shall be their peace. Therefore I must say to thee, friend, what if thou wilt not be left with the grace and spirit of God in thyself, nor wait for its mind, nor be watchful to its revelations, nor humble and quiet till thou hast received such necessary manifestations, but pleadest against the counsel of the spirit of the Lord in other faithful persons, under the pretence of being left to his Spirit in thyself; by which means thou opposest the Spirit to the Spirit, and pleadest for disunity, under the name of liberty; I ask thee, may not I exhort thee to the practice of that I am moved to press thee to the practice of? If not, thou art the imposer, by restraining me from my Christian liberty; and not only so, but away goeth preaching, and with it the Scriptures, that are both appointed of God for exhortation, reproof and instruction.

Q. But are there not various measures, diversities of gifts, and several offices in the body?

A. True; but are not the members therefore of one mind, one will and one judgment in common and universal matters, especially relating to the family and church of God? and indeed there cannot be a falser reasoning than to conclude discord from diversity, contrariety from variety. Is there contrariety of bloods, lifes, feelings, seeings, hearings, tastings, smellings, in one and the same body, at one and the same time? No such matter. Experience is a demonstration against all such insinuations. So that though it be granted, that there is diversity of gifts, yet there is no disagreement in sense; and though variety of offices, yet no contrariety in judgment concerning those offices. Well, say the holy Scriptures of Truth, there is but one God; the Lord our God is but one Lord; there is but one God and Father of all things; (that are good) and there is but one Lord, one faith and one baptism; and his light, life and Spirit is at unity with itself in all; what comes from the light, life or Spirit in one, it is the same in truth and unity to the rest, as if it did rise in themselves. This is seen in our assemblies every day, and will be throughout all generations in the church of God, among those that live in the lowly Truth, in which the pure sense and sound judgment stands; God is not the God of confusion, but order. Every one in his order is satisfied, hath unity and true fellowship with whatever comes from the life of God in another; for this precious life reacheth throughout the heritage of God, and is the common life that giveth the common feeling and sense to the heritage of God. Degree or measure in the same life can never contradict or obstruct that which is from the same life for the common benefit of the family of God. The Lord is the unmeasurable and incomprehensible glorious Being of life, yet have we unity with him in all his works, who are come to his Divine measure of light and Truth in our own hearts, and live therein; and shall we not have unity with that which proceeds from it in a fellow-creature? In short, the saints' way is in the Light, wherein there is neither doubt nor discord; yea, they are children of the Light, and called light, and the lights of the world; and can it be supposed that such should disagree and contradict each other in their exterior order and practice in the church before the world. O the blessed seamless garment of Jesus! where that is known, these things can never rise. But yet again, The just man's path is not only a light, but a shining light, brightness itself. Certainly there can be no stumbling. It is also said, That light is sown for the righteous; then the righteous shall never want light upon any occasion. And saith that beloved evangelist and apostle of our Lord Jesus Christ, They that walk in the light, have fellowship one with another, 1 John i. Whence it is easy to conclude, they that go out of the fellowship, go out of the Light; but if they that walk in the Light, have fellowship one with another, what shall we say of those that plead being left to the Light to justify their not having fellowship one with another? and, which is yet worse, who suppose people may conscientiously and justifiably dissent within themselves, and that by reason of the variety of the degrees of the Spirit and grace that are given of God unto them; as if the lesser degree may dissent from the greater, because of

its not being able to comprehend it. And to make this principle more authentic, such tell us, This is the ancient principle of Truth; and object, How will you else be able to maintain the Quakers' principles? The fallacy of all which lieth, as I said before, in not rightly distinguishing between diversity and disagreement, variety and contrariety; for this diversity hath concord, and this variety hath unity. And it is a blindness that hath too much of late happened to some, by going from the one life and spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ, first to fall into disagreements, and then plead for it, under the notion of diversity of measures. I would ask all such persons, who arrogate to themselves such a peculiar knowledge of the ancient principles of Truth, or the Quakers' first principles; Firstly, Whether they believe there be a Christian body? Secondly, Whether this body hath a head? Thirdly, Whether Christ be not this head? Fourthly, Whether this head be without eyes, ears, smell and taste, and this body without sense and feeling? If not, whether this head seeth, heareth, smelleth, tasteth differingly and contrarily to itself? And whether this body hath a contrary feeling at the same time about the same thing? And if it be true, that the church of Christ, redeemed by his most precious blood to live to him, see with the same eye, hear with the same ear, speak with the same mouth, live by the same breath, and are led by the same spirit, where is this disagreement, contrariety or dissent about the things of his church?

Q. But the members of Christ's church in the primitive times had different apprehensions; as the apostles and the people gathered by them.

A. Pray let me know who they were, and in what cases?

Q. The persons were Paul and Peter, and those Christians who differed about meats; and the Scripture is plain in the case.

A. The difference between Peter and Paul (in the Acts) testifies the weakness of Peter, and the place justifies Paul's reproof of his too great compliance with the Jews in some of their rites; which makes against liberty of various practices, in the church of Christ, and not for indulging them. That instance about the difference of Christians as to meats, &c., has nothing in it to the end for which it is alleged; for this related not to church-order or communion, but private and personal freedoms, what each might do with respect to themselves; that is, they might make laws to themselves, in things that only concerned private persons, and it centred there; here, what I will eat, when I will eat, things to myself, and for myself, as a man having power over my own appetite. The liberty in things private, personal and indifferent, makes nothing for dissenting about church matters in things of communion and society, and that also are not indifferent, as to eat fish, flesh, or herbs, plainly is: but necessary; as to be careful and orderly about the external business of the church. These are no Jewish rites, nor shadowy ceremonies, no meats nor drinks that are private and personal, where weakness is apt to mistake (that were an unnecessary and an unchristian yoke to bear) but things comely, orderly and of good report, that tend to purity, peace and diligence in things acceptable to God, and requisite among his people in their temporal Christian capacity. And herein the apostle Paul exercised his godly authority; and we find not only that those who opposed themselves to it, as thinking he took too much upon him, and demanded a mark of Christ's speaking in him, are in Scripture branded with contention, but the true believers, that had in themselves a mark of Christ's speaking in him, were of one mind, and avoided such as were given to contention; for it was not the custom of the churches of Christ. Thus were Christ's people of one heart, in things relating to their communion. Yet a little further; they that have the mind of Christ, are of one mind; for Christ is not divided. They that have Christ for their head, have one counsellor and prophet, one seer and bishop, they disagree not in their judgments in things relating to him and the good of his church; they have one and the same guide; for the one Spirit, into which they have all drank, and by it are baptized into one body, leads them all. Now to every member is a measure of the same Spirit given to profit with; and though every member is not an eye, nor an ear, nor a mouth, yet every member hath unity with the eye, with the ear, with the mouth, and in their proper and respective acts, and they one with the other. The eye sees for the mouth, the mouth speaks for the eye, and the ear hears for both; this variety hath no discord, but in this diversity of gifts and offices, each member is sensible of the other, and moves and acts by one and the same life, spirit and guidance, which is omnipresent, proportionable to every member in its distinct office. It must be granted, that there are helps in the church, as well as that there is a church at all; and the Holy Ghost has compared those helps, as is before mentioned, to several members and senses of man's body, as an eye, a hand, a foot, hearing, smelling, &c. All then cannot be the eye, neither can all be the hand, for then they would confound their office, and act disagreeably to the ordination of the great orderer of his church. And if I will not

comply with him that God hath made an eye, because I am not that eye, or an hand, because I am not that member myself, nor a party to the action or performance of that member, I resist the Lord, though under pretence of resisting man for the Lord's sake. And truly, this is the rock that some of our own time, as well as persons of former ages, have split upon; they have not been contented with their own station in the body, they have not kept to their own gift, nor been taken up with the duty of their own place in the church. If he that is a foot would be an hand, and the hand covets to be an eye, envying others their allotted station, through height of mind, and walking loose from the holy cross, there can be no such thing as concord and fellowship in the church of Christ.

Furthermore, since the spirit of the Lord is one in all, it ought to be obeyed through another, as well as in one's self; and this I affirm to you, that the same lowly frame of mind that receives and answers the mind of the spirit of the Lord in a man's self, will receive and have unity with the mind of the same Spirit through another, and the reason is plain; because the same self-evidencing power and virtue that ariseth from the measure of the Spirit of Truth in one's self, and that convinceth a man in his own heart, doth also attend the discovery of the mind of the same Spirit, when delivered by another; for the words of the second Adam, the quickening Spirit, through another, are spirit and life, as well as in thy own particular; this is discerned by the spiritual man that judgeth all things, although the carnal man pleadeth for being left to his freedom, and it may be talks of being left to the Spirit in himself too; the better to escape the sense and judgment of the spiritual man. It is my earnest desire, that all who have any knowledge of the Lord, would have a tender care how they use that plea against their faithful brethren, that God put into their mouths against the persecuting priests and hirelings of the world, namely, I must mind the spirit of God in myself; for though it be a great truth that all are to be left thereunto, yet it is as true, that he who is left with the Spirit of Truth in himself, differs not from his brethren that are in the same Spirit; and as true it is, that those who err from the Spirit of Truth, may plead for being left to the Spirit in themselves, against the motion and command of the Spirit through another, when it pleaseth not his or her high mind and perverse will; for a saying may be true or false, according to the subject matter it is spoken upon or applied to; we own the assertion, we deny the application. There lies the snare. It is true, the people of God ought to be left to the guidance of the spirit of God in themselves; but for this to be so applied, as to disregard the preaching or writings of Christ's enlightened servants, because by them applied properly to the preaching or writing of false prophets and seducers, will by no means follow. I say the doctrine is true, but not exclusively of all external counsel or direction; therefore false in application, where men are allowed to have had the fear of God, and the mind of his Spirit, and are not proved to have acted in their own wills and wisdom, or without the guidance of the spirit of God, about the things of his church and kingdom.

Q. But though this be true, which hath been alleged for heavenly concord, yet what if I do not presently see that service in a thing, which the rest of my brethren agree in; in this case, what is my duty and theirs?

A. It is thy duty to wait upon God in silence and patience, out of all fleshly consultations; and as thou abidest in the simplicity of the Truth, thou wilt receive an understanding with the rest of thy brethren, about the thing doubted. And it is their duty, whilst thou behavest thyself in meekness and humility, to bear with thee, and carry themselves tenderly and in love towards thee; but if on the contrary, thou disturbest their godly care and practice, and growest contentious, and exaltest thy judgment against them, they have power from God to exhort, admonish and reprove thee; and if thou perseverest therein, in His name to refuse any further fellowship with thee, till thou repentest of thy evil.

Q. But lest I should mistake, when thou speakest of true liberty, that it stands in being made free by the Truth, from all unrighteousness, dost thou mean, that no other persons ought to have the liberty of exercising their dissenting consciences, but that force may be lawful to reduce such as are reputed erroneously conscientious?

A. By no means. It would be great wickedness against God, who is Lord of the souls and spirits of men, and ought to preside in all consciences, who, as the apostle saith, Is the only Potentate, and hath immortality. For though I give the true liberty of soul and conscience to those only that are set free by the power of Christ, from the bondage of sin and captivity of death, yet do I not intend, that any person or persons should be in the least harmed for the external exercise of their dissenting consciences in worship to God, though erroneous; for though their consciences be blind, yet they are not to be forced; such compulsion giveth no sight, neither do corporal punishments produce conviction. This we above all people, in our day, have

withstood, in speaking, writing and suffering, and, blessed be God, continue so to do with faithfulness. For faith is the gift of God, and forced sacrifices are not pleasing to the Lord.

Q. But according to thy argument, it may be my fault, that I have not the gift of faith; and upon this presumption, it may be, thou wilt inflict some temporal penalties upon me.

A. No such matter; for such kind of faults are not to be punished with temporal or worldly penalties; for whether the errors be through weakness or wilfulness, not relating to moral practice, all external coercion and corporal punishment is excluded. For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but spiritual.

Q. But what then is the extent of the power of the church of Christ, in case of schism or heresy.

A. The power that Christ gave to his church was this, that offenders, after the first and second admonition, not repenting, should be rejected. Not imprisoned, plundered, banished or put to death; this belongs to the false church and false prophet. All these things have come to pass for want of humility, for want of the ancient fear and keeping in the quiet habitation of the just. The Truth in you all shall answer me. And this I affirm, from the understanding I have received of God, not only that the enemy is at work to scatter the minds of Friends, by that loose plea, What hast thou to do with me? Leave me to my freedom and to the grace of God in myself, and the like; but this proposition and expression, as now understood and alleged, is a deviation from and a perversion of the ancient principle of Truth. For this is the plain consequence of this plea, if any one, especially if they are but lately convinced, shall say, I see no evil in paying tythes to hireling priests, in that they are not claimed by Divine right, but by the civil laws of the land—I see no evil in marrying by the priest, for he is but a witness—furthermore, I see no evil in declining a public testimony in suffering times, or hiding in times of persecution, for I have Christ's and Paul's examples—I see no evil in worshipping and respecting the persons of men; for whatever others do, I intend a sincere notice that I take of those I know and have a good esteem for—Lastly, I see no evil in keeping my shop shut upon the world's holidays and massdays, as they call them, though they are rather lewdly and superstitiously than religiously kept; for I would not willingly give any offence to my neighbours; and since your testimony is against imposition, and for leaving every one to the measure of grace which God hath given him, not only, No man hath power to reprove or judge me, but I may be as good a Friend as any of you, according to my measure. And now, here is measure set up against measure, which is confusion itself—Babel indeed. This is the rock which both professors and profane would long since have run us upon, namely, That a way is hereby opened to all the world's libertines, to plead the light within for their excesses; which indeed grieves the spirit of God, and was severely judged by our Friends in the beginning, and is still reproved by them that keep their habitation, though some are become as wandering stars through their own pride and the prevalency of the hour of temptation that hath overtaken them; whereas had they kept in the channel of love and life, in the orbit and order of the celestial power, they had shined as stars in the firmament of God for ever. And from the deep sense that I have of the working of the enemy of Zion's peace, to rend and divide the heritage of God, who under the pretence of crying down man, forms and prescriptions, is crying down the heavenly man Christ Jesus, his blessed order and government, which he hath brought forth by his own revelation and power through his faithful witnesses. This I further testify, First, That the enemy, by these fair pretences, strikes at the godly care and travail which dwells upon the spirits of many faithful brethren, that all things might be preserved sweet, comely, virtuous and of good report in the church of God. Secondly, That there never was greater necessity of this godly care than at this day, since we were a people, wherein the cross, by too many, is not so closely kept to as in days past, and in which there is not only a great convincement, but a young generation descended of Friends, who though they retain the form their education hath led them into, yet many of them adorn not the Gospel with that sensible, weighty and heavenly conversation as becomes the children of the undefiled religion, and the seed of that precious faith which works by the love that overcomes the world. And the Lord God of heaven and earth, that hath sent his Son Christ Jesus a light into our hearts and consciences, to whose search and judgment all ought to, and must, bring their deeds, and render up their account, beareth holy record, that for this end hath he moved upon the spirits of his servants, and for this good end only have his servants given forth, recommended and put in practice, those things that are now in godly use among his people, whether in this or other nations, relating to men's and women's meetings, and their various and weighty services. And further; in the fear of the Almighty God I shall add, that heavenly peace and prosperity dwell with those

who are found in a holy and zealous practice of them; wherefore I warn all, that they take heed of a slighting and obstinate mind, and that they have a care how they give way to the outcry of some, falsely entitled, Liberty of conscience against imposition, &c., for the end thereof is to lead back again, and give ease to the carnal mind, which at last will bring death again upon the soul to God and the living society of his children. And indeed, it is a great shame that any who have ever known the Truth of God in the inward parts, and the sweet society of brethren, especially those who were early in the work of this blessed day and heavenly dispensation, should so far depart from the fear and awe of the Lord, as to use such unsavoury, as well as untrue expressions. This is very far from that meek spirit of Jesus, and the first love, which they pretend to have so singularly kept in, which beareth all things, suffereth all things, and endureth all things, and teacheth to keep the word of patience in the hour of tribulation; nay, but it is judging of spiritual things with a carnal and prejudiced mind, stumbling at the matter, for the sake of the persons through whom it comes, not eyeing nor weighing the spirit the thing arises from, but the person by whom it is spoken, which darkens the eye of the understanding, and blinds, by prejudice, the mind that should discern, taste and judge; from whence many mischiefs have sprung to the church of Christ in divers ages. Nor is it the least evil this spirit of strife is guilty of, even at this day, that it useth the words, liberty of conscience and imposition, against the brethren, in the same manner that our suffering Friends have been always accustomed to use them against the persecuting priests and powers of the earth; as if it were the same thing to admonish and reprove conceited, high-minded, loose or contentious persons in the church, as to compel conformity in matters of faith and worship, by violence upon the persons and estates of conscientious dissenters. O such iniquity God will not leave unreproved!

This, dear Friends I send amongst you, as a token of my true love, in the revelation of the free spirit of our God and Father, who have ever been a friend to true liberty, as in the state according to law, so in the church according to Scripture, and as it standeth in the Truth of Jesus, that makes them who love it free indeed. Let us all keep low, and remember the rock from whence we were hewn, and dwell in a tender and reverent sense of the daily mercies and providences of the Lord, looking well to our own growth and prosperity in his heavenly way and work; then shall the desire of our hearts be more and more after him, and the remembrance of his name; and with our love to God, will our love increase one towards another, helping and aiding one another. And I do not doubt, that God who has brought us out of the land of Egypt, and out of the house of bondage, and delivered us from the mouth of the lion and the paw of the bear, will preserve his people from this uncircumcised spirit that is not in covenant with God, nor under the yoke of his holy royal law of true spiritual liberty; for they that keep and walk in the light of Jesus, are fenced from the power of this crooked serpent, that seeks whom he may betray; nor are any stung by him but the unwatchful, the listeners and hearkeners after his jealous whispers and detracting insinuations. They are such as make their dwelling in the earth, where his region is, and where he creeps and twists, who is earthly, sensual and devilish, and so is all the wisdom that comes from him.

My dear Friends, keep, I pray you, in the simplicity of the Truth and cross of Jesus, and wait for your daily bread, and to be daily renewed from the Lord; look to your increase about eternal riches, and be sure to lay up treasure in heaven that fadeth not away, that your faith and hope may have eternal foundations, which the cross occurrences of time, and fears of mortality cannot move. And beware of that loose and irreverent spirit, which has not those in high esteem among you, who are faithful in the Lord's work, and who labour in his blessed word and doctrine. I plainly see a coldness and shortness on this hand; and let the pretence be as it will, it is not pleasing to the Lord. They that love Christ, his servants are dear to them, and they bear a tender regard to their trials, travails, spendings and sufferings, who seek not yours, but you, that you may all be presented blameless at the coming of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ; that so the Gospel ministry and testimony may be held up with holy fervent love and godly esteem, to the keeping under every raw and exalted mind, and whatever may slight and turn against it, lest God that has richly visited us with his fatherly visitations and day springing from on high, should remove his blessing from amongst us, and place his candlestick among other people. Be wise therefore, O Friends! for behold He is at the door that must have an account of your stewardship. Be watchful, keep to your first love and works, that so you may endure to the end and be saved. And having overcome, you may have right to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God.

The God of peace, who hath brought our

dear Lord Jesus from the dead, and us with him, more abundantly enrich you all with wisdom and knowledge, in the revelation of himself, through faith in his Son, by whom in these last days he hath spoken to us, who is the blessed and only Potentate, King of kings and Lord of lords, who only hath immortality; to whom be honour and power everlasting. Amen.

Your friend and brother, in the tribulation and salvation of the enduring kingdom of our God,

WILLIAM PENN.

Worminghurst in Sussex, the 20th of the Ninth month, 1681.

About this time, the meetings of Friends and other dissenters, in the city of Bristol, were subjected to a fresh persecution, at the instigation of John Knight, the sheriff, and J. Helliar, an attorney, who with a band of unprincipled informers, stretched the persecuting laws of the day beyond their legal extent, seizing the property of Friends, and selling it for a fourth part of its value, to satisfy their numerous distraints. They also, by example and encouragement, stimulated the rabble to commit the most shameful personal abuse, without regard to age or sex, upon those whom they found convened at their places of religious worship. Friends were crowded into a filthy prison, where one of the aldermen declared he would not put a favourite dog. Though the rage of these oppressive officers was not vented upon Friends alone, yet they as usual bore the heaviest part of the storm, because of their open and unflinching testimony to the duty of assembling for the solemn purpose of indicating their allegiance to the Giver of every good and perfect gift.*

As an encouragement to Friends under their grievous sufferings, William Penn addressed them in the following epistle:

"*To the friends of God in the city of Bristol; this is sent to be read among them, when assembled to wait upon the Lord.*

"My beloved in the Lord!

"I DO herewith send amongst you the dear and tender salutation of my unfeigned love, that is held in the fellowship of the lasting Gospel of peace, that has many years been preached and believed amongst you, beseeching the God and Father of this glorious day of the Son of Man, to increase and multiply his grace, mercy and peace among you, that you may be faithful, and abound in every good word and work, doing and suffering what is pleasing unto God, that you may prove what is that good and acceptable, and perfect will of God, which becomes you to be found daily doing, that so an entrance may be administered unto you abundantly, into the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that is an everlasting kingdom. My beloved brethren and sisters, be not cast down at the rage of evil men, whose anger works not the righteousness of God, and whose cruelty the Lord will limit. Nothing strange or unusual is come to pass, it makes well for them that eye the Lord in and through these sufferings. There is food in affliction, and though the instruments of it cannot see it, all shall work together for good to them that fear the Lord. Keep your ground in the Truth, that was and is the saints' victory. They that shrink go out of it; it is a shield to the righteous. Feel it, and see, I charge you by the presence of the Lord, that you turn not aside the Lord's end towards you in this suffering, by consulting with flesh and blood in easing your adversaries, for that will load you. Keep out of base bargainings or conniving at fleshly evasions of the cross. Our Captain would not leave us such an example. Let them shrink that know not why they should stand; we know in whom we have believed. He is mightier in the faithful to suffer and endure to the end, than the world to persecute. Call to mind those blessed ancients, that by faith overcame of old, that endured cruel mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover, bonds and imprisonments, that accepted not deliverance, to deny their testimony, that they might obtain a better resurrection. They were stoned, they were tempted, they were sawn asunder, they were slain with the sword; but ye have not so resisted unto blood, and it sufficeth, I hope to you, that the Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptation, and to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgment to be punished, when it may be truly said, it shall go well with the righteous, but very ill with the wicked. The Lord God by his power keep your hearts living to him, that it may be your delight to wait upon him, and receive the bounty of his love, that being fed with his daily bread and drinking of his cup of blessing, you may be raised above the fear or trouble of earthly things, and grow strong in Him who is your crown of rejoicing, that having answered his requirings, and walked faithfully before him,

*It is worthy of notice, that the persecution was carried to such an extent, that nearly all the adult members of the society were imprisoned, yet the boys and girls under sixteen continued to keep up the meetings. And although the malice of the persecutors was frequently wreaked upon them, yet they could not be deterred from supporting the testimony for which their parents were suffering.

you may receive in the end of your days the welcome sentence of gladness. Eternal riches are before you, an inheritance incorruptible. Press after that glorious mark. Let your minds be set on things that are above, and when Christ that is the glory of his poor people shall appear, they shall appear with him in glory; when all tears shall be wiped away, and there shall be no more sorrow or sighing, but they that overcome shall stand as Mount Sion that cannot be moved.

"So, my dear friends and brethren, endure, that you may be saved, and you shall reap if you faint not. What should we be troubled for? Our kingdom is not of this world, and cannot be shaken by the overturning here below. Let all give glory to God on high, live peaceably on earth, and show good will to all men, and our enemies will at last see, that they do they know not what, and repent and glorify God our heavenly Father. O! great is God's work on earth. Be universal in your spirits and keep out of all straitness and narrowness. Look to God's great and glorious kingdom and its prosperity. Our time is not our own, nor are we our own. God hath bought us with a price, not to serve ourselves, but to glorify him, both in body, soul and spirit; and by bodily sufferings for the Truth, he is glorified. Look to the accomplishing of the will of God in these things, that the measure of Christ's sufferings may be filled up in us, who bear about the dying of the Lord Jesus; else our suffering is in vain. Wherefore, as the flock of God, and family and household of faith, walk with your loins girded, being sober, hoping to the end for the grace and kindness which shall be brought unto you at the revelation of Jesus Christ, to whom you and yours are committed. His precious Spirit minister unto you, and his own life be shed abroad plenteously among you, that you may be kept blameless to the end.

"I am your friend and brother in the fellowship of the suffering for the Truth, as it is in Jesus,

"WILLIAM PENN.

"Worminghurst, the 24th of the Twelfth month, 1681."

CHAPTER XX.

1681. WE have seen that William Penn, as trustee for Edward Byllinge, had become concerned in the colonization of West Jersey. But in 1679, Sir George Carteret, proprietor of East Jersey, died, leaving his property there to be sold for the benefit of his creditors. This sale was effected in the beginning of 1682, William Penn and eleven others, being the purchasers. They soon afterwards took into the concern twelve others, thus constituting a company of twenty-four proprietors, nearly all members of the Society of Friends, and of whom Robert Barclay, the celebrated Apologist, was one. Of this growing colony, Robert Barclay was appointed governor for life; but he never visited the country. He held the office of governor only about two years, having entrusted the execution of his official duties to a deputy. Thus it happened that New-Jersey, both east and west, was settled in great part, under the auspices of Friends. The pacific principles upon which these settlements were made, as well as those subsequently formed on the west of the Delaware, were found capable of preserving the relations of peace with the native inhabitants of the country; and thus we are furnished with a practical demonstration, of which the world has afforded but few, of the superior advantage to nations, as well as individuals, arising from a strict regard to the principles of the Gospel.

The purchase of East-Jersey by William Penn and others, was subsequent to the grant which he obtained of the province which bears his name, yet his attention was not so fully engrossed by the latter as to prevent him from contributing by his influence and his pen to the settlement of the former. Yet as the management of his own province occupied great part of his time and attention, we may reasonably suppose that he left the concerns of New-Jersey chiefly to his colleagues.

It appears by one of his letters, that at an early period of his life, even while he was a student at Oxford, William Penn had a distant prospect of service in the western world; and his connection with the province of New-Jersey, having made him partially acquainted with the country on the opposite side of the Delaware, he formed the idea of procuring the grant of a territory there; in which he might not only furnish an asylum to Friends and others who were persecuted on account of their religious persuasion, but might erect a government upon principles approaching much nearer the standard of evangelical purity, than any which had been previously raised.

The application of William Penn for the grant of the province which now bears his name, it appears, was made in the summer of 1680. The grant to Lord Baltimore, which was made by Charles the First, lay to the south, and was understood to extend no further north than some point on the Delaware bay. The Duke of York obtained a part of the tract lying on the east of that bay. The application of William Penn was laid before the privy council, and by them referred to the Lords

Committee of Trade and Plantations. The agent of the Duke of York was heard, in relation to the claims of the latter. The rights of Lord Baltimore were also examined. The advice of chief justice North and the attorney general, was taken on the subject. After these contiguous claims had been fully canvassed, a charter was granted to William Penn, dated at Westminster, the 4th of March, 1681, constituting him proprietary and governor of the province of Pennsylvania. This province is described in the charter, as bounded on the east by the Delaware river, from a point twelve miles north of Newcastle, to the beginning of the forty-third degree of north latitude, in case the river should be found to extend that far north—or if it should not, then a meridian was to be run from its head waters to the said latitude; on the north by the parallel of latitude passing through the beginning of the forty-third degree; and to extend westward through five degrees of longitude, computing from this eastern boundary. The southern boundary was to be determined by a circle described at twelve miles from Newcastle, northward and westward, until it intersected the beginning of the fortieth degree of north latitude; and thence the line was to extend on that parallel westward to the meridian previously determined. The province was therefore, designed to include three degrees of latitude, except a small part on the eastern side, and five degrees of longitude on the northern parallel. It was afterwards discovered, that owing to the ignorance of the people of that day, in regard to the geography of the country, the boundaries assigned to Pennsylvania were irreconcilable with each other, and encroached on the chartered limits of Maryland. This involved the proprietaries in a controversy, which was not terminated during their lives.

In regard to the motives of William Penn in this undertaking, it is not difficult to discover that he was more influenced by religious than pecuniary considerations. In one of his letters, he has this passage:

"And now give me leave to say, I have served the Lord, his Truth and people in my day, to my ability, and not sought myself, though much spent myself; so has he made me firmly to believe that I shall not even *outwardly* go without my reward; I see his blessed hand therein, that has blessed my faith and patience and long attendance with success. And because I have been somewhat exercised at times about the nature and end of government among men, it is reasonable to expect that I should endeavour to establish a just and righteous one in this province, that others may take example by it—truly this my heart desires. For nations want a precedent, and till vice and corrupt manners be impartially rebuked and punished, and till virtue and sobriety be cherished, the wrath of God will hang over nations. I do, therefore, desire the Lord's wisdom to guide me, and those that may be concerned with me, that we may do the thing that is truly wise and just."

In a letter to a particular friend, written in 1681, he says,

"For my country, I eyed the Lord in obtaining it; and more was I drawn inward to look to him, and to owe it to his hand and power than to any other way. I have so obtained it and desire to keep it, that I may not be unworthy of his love; but do that which may answer his kind providence and serve his Truth and people; that an example may be set up to the nations. There may be room there, though not here, for such an holy experiment."

The motives of the king in making this grant, as far as they can be inferred from the charter itself, appear to have been a desire to favour William Penn in his laudable efforts to enlarge the British empire, to promote the trade and prosperity of the kingdom and to reduce the savage nations, by just and gentle measures, to the love of civilized life and the Christian religion; and a regard to the memory and merits of the deceased admiral.

It appears that the name assigned to the province was not entirely agreeable to William Penn. He was desirous of designating it New-Wales, but the under secretary to the council opposed it. He then proposed Sylvania, as expressive of its condition, being mostly covered with woods; but the name of Penn was prefixed by others. This prefix was designed as an honour to the father, and not to the son; but the latter seems to have been apprehensive that the act of naming the province would be attributed to him, and be deemed an evidence of vanity. He therefore tried his influence with the king and the under secretary, offering twenty guineas to the latter, to procure their consent to the erasure of the family name. But the king chose to assume the responsibility of giving it a name, and determined that it should be Pennsylvania. Posterity will probably not regret the decision of Charles. This, however, is the only one of the North American colonies, now states, which bears the name of its founder.

The charter was followed by a declaration from the king, dated the 2nd of April of the same year, requiring all persons residing within the chartered limits of Pennsylvania, to yield due obedience to William Penn, his

heirs and assigns, as absolute proprietaries and governors thereof, and to his and their deputies and agents, according to the terms of the charter.*

By this charter William Penn became possessed of great political power, and was made the proprietor as far as the royal grant could render him such, of an extensive tract of land which was nearly all covered with woods, and occupied by wandering tribes of uncivilized Indians. Whatever rights the discovery or conquest of any of these lands was supposed to confer on the Europeans, William Penn was sensible that the natives were the real proprietors of the soil. In his expanded schemes of benevolence, he did not overlook the rights and interests of any portion of the human family, however weak or unlettered. One of the early objects of attention therefore, was the cultivation of a good understanding with the Indian inhabitants of Pennsylvania.

The original draught of William Penn's charter is said to have been drawn by himself, and that the charter of Charles I. to Sir George Calvert was used as a model. The liberality which marks this document, certainly indicates that some other hands than the ministers of Charles II. were employed in its preparation. It however appears, that by whomsoever it was originally drawn, it received its last revision from chief justice North, and the attorney general, Sir William Jones. Nothing now appears by which we can determine at whose suggestion that clause was introduced, which invested William Penn with a military command. It is very probable, that the advisers of King Charles considered such an authority essential to the maintenance of the government; and it must be admitted, that such a power could hardly have been entrusted to safer hands. During his administration, the military authority was a dead letter.

Immediately after obtaining his charter, William Penn commenced his preparations for settling the province. He prepared such an account of the country as could then be obtained, which he published, together with a copy of the charter, and other documents connected with it; explaining the terms upon which the lands were to be sold. The conditions of sale were, forty shillings sterling, in cash, and one shilling per annum for ever, as the price of one hundred acres of unseated land. These annual payments were called quit-rents, and were allowed to be principally purchased off at the option of the grantee. A small annual sum however, was designed to remain as a perpetual rent. These quit-rents were unquestionably at first a part of the original purchase. The reason why they were not allowed to be totally extinguished by subsequent purchase, is said to have been, that William Penn held his title from the crown by a small annual rent, and therefore a small yearly rent from the purchasers, was requisite to give validity to their titles. The yearly return of William Penn to the king, appears by the charter to have been merely nominal, except under the contingency of discovering mines of silver or gold; in which case one-fifth of the ore was reserved. Yet the title of the proprietary to the soil was, in point of law, a feudal, not an allodial tenure; but divested of the military character of such tenures; he therefore did not consider himself authorized to make sales upon allodial principles. A nominal rent being considered necessary to give legal force to his grants, he acted in good faith to the grantees, when he stipulated that a small portion of the original cost should remain unpaid at the time of sale, and be made the basis of a permanent yearly rent.

These quit-rents subsequently became a subject of unpleasant discussion between the settlers and the proprietary or his deputies.

The invitation which the proposals contained, to such of his countrymen as might incline to emigrate to Pennsylvania, was marked by his usual solicitude for their religious as well as temporal advancement. The address was closed with the following judicious admonition.

"I desire my dear country-folks, to consider seriously the premises, as well the inconveniency as future ease and plenty; that so none may move rashly, or from a fickle, but from a solid mind; having above all things, an eye to the providence of God, in the disposing of themselves; and I would further advise all such, at least to have the permission, if not the good-liking of their near relations; for that is both natural and a duty incumbent upon all. And by this will natural affections be preserved, and a friendly and profitable correspondence between them; in all which I beseech Almighty God to direct us, that his blessing may attend our honest endeavours; and then the consequence of all our undertakings will turn to the glory of his great name, and all true happiness to us and our posterity. Amen."

Upon the publication of these proposals, a great number of purchasers, from London, Liverpool and Bristol, soon appeared. Among the latter a company was formed, which was

*A few settlements had been formed on the Delaware, within the chartered limits of Pennsylvania, by the Dutch and Swedes, and these were now become subjects of the British crown.

termed "The free Society of Traders in Pennsylvania," who purchased twenty thousand acres of land, and made preparations for engaging in various branches of trade.

The proprietary having made considerable sales of land, agreed with the purchasers upon certain conditions, which may be considered as an incipient constitution of government, according to the powers granted by the charter. This document was entitled, "Certain conditions or concessions agreed upon by William Penn, proprietary and governor of the province of Pennsylvania, and those who are the adventurers and purchasers in the same province." It consists of twenty articles, most of which relate to the manner of locating, improving and occupying the purchased lands. In this the proprietary manifested a care to promote the early improvement of the lands which were sold, and to prevent purchasers from holding large tracts in the vicinity of the principal settlements, without occupying or improving them. But there were several provisions which marked his care for the maintenance of justice and sound morality in the province, and particularly in their intercourse with the Indians. These are worthy of more particular notice.

In the sale and purchase of goods, intended for exportation, whether the Indians were parties to the transaction or not, the goods were to be submitted to public inspection. If those offered for sale were not of the kind and quality which they were represented to be, or were deficient in measure or weight, they were forfeited to the public treasury.

As it had been usual for planters to defraud the Indians, by the sale of goods of inferior quality or such as contained unsuspected mixtures, it was stipulated that whatever was given to the Indians in exchange for their furs, should be exposed to public view, and subjected to the proper test; that goods of inferior quality should not be passed upon them under a deceptive character, and no injury or provocation be offered to them.

In case any man should by any means, either in word or deed, wrong an Indian, he was to incur the same penalty as though the offence was given to one of his fellow-planters. And in case any man should receive an injury from an Indian, he was not to be judge in his own case, but must apply to the governor or some inferior officer, by whom care should be taken to procure, from the chiefs of the tribe to which such Indian belonged, the proper reparation.

All differences which might arise between the planters and Indians, were to be settled by a board, composed of six planters and six Indians, that thus equal justice might be maintained and all occasions of jealousy and discord be, as much as possible, avoided.

Three ships sailed for Pennsylvania in the course of the year 1681, two from London and one from Bristol. In one of them, sailed William Markham, a relative of William Penn, whom he appointed deputy-governor, and joined with him several commissioners, who were authorized to treat with the natives for the sale of their lands; and enjoined to treat them with all possible justice, candour and humanity.

The London vessels were the John and Sarah, commanded by Henry Smith, and the Amity, of which Richard Dimon was master. The former arrived at its place of destination, being the first which conveyed the English emigrants under William Penn to the new province. The latter meeting with contrary winds, was carried to the West Indies; and did not arrive at Pennsylvania till the ensuing spring. The Bristol Factor, commanded by Robert Drew, arrived at Uplands, now Chester, on the 11th of the tenth month, which according to the present style, would have been reckoned the 21st of the twelfth; where some houses being erected, they went on shore. In the ensuing night the river was frozen over, and the passengers remained there till spring.

By these commissioners he sent a letter to the native inhabitants of Pennsylvania, of which the following is a copy.

"London, the 18th of the Eighth month, 1681.

"My friends,

"THERE is a great God and power that hath made the world and all things therein, to whom you and I and all people owe their being and well-being; and to whom you and I must one day give an account for all that we do in the world. This great God hath written his law in our hearts, by which we are taught and commanded to love and help, and do good to one another, and not to do harm and mischief one unto another. Now this great God hath been pleased to make me concerned in your part of the world, and the king of the country where I live hath given me a great province therein, but I desire to enjoy it with your love and consent, that we may always live together as neighbours and friends; else what would the great God do to us? who hath made us not to devour and destroy one another, but to live soberly and kindly together in the world. Now I would have you well observe, that I am very sensible of the unkindness and injustice that have been too much exercised towards you by the people of these parts of the world, who have sought themselves, and to make great advan-

tages by you, rather than to be examples of justice and goodness unto you, which I hear hath been matter of trouble to you, and caused great grudgings and animosities, sometimes to the shedding of blood, which hath made the great God angry. But I am not such a man, as is well known in my own country. I have great love and regard towards you, and I desire to win and gain your love and friendship by a kind, just and peaceable life, and the people I send are of the same mind, and shall in all things behave themselves accordingly, and if in any thing any shall offend you or your people, you shall have a full and speedy satisfaction for the same by an equal number of just men on both sides, that by no means you may have just occasion of being offended against them. I shall shortly come to you myself, at which time we may more largely and freely confer and discourse of these matters; in the mean time I have sent my commissioners to treat with you about land, and a firm league of peace. Let me desire you to be kind to them and the people, and receive these presents and tokens which I have sent you, as a testimony of my good-will to you, and my resolution to live justly, peaceably and friendly with you.

"I am your loving friend,

"William Penn."

By the same conveyance was probably communicated a letter to the European inhabitants of the province, which has been recently published in the Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. In this he assured them of his desire for their happiness in this world and in that to come; and of his intention to allow them to be governed by laws of their own framing, and that every thing would be granted which a sober and free people could desire for the security and improvement of their happiness.

As the conditions and concessions agreed upon in the summer of 1681, contained nothing more than a general outline, it was judged expedient to prepare a regular frame of government for the province, together with a brief system of laws which were agreed upon in England by the proprietary and divers of those who were preparing to emigrate to Pennsylvania. These laws were to be submitted for examination and adoption to the first provincial assembly convened in the province.

In the preface, which was unquestionably the production of William Penn himself, we find a number of valuable sentiments on the nature and origin of government. It is observed that when the Creator of the world conferred upon man his authority over the creatures he had made, he furnished him not only with skill and power, but with integrity to use them justly. The principle of Divine love was his preserver and guide; and there was no need of compulsive means. But man becoming disobedient to the Divine law written in the heart, became necessarily subject to the reproof and conviction of the just law without, in a judicial administration. Thus outward government is established as an auxiliary to religion. First, as a terror to those who do evil, and second, to cherish and encourage those who do well. The restraining power of government, which applies only to the transgressors, is considered as its coarsest feature; the regulation of many other affairs, of a milder character, making up a great part of it.

With regard to the forms of government, the author observes, that any government is free to the people under it, whatever be the frame, where the laws rule, and the people are a party to those laws, and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy or confusion. Governments rather depend upon men, than men upon governments. Let men be good, and the government cannot be bad, or if it is, they will cure it. But if men are bad, let the government be ever so good, they will be likely to warp and spoil it. A loose and depraved people love laws and an administration like themselves. Therefore that which makes a good constitution is necessary to maintain it; viz., men of wisdom and virtue. As these qualities are not hereditary, they ought to be carefully propagated by a virtuous education. The frame of government and its accompanying laws, are stated to have been adopted with reverence to God, and good conscience toward men, according to the best capacity of their framers, to answer the great end of all government, viz., to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power, that the people may be free by their just obedience, and the magistrates honourable for their just administration; for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery.*

Of the laws agreed upon and published with the frame of government, I shall notice two or three which partake of a religious character.

"That all persons living in the province, who

* In a letter to one of his friends, written about the time this frame of government was agreed upon, he observed, "For the matters of liberty and privilege, I purpose that which is extraordinary, and leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief, that the will of one man may not hinder the good of a whole community."

confess and acknowledge the one Almighty and eternal God, to be the Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the world; and that hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall in no ways be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion or practice, in matters of faith and worship, nor shall they be compelled, at any time, to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place or ministry whatever.

"That, according to the good example of the primitive Christians, and the ease of the creation, every first-day of the week, called the Lord's-day, people shall abstain from their common daily labour, that they may better dispose themselves to worship God according to their understandings.

"That as a careless and corrupt administration of justice draws the wrath of God upon magistrates, so the wildness and looseness of the people provoke the indignation of God against a country; therefore, that all such offences against God, as swearing, cursing, lying, profane talking, drunkenness, drinking of healths, obscene words, and several other scandalous acts particularly named, treasons, misprisions, duels, murders, felony, sedition, maims, forcible entries and other violences to the persons and estates of the inhabitants of the province; all prizes, stage-plays, cards, dice, may-games, gamesters, masques, revels, bull-baitings, cock-fightings, bear-baitings and the like, which excite the people to rudeness, cruelty and irreligion, shall be respectively discouraged and severely punished, according to the appointment of the governor and freemen in provincial council and general assembly." This system was signed by the governor and freemen in the third month, 1682.

The grant of territory which had been made to James, Duke of York, having given him some claim, though at best a very doubtful one, to the tract included within the limits of Pennsylvania, William Penn, previous to entering himself upon his new possession, obtained from the duke, a full release of all his claims upon the province. This deed was dated the 20th of August, 1682. He also obtained in the same year, by two separate deeds from the duke, a grant of the tract on the Delaware river and bay, commonly termed, the three lower counties, now the State of Delaware. This grant was obtained to secure the free use of the river, and to prevent the trouble which might probably arise from the access to the province being in the possession of another. It conveyed to William Penn the right of soil, for which he agreed to pay to the duke and his heirs, one-half of the rents and profits which he should receive from it. But if there was any political power conveyed, it was rather a consequence of the grant than a part of it. According to the liberal opinions of William Penn in relation to government, that the laws must rule and the people be a party to the law, it seems that the power of government must rest chiefly with the people themselves. Upon this principle, William Penn and the inhabitants of these lower counties appear to have acted. They considered themselves subjects of the British empire, but I do not find that they ever after this time acknowledged any authority in the government of New York, to which previous to this grant these counties were an appendage.

In this year, 1682, the mother of William Penn was removed by death. This event appears to have affected him very closely. Besides the circumstances usually attendant on the maternal relation, she had been peculiarly endeared to him by her tenderness and care in the time of his greatest trials. When exposed to the displeasure of his father on account of his religious principles, she interposed her good offices and relieved his wants from her private purse.

CHAPTER XXI.

William Penn having completed his preparations for a voyage to America, went in the sixth month of this year, on board the ship Welcome, of three hundred tons, Robert Greenaway commander; and on the 30th of the month, addressed a valedictory epistle to his friends in England. He also wrote the following letter to Stephen Crisp, a valuable minister of the Gospel, who travelled and suffered considerably in the service of his Divine Master.

"Dear Stephen Crisp,

"My dear and lasting love in the Lord's everlasting Truth reaches to thee, with whom is my fellowship in the Gospel of peace, that is more dear and precious to my soul than all the treasures and pleasures of this world; for when a few years are passed, we shall all go the way whence we shall never return: and that we may unweariedly serve the Lord in our day and place, and in the end enjoy a portion with the blessed that are at rest, is the breathing of my soul!

"Stephen! we know one another, and I need not say much to thee; but this I will say, thy parting dwells with me, or rather, thy love at my parting. How innocent, how tender, how like the little child that has no guile! The Lord will bless that ground (Pennsylvania). I have also a letter from thee, which comforted me; for many are my tri-

als, yet not more than my supplies from my heavenly Father, whose glory I seek, and the renown of his blessed name. And truly, Stephen, there is work enough, and here is room to work in. Surely God will come in for a share in this planting work, and that leaven shall leaven the lump in time. I do not believe the Lord's providence had run this way towards me, but that he has an heavenly end and service in it: so with him I leave all, and myself, and thee and his dear people, and blessed name on earth.

"God Almighty, immortal and eternal, be with us, that in the body and out of the body we may be his for ever!

"I am, in the ancient dear fellowship,

"Thy faithful friend and brother,

"WILLIAM PENN."

As this voyage and residence in America, were likely to keep him separated from his family, during a considerable time, he left behind him an interesting and instructive address to his wife and children, in relation to their conduct during his absence. This communication is filled with important suggestions upon the economy of life, and is worthy of a careful perusal, notwithstanding its length.

"My dear wife and children,

"My love, which neither sea nor land, nor death itself, can extinguish or lessen toward you, most endearly visits you with eternal embraces, and will abide with you for ever: and may the God of my life watch over you and bless you, and do you good in this world and for ever!—Some things are upon my spirit to leave with you in your respective capacities, as I am to the one a husband, and to the rest a father, if I should never see you more in this world.

"My dear wife, remember thou wast the love of my youth, and much the joy of my life; the most beloved, as well as most worthy of all my earthly comforts: and the reason of that love was more thy inward than thy outward excellencies, which yet were many. God knows, and thou knowest it, I can say it was a match of Providence's making; and God's image in us both was the first thing, and the most amiable and engaging ornament in our eyes. Now I am to leave thee, and that without knowing whether I shall ever see thee more in this world, take my counsel into thy bosom, and let it dwell with thee in my stead while thou livest.

"First: Let the fear of the Lord and a zeal and love to his glory dwell richly in thy heart; and thou wilt watch for good over thyself and thy dear children and family, that no rude, light or bad thing be committed: else God will be offended, and he will repent himself of the good he intends thee and thine.

"Secondly: Be diligent in meetings for worship and business; stir up thyself and others herein; it is thy duty and place: and let meetings be kept once a day in the family to wait upon the Lord, who has given us much time for ourselves. And my dearest, to make thy family matters easy to thee, divide thy time and be regular; it is easy and sweet: thy retirement will afford thee to do it; as in the morning to view the business of the house, and fix it as thou desirest, seeing all be in order; that by thy counsel all may move, and to thee render an account every evening. The time for work, for walking, for meals, may be certain, at least as near as may be: and grieve not thyself with careless servants; they will disorder thee: rather pay them, and let them go, if they will not be better by admonitions: this is best to avoid many words, which I know wound the soul and offend the Lord.

"Thirdly: Cast up thy income, and see what it daily amounts to; by which thou mayest be sure to have it in thy sight and power to keep within compass: and I beseech thee to live low and sparingly, till my debts are paid; and then enlarge as thou seest it convenient. Remember thy mother's example, when thy father's public-spiritedness had worsted his estate, which is my case. I know thou lovest plain things, and art averse to the pomps of the world; a nobility natural to thee. I write not as doubtful, but to quicken thee, for my sake, to be vigilant herein; knowing that God will bless thy care, and thy poor children and thee for it. My mind is wrapt up in a saying of thy father's, 'I desire not riches, but to owe nothing;' and truly that is wealth, and more than enough to live is a snare attended with many sorrows. I need not bid thee be humble, for thou art so; nor meek and patient, for it is much of thy natural disposition: but I pray thee be oft in retirement with the Lord, and guard against encroaching friendships. Keep them at arm's end; for it is giving away our power, aye, and self too, into the possession of another; and that which might seem engaging in the beginning, may prove a yoke and burden too hard and heavy in the end. Wherefore keep dominion over thyself, and let thy children, good meetings and Friends, be the pleasure of thy life.

"Fourthly: And now, my dearest, let me recommend to thy care my dear children; abundantly beloved of me, as the Lord's blessings, and the sweet pledges of our mutual

and endeared affection. Above all things endeavour to breed them up in the love of virtue, and that holy plain way of it which we have lived in, that the world in no part of it get into my family. I had rather they were homely than finely bred as to outward behaviour; yet I love sweetness mixed with gravity, and cheerfulness tempered with sobriety. Religion in the heart leads into this true civility, teaching men and women to be mild and courteous in their behaviour, an accomplishment worthy indeed of praise.

"Fifthly: Next breed them up in a love one of another: tell them it is the charge I left behind me; and that it is the way to have the love and blessing of God upon them; also what his portion is, who hates, or calls his brother fool. Sometimes separate them, but not long; and allow them to send and give each other small things to endear one another with. Once more I say, tell them it was my counsel they should be tender and affectionate one to another. For their learning be liberal. Spare no cost; for by such parsimony all is lost that is saved: but let it be useful knowledge, such as is consistent with Truth and godliness, not cherishing a vain conversation or idle mind; but ingenuity mixed with industry is good for the body and mind too. I recommend the useful parts of mathematics, as building houses or ships, measuring, surveying, dialling, navigation; but agriculture is especially in my eye: let my children be husbandmen and house-wives; it is industrious, healthy, honest and of good example: like Abraham and the holy ancients, who pleased God and obtained a good report. This leads to consider the works of God and nature, of things that are good, and diverts the mind from being taken up with the vain arts and inventions of a luxurious world. It is commendable in the princes of Germany and the nobles of that empire, that they have all their children instructed in some useful occupation. Rather keep an ingenious person in the house to teach them, than send them to schools, too many evil impressions being commonly received there. Be sure to observe their genius, and do not cross it as to learning: let them not dwell too long on one thing; but let their change be agreeable, and all their diversions have some little bodily labour in them. When grown big, have most care for them; for then there are more snares both within and without. When marriageable, see that they have worthy persons in their eye, of good life, and good fame for piety and understanding. I need no wealth, but sufficiency; and be sure their love be dear, fervent and mutual, that it may be happy for them. I choose not they should be married to earthly, covetous kindred. And of cities and towns of concourse beware; the world is apt to stick close to those who have lived and got wealth there: a country life and estate I like best for my children. I prefer a decent mansion, of an hundred pounds per annum, before ten thousand pounds in London, or such like place, in a way of trade. In fine, my dear, endeavour to breed them dutiful to the Lord, and his blessed light, truth and grace in their hearts, who is their Creator, and his fear will grow up with them. Teach a child, says the wise man, the way thou wilt have him to walk, and when he is old he will not forget it. Next, obedience to thee, their dear mother; and that not for wrath, but for conscience-sake; liberal to the poor, pitiful to the miserable, humble and kind to all; and may my God make thee a blessing, and give thee comfort in our dear children; and in age gather thee to the joy and blessedness of the just, where no death shall separate us, for ever!

"And now, my dear children, that are the gifts and mercies of the God of your tender father, hear my counsel, and lay it up in your hearts; love it more than treasure, and follow it, and you shall be blessed here and happy hereafter.

"In the first place, remember your Creator in the days of your youth. It was the glory of Israel in the second of Jeremiah: and how did God bless Josiah because he feared him in his youth! and so he did Jacob, Joseph and Moses. O my dear children, remember, and fear and serve Him who made you and gave you to me and your dear mother; that you may live to him and glorify him in your generations!

"To do this, in your youthful days seek after the Lord, that you may find him; remembering his great love in creating you; that you are not beasts, plants or stones, but that he has kept you, and given you his grace within, and substance without, and provided plentifully for you. This remember in your youth, that you may be kept from the evil of the world: for in age it will be harder to overcome the temptations of it.

"Wherefore, my dear children, eschew the appearance of evil, and love and cleave to that in your hearts which shows you evil from good, and tells you when you do amiss, and reproves you for it. It is the light of Christ that he has given you for your salvation. If you do this and follow my counsel, God will bless you in this world, and give you an inheritance in that which shall never have an end. For the light of Jesus is of a purifying nature; it seasons those who love it and take heed to it; and never leaves such,

till it has brought them to the city of God, that has foundations. O that ye may be seasoned with the gracious nature of it! hide it in your hearts, and flee, my dear children, from all youthful lusts; the vain sports, pastimes and pleasures of the world; redeeming the time, because the days are evil!—You are now beginning to live—what would some give for your time? Oh! I could have lived better, were I, as you, in the flower of youth. Therefore love and fear the Lord, keep close to meetings, and delight to wait on the Lord God of your father and mother, among his despised people, as we have done; and count it your honour to be members of that Society, and heirs of that living fellowship which is enjoyed among them, for the experience of which your father's soul blesseth the Lord for ever.

"Next: be obedient to your dear mother, a woman whose virtue and good name is an honour to you; for she hath been exceeded by none in her time for her plainness, integrity, industry, humanity, virtue and good understanding; qualities not usual among women of her worldly condition and quality. Therefore honour and obey her, my dear children, as your mother, and your father's love and delight; nay love her too, for she loved your father with a deep and upright love, choosing him before all her many suitors: and though she be of a delicate constitution and noble spirit, yet she descended to the utmost tenderness and care for you, performing the painfulest acts of service to you in your infancy, as a mother and a nurse too. I charge you, before the Lord, honour and obey, love and cherish your dear mother.

"Next: betake yourselves to some honest, industrious course of life, and that not of sordid covetousness, but for example and to avoid idleness. And if you change your condition and marry, choose, with the knowledge and consent of your mother if living, or of guardians, or those that have the charge of you. Mind neither beauty nor riches, but the fear of the Lord, and a sweet and amiable disposition, such as you can love above all this world, and that may make your habitations pleasant and desirable to you.

"And being married, be tender, affectionate, patient and meek. Live in the fear of the Lord, and he will bless you and your offspring. Be sure to live within compass; borrow not, neither be beholden to any. Ruin not yourselves by kindness to others; for that exceeds the due bounds of friendship, neither will a true friend expect it. Small matters I heed not.

"Let your industry and parsimony go no further than for a sufficiency for life, and to make a provision for your children, and that in moderation, if the Lord gives you any. I charge you help the poor and needy; let the Lord have a voluntary share of your income for the good of the poor, both in our Society and others; for we are all his creatures; remembering that 'he that giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord.'

"Know well your in-comings, and your out-goings may be better regulated. Love not money nor the world: use them only, and they will serve you; but if you love them you serve them, which will debase your spirits as well as offend the Lord.

"Pity the distressed, and hold out a hand of help to them; it may be your case; and as you mete to others God will mete to you again.

"Be humble and gentle in your conversation; of few words, I charge you; but always pertinent when you speak, hearing out before you attempt to answer, and then speaking as if you would persuade, not impose.

"Affront none, neither revenge the affronts that are done to you; but forgive and you shall be forgiven of your heavenly Father.

"In making friends consider well first; and when you are fixed be true, not wavering by reports nor deserting in affliction, for that becomes not the good and virtuous.

"Watch against anger, neither speak nor act in it; for, like drunkenness, it makes a man a beast, and throws people into desperate inconveniences.

"Avoid flatterers, for they are thieves in disguise; their praise is costly, designing to get by those they bespeak; they are the worst of creatures; they lie to flatter, and flatter to cheat; and which is worse, if you believe them you cheat yourselves most dangerously. But the virtuous, though poor, love, cherish and prefer. Remember David, who asking the Lord, 'Who shall abide in thy tabernacle? who shall dwell upon thy holy hill?' answers, 'He that walketh uprightly, worketh righteousness, and speaketh the truth in his heart; in whose eyes the vile person is contemned, but honoureth them that fear the Lord.'

"Next, my children, be temperate in all things; in your diet, for that is physic by prevention; it keeps, nay, it makes people healthy, and their generation sound. This is exclusive of the spiritual advantage it brings. Be also plain in your apparel; keep out that lust which reigns too much over some; let your virtues be your ornaments, remembering life is more than food, and the body than raiment. Let your furniture be simple and cheap. Avoid pride, avarice and luxury. Read my 'No Cross, no Crown.' There is instruction. Make your conversation with

the most eminent for wisdom and piety; and shun all wicked men as you hope for the blessing of God and the comfort of your father's living and dying prayers. Be sure you speak no evil of any, no, not of the meanest; much less of your superiors, as magistrates, guardians, tutors, teachers and elders in Christ.

"Be no busy-bodies; meddle not with other folks' matters, but when in conscience and duty prest; for it procures trouble, and is ill manners, and very unseemly to wise men.

"In your families remember Abraham, Moses and Joshua, their integrity to the Lord; and do as you have them for your examples.

"Let the fear and service of the living God be encouraged in your houses, and that plainness, sobriety and moderation in all things as becometh God's chosen people; and as I advise you, my beloved children, do you counsel yours, if God should give you any. Yea, I counsel and command them as my posterity, that they love and serve the Lord God with an upright heart, that he may bless you and yours from generation to generation.

"And as for you, who are likely to be concerned in the government of Pennsylvania and my parts of East-Jersey, especially the first, I do charge you, before the Lord God and his holy angels, that you be lowly, diligent and tender, fearing God, loving the people and hating covetousness. Let justice have its impartial course, and the law free passage. Though to your loss, protect no man against it; for you are not above the law, but the law above you. Live therefore the lives yourselves you would have the people live, and then you have right and boldness to punish the transgressor. Keep upon the square, for God sees you: therefore do your duty, and be sure you see with your own eyes, and hear with your own ears. Entertain no lurchers, cherish no informers for gain or revenge; use no tricks; fly to no devices to support or cover injustice; but let your hearts be upright before the Lord, trusting in him above the contrivances of men, and none shall be able to hurt or supplant.

"Oh! the Lord is a strong God, and he can do whatsoever he pleases; and though men consider it not, it is the Lord that rules and over-rules in the kingdoms of men, and he builds up and pulls down. I, your father, am the man that can say, He that trusts in the Lord, shall not be confounded. But God, in due time, will make his enemies be at peace with him.

"If you thus behave yourselves, and so become a terror to evil-doers and a praise to them that do well, God, my God, will be with you in wisdom and a sound mind, and make you blessed instruments in his hand for the settlement of some of those desolate parts of the world, which my soul desires above all worldly honours and riches, both for you that go and you that stay; you that govern and you that are governed; that in the end you may be gathered with me to the rest of God.

"Finally, my children, love one another with a true endeared love, and your dear relations on both sides, and take care to preserve tender affection in your children to each other, often marrying within themselves, so as it be without the bounds forbidden in God's law, that so they may not, like the forgetting unnatural world, grow out of kindred and as cold as strangers; but as becomes a truly natural and Christian stock, you and yours after you may live in the pure and fervent love of God towards one another, as becometh brethren in the spiritual and natural relation.

"So, my God, that hath blessed me with his abundant mercies, both of this and the other and blessed life, be with you all, guide you by his counsel, bless you and bring you to his eternal glory! that you may shine, my dear children, in the firmament of God's power, with the blessed spirits of the just, that celestial family, praising and admiring him, the God and Father of it, for ever. For there is no God like unto him; the God of Isaac and of Jacob, the God of the prophets, the apostles and martyrs of Jesus, in whom I live for ever.

"So farewell to my thrice dearly beloved wife and children!

"Yours, as God pleaseth, in that which no waters can quench, no time forget, nor distance wear away, but remains for ever,

"WILLIAM PENN.

"Worminghurst, 4th of Sixth month, 1682."

The Welcome proceeded to sea about the beginning of the seventh month (September). The number of passengers, who were chiefly Friends, was about one hundred. But they had not been long on the ocean, before the small-pox broke out among them, and carried off thirty of their number before it disappeared. In this trying situation, William Penn administered to the sick every comfort in his power, both by his personal assistance and his religious admonitions. The voyage in other respects was prosperous, and in about six weeks, they came in sight of the American shore. They soon afterwards entered the Delaware, and on the 24th of the eighth month, landed at New Castle.

As he sailed up the river, the inhabitants, consisting of English, Dutch and Swedes, met the proprietary, and manifested their satisfaction with his arrival. The town of New-Castle, where he first landed, was originally commenced and at the time of his landing principally occupied by the Dutch. It was first called Fort Cassimir, subsequently Delaware town, and finally designated by the name which it now bears. There was a court house in the town, to which on the day after his arrival, he invited the principal inhabitants of the place and its vicinity. Possession of the territory was there taken in due form; after which he addressed the magistrates and people, explaining the design of his coming among them, his views of the nature and end of government; with an assurance of the free enjoyment of their civil and religious rights—and an admonition to live in sobriety and peace. He then renewed the commissions of the magistrates.*

Having arranged his concerns at New-Castle, he soon afterwards proceeded to Uplands. The name of this place was then changed to Chester, in compliment to one of the companions of his voyage, who emigrated from Chester in England. An assembly was convened at that place consisting of an equal number from the province and territories. It was not composed of members elected for the purpose, but of such freemen as chose to attend. The session lasted but three days, yet some legislation of great importance to the colonists was effected. 1. An act was passed for the union of the province and territories. 2. An act to naturalize the Dutch, Swedes, and other foreigners then residing within the province and territories.† 3. The laws agreed upon in England, were, with some alterations and additions, accepted and confirmed.

These laws are understood to have been chiefly the work of William Penn, and manifest a particular anxiety to preserve the rights of conscience unimpaired, and to maintain a sound morality in this growing community.

The preamble was in the following words: "Whereas the glory of God Almighty, and the good of mankind, is the reason and end of government; and, therefore government itself, is a valuable ordinance of God; and forasmuch as it is principally desired and intended by the proprietary and governor, and freemen of the province of Pennsylvania, and territories thereto belonging, to make and establish such laws as shall best preserve true Christian and civil liberty, in opposition to all unchristian, licentious and unjust practices, whereby God may have his due, Cæsar his due, and the people their due, from tyranny and oppresssion on the one side, and insolence and licentiousness on the other; so that the best and firmest foundation may be laid, for the present and future happiness of both the governor and the people of this province and territories aforesaid, and their posterity; Be it enacted," &c.

The first of these laws was to the following import: "Almighty God being the Lord of conscience, Father of lights, and the author as well as object of all Divine knowledge, faith and worship; who only can enlighten the mind and convince the understanding of people in due reverence to his sovereignty over the souls of mankind, be it enacted, that no person now or hereafter residing in this province, who shall confess one Almighty God, to be the Creator, Upholder, and Ruler of the world, and profess himself obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly, under the civil government, shall in any wise be molested or prejudiced on account of his conscientious persuasion, or practice; nor shall he be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place or ministry, contrary to his mind, but shall freely enjoy his liberty in that respect, without interruption or reflection. And if any person shall abuse or deride another, for his different persuasion or practice in religion, such shall

*This circumstance is a clear indication, that if the power of government was not expressly granted, it was understood as connected with the grant of the territory. For it is not doing justice to the wisdom or integrity of William Penn, to suppose that he would signalize his arrival in America, by an act of usurpation.

† It may be recollected that the first Europeans who settled on the Delaware, were Swedes and Dutch, principally the former; and that in 1665, the latter obtained the complete ascendency. In 1664, these settlements, were subjected to the authority of the British crown. One of the articles of capitulation, was that whoever should take the oaths of allegiance, to the king of Great Britain, should be from that time a free *denizen*, and enjoy all the privileges of trading in any of the king's dominions, as freely as any Englishman. A denizen however, according to English law, is in a kind of middle state, between an alien and a natural born subject. He may take lands by purchase or devise, which an alien cannot, but he cannot take by inheritance. In Great Britain, naturalization is effected only by act of parliament. By an act passed in the reign of James the First, no person could be naturalized without taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and receiving the sacrament of the Lord's supper. See Blackstone, Vol. I. 374. Hence we see the reason, why an act of naturalization was judged necessary to entitle the Dutch and Swedish inhabitants of the province and territories, to the full enjoyment of all their civil rights.

be looked upon as disturbers of the peace and be punished accordingly."

The officers of the government, were required to be such as professed faith in Jesus Christ. Scandalous vices of every description were prohibited, and provision made for training children to business, to prevent beggary and pauperism.

In the criminal code then established, a provision was introduced which had previously been but little regarded in the administration of jurisprudence. The reformation of the criminals, as well as deterring others from the commission of crimes, was viewed as an important object of attention. Hence the prisons were required to be considered as workshops, where the offenders might be industriously, soberly and morally employed.

Before the assembly broke up, which they did on the 7th of tenth month, they returned their grateful acknowledgments to the governor: the Swedes deputed an individual to assure him, that they would love, serve and obey him, with all they possessed.

It appears that previous to the meeting of this assembly, William Penn paid a visit, in part at least of a religious character, to New-York, Long Island, and East Jersey, of which nothing but a brief notice remains. Shortly after its dissolution, he repaired to Maryland, where he was kindly received by Lord Baltimore, and the principal inhabitants of that colony. One object of this visit, was to settle with Lord Baltimore, the boundaries of their respective colonies; but two days having been spent in the discussion of the subject, with very little prospect of a speedy adjustment of their adverse claims, and the winter coming on, they agreed to meet in the ensuing spring. When he was about returning to Pennsylvania, Lord Baltimore accompanied him several miles on his way. From this circumstance we may infer, that the conference between them was amicably conducted, and that they parted in a friendly manner. After taking leave of Lord Baltimore, he proceeded to a meeting of Friends, which was held at the house of Thomas Hooker, and from thence to an appointed one, at Choptank, on the eastern side of the Chesapeake bay, which was attended by persons of divers ranks and qualities. Of this visit to Maryland, and the previous one to New-York, he briefly states in a letter to one of his friends, that he had had good and eminent service for the Lord. Thus it appears that amidst the cares of his new political station, he was sedulously engaged in the exercise of his ministerial gift.

In a letter dated at Chester, on the 29th of tenth month of this year, he observed that he was much satisfied with his place and portion; yet busy enough, having much to do to please all; and yet to have an eye to those who were not there to please themselves. After mentioning a number of advantages which the place afforded, he added, "in fine, here is what an Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, would be well contented with; and service enough for God, for the fields are white for harvest. O! how sweet is the quiet of these parts, freed from the anxious and troublesome solicitations, heresies and perplexities of woeful Europe."

"Blessed be the Lord, of twenty-three ships none miscarried; only two or three had the small pox; else healthy and quick passages, generally such as had not been known; some but twenty-eight days, and few longer than six weeks. Blessed be God for it, who is good to us, and follows with his abundant kindness; my soul fervently breathes, that in his heavenly guiding wisdom, we may be kept; that we may serve him in our day and lay down our heads in peace."

We have abundant evidence, that the toils and cares which William Penn encountered in the settlement of Pennsylvania, and the establishment of the government, were not submitted to for the gratification of a worldly ambition, or the promotion of his personal interests; but that the advancement of the cause of universal righteousness, and the increase of happiness to the human family, were the primary and principal objects of these arduous engagements. The following letter, addressed to a person who had cast some unkind reflections upon him, affords a forcible exposition of his motives and labours.

"My old friend, **********

"I COULD speak largely of God's dealings with me in getting this thing. What an inward exercise of faith and patience it cost me in passing. The travail was mine, as well as the debt and cost, through the envy of many, both professors, false friends and profane. My God hath given it me in the face of the world, and it is to hold it in true judgment, as a reward of my sufferings, and that is seen here, whatever some despisers may say or think. The place God hath given me, and I never felt judgment for the power I kept, but trouble for what I parted with. It is more than a worldly title or patent, that hath clothed me in this place.—Keep thy place: I am in mine, and have served the God of the whole earth, since I have been in it; nor am I sitting down in a greatness, that I have denied. I am day and night spending my life, my time, my money, and am not six-pence enriched by this greatness. Costs in getting, settling, transportation, and maintenance, now in a public manner at

my own charge duly considered; to say nothing of my hazard, and the distance I am at from a considerable estate, and which is more, my dear wife and poor children.

"Well,—the Lord is a God of righteous judgment. Had I sought greatness, I had stayed at home, where the difference between what I am here and was offered, and could have been there in power and wealth, is as wide as the places are. No, I came for the Lord's sake, and therefore have I stood to this day, well and diligent, and successful, blessed be his power. Nor shall I trouble myself to tell thee what I am to the people of this place, in travails, watchings, spendings, and my servants every way, freely, (not like a selfish man) I have many witnesses. To conclude, it is now in Friends' hands. Through my travail, faith and patience it came. If Friends here keep to God, and in the justice, mercy, equity and fear of the Lord, their enemies will be their footstool. If not, their heirs and my heirs too will lose all, and desolation will follow; but blessed be the Lord, we are well and live in the dear love of God, and the fellowship of his tender heavenly Spirit, and our faith is for ourselves and one another, that the Lord will be with us a King, and a Counsellor for ever.

"Thy ancient, though grieved friend,

"William Penn.

"Chester, 5th of the Twelfth month, 1682."

In the autumn of this year, but whether previously to his visit to Maryland, or not, is a little doubtful, was held at Shackamaxon, the celebrated treaty with the Indians. It is a subject of regret, that so little information which can be entirely relied upon, in relation to this treaty, now remains. It is generally agreed, that it was held in the year 1682, under an elm tree, within the present limits of Kensington. But no record can now be found, which clearly establishes its date. The subject has recently claimed the attention of the Pennsylvania Historical Society; and a committee of their body have given an opinion, founded on the best testimony within their reach, that the treaty was held immediately after William Penn's visit to New-York and Long Island, and consequently before the session of the legislature at Chester. The circumstances, as well as the date of this treaty, are involved in obscurity. The records of it appear to have been lost. The accounts which historians have given of the proceedings and speeches of the governor, appear to have been chiefly derived from tradition. It appears probable that it was a treaty of friendship and peace, and not an agreement for the purchase of land.

At a treaty held at Conestogo, in 1728, between Governor Gordon and the chiefs of several nations of Indians, who then resided on the Susquehanna, the governor addressed the Indians to the following import:

"My brethren! You have been faithful to your leagues with us! * * * * * Your leagues with William Penn and his governors are in writing on record, that our children and our children's children may have them in everlasting remembrance. And we know that you preserve the memory of those things amongst you, by telling them to your children, and they again to the next generation; so that they remain stamped on your minds, never to be forgotten. The chief heads or strongest links of this chain, I find are these nine, to wit:

"1st. That all William Penn's people or Christians, and all the Indians should be brethren, as the children of one father, joined together as with one heart, one head, and one body.

"2nd. That all paths should be open and free to both Christians and Indians.

"3d. That the doors of the Christians' houses should be open to the Indians, and the houses of the Indians open to the Christians, and that they should make each other welcome as their friends.

"4th. That the Christians should not believe any false rumours or reports of the Indians, nor the Indians believe any such rumours or reports of the Christians, but should first come as brethren to inquire of each other; and that both Christians and Indians, when they have any such false reports of their brethren, they should bury them as in a bottomless pit.

"5th. That if the Christians heard any ill-news, that may be to the hurt of the Indians, or the Indians hear any such ill-news, that may be to the injury of the Christians, they should acquaint each other with it speedily, as true friends and brethren.

"6th. That the Indians should do no manner of harm to the Christians, nor to their creatures, nor the Christians do any hurt to the Indians, but each treat the other as brethren.

"7th. But as there are wicked people in all nations, if either Indians or Christians should do any harm to each other, complaint should be made of it by the persons suffering, that right might be done, and when satisfaction is made, the injury or wrong should be forgot, and be buried as in the bottomless pit.

"8th. That the Indians should in all things assist the Christians, and the Christians assist the Indians against all wicked people that would disturb them.

"9th. And lastly, that both Christians and Indians should acquaint their children with this league and firm chain of friendship made between them, and that it should always be made stronger and stronger, and be kept bright and clean without rust or spot, between our children and children's children while the creeks and rivers run, and while the sun, moon and stars endure.

"This is the only authentic account that we possess of the stipulations of the great treaty, and we are by no means satisfied with it. It appears to us to have been mutilated, as it contains but very general promises of hospitality, kindness and good neighbourhood, between the Indians and whites; we do not find in it the engagement mentioned in Mr. Clarkson's relation, and confirmed by the speech of Civility to Governor Keith, nor the answer to the latter, that the lands should be held in common between the two nations, nor, as Mr. Clarkson relates, that the Indians and the whites should have the same liberty to do all things relating to the improvement of their grounds, and providing sustenance for their families; this last covenant is vaguely and obscurely expressed by the second article 'that all paths should be open and free to both Christians and Indians.' This we have no doubt was explained by the founder, otherwise than by an Indian metaphor, which in our language may receive any interpretation. Indeed Governor Gordon does not pretend that the nine articles contain all the covenants between William Penn and the Indians; he only says they are the principal ones. It is much to be regretted that he did not give the whole; but as he did not choose to do so, we are obliged to make up the deficiency from other sources, which we think may be done by taking together these nine articles, with the conference between Civility [an Indian chief,] and Governor Keith, and Mr. Clarkson's relation, from all which we may obtain a pretty correct idea of the stipulations of the great treaty.

"The most important part of the speech of Governor Gordon, is his acknowledgment that the leagues, as he calls them, between the governors of Pennsylvania and the Indians, are in writing on record. What has become of those records? They are not to be found in the minutes of the Provincial Council at Harrisburg; yet we know they have existed, and the question recurs, where are they?

"It has been suggested, that the last Provincial governors, on leaving Pennsylvania, have carried with them a great number of valuable records: we believe this to be a base and unfounded calumny, and the best proof we can give of it, is that several valuable documents, which, under the colonial government must have made part of the public archives, have been found here in private hands, and there can be no doubt but that much dilapidation did take place, on the change of government, and at the frequent removals of the state authorities. It is possible, however, that the proprietary family may have retained some papers, which they thought interesting only to themselves, as evidences of the noble conduct and admirable life of their great ancestor: if such should be the case, we have no doubt that our venerated friend and philanthropist, Granville Penn, Esq.,* will freely communicate those documents to this society, whose views and feelings he well knows to be congenial with his own.

"The point that we have found the most difficult to settle in the course of this investigation, is the precise date of the great treaty; and we are by no means certain that we have succeeded in discovering it; certainly not to a day, or even a week. We will, however, freely communicate the result of our researches.

"The ambiguity of the language of Mr. Proud, of which we have above taken notice, has induced a general belief that this treaty was made after the return of William Penn from his visit to Lord Baltimore. But we have many reasons that induce us to believe that the treaty was made before that period. When William Penn came here, he had six objects principally in view, and to which his first attention was to be directed. They were—

"1. To organize his government.

"2. To visit his co-religionists on the shores of the Delaware in Pennsylvania and New-Jersey.

"3. To conciliate the Indians.

"4. To pay his respects to the governor of New-York, who had had the command over Pennsylvania.

"5. To fix upon a proper spot to build his capital city.

"6. To visit Lord Baltimore, with whom he had differences respecting the limits of his province.

"It is to be remarked, and much to the honour of our great founder, that if the treaty took place before his journey to Baltimore, he accomplished all these things in little more than two months; for in January, he had been at New-York and Maryland; had visited his friends on the way; he had organized his government and held an assembly at Chester, and his city of Philadelphia was located, and buildings begun to be erected upon it. This

* Who is the only surviving grand-son of our illustrious founder.

is a trait of his character that well deserves to be noticed.

"Among those objects, that of conciliating the Indians was by no means the least important: and it is not to be presumed that William Penn postponed it to the last. For, after his return from Maryland, every thing else was done that we have mentioned. He had organized his government at Chester, in December; he had before that visited New-York and New-Jersey, and on the way, no doubt, his friends on the Delaware; he had fixed upon the site of his new city, and had it located and surveyed; in short all that remained was to treat with the Indians, and it would have been bad policy in him to have neglected them to the last moment. We cannot, therefore, suppose that he did so.

"Another reason is, that on his return from Maryland, the winter had already set in, and it was a bad season to hold a treaty in the open air. If he could have done otherwise, he would not surely have chosen it. Now, he tells us himself that he met Lord Baltimore at West river, on the 19th of December. We learn from other sources, that after a conference of three days, Lord Baltimore accompanied him on a visit to different parts of Maryland, and particularly to Choptank, on the other side of the bay, where there was a meeting of the principal persons in the colony. All this must have taken time, and we do not find him returned to Chester, until the 29th of that month, which we learn by a letter which he wrote from thence to a friend under that date. The treaty, then, according to that supposition, must have been held in January, too late in the season, we should think, if it could have been done before. It is true that he describes that winter as pleasant, when compared with the same season in England. With that comparison we have nothing to do, but at the same time he says that it was the coldest winter that was known in this country within the memory of the oldest settlers, which must carry us back to a period of at least forty years. The cold must have been, therefore, very intense, and the season not very eligible for holding a treaty in the open air, on the banks of the Delaware, under an elm-tree.

"Mr. Gordon, in one of the notes to his History of Pennsylvania, states that the Indians, at a conference with Governor Keith, in 1722, exhibited the roll of parchment containing the treaty, (meaning the great treaty of 1682;) and it would seem, continues he, that a copy of the conference, at least, held at the making of this treaty, was once in the office of the secretary of this commonwealth, since Mr. R. Conyngham assures us that he discovered an envelope in a bundle of papers there, relating to the Shawanese Indians, with the following endorsement: 'Minutes of the Indian Conference in relation to the great Treaty made with William Penn, at the Big Tree, Shackamaxon, on the 14th of the tenth month, 1682.'

"We have written to Mr. Conyngham to obtain from him more particular information upon the subject, and here is his answer, dated the 12th of March last:

"The endorsement on the envelope which you found in page 603, of Gordon's History of Pennsylvania, is a faithful copy of the original (I believe) at Harrisburg. I made some inquiry as to the circumstance of its being thus found in the closet, and received the following information. Some years since, the Indian treaties were transcribed in a book for their better preservation, and this envelope of one of them was carefully folded up, and placed in the closet with the historical papers. The Indian treaty said to have been contained in this envelope, is dated* June 15th, 1682, and was the result of a conference held under the elm-tree at Shackamaxon, between William Markham, the commissioners of William Penn (William Crispin, John Bezar and Nathaniel Allen) and the Shackamaxine tribes of Indians. The treaty was in the open air, but signed* in Captain Lassee Cocke's house, fronting the Delaware, in Shackamaxon. The land granted was to begin at a white oak, on the ground in the tenure of John Wood, called by him Grey Stones.† The minutes of the conference in June, and also those of the conference in December, 1682, are not to be found.

"From the facts above stated, Mr. Conyngham has concluded that the great treaty was held on the 14th of December, 1682, and others have shared in his opinion. We would not object to that date, if it was not proved by William Penn himself to be impossible. In his letter to the lords of plantations above cited, he tells us that the 19th of December was the day agreed upon between him and Lord Baltimore for their meeting at West river, on the western shore of Maryland. In the same letter, almost in the same breath, he says—'The 11th of the month I came to West river, where I met the proprietor, attended suitably to his character.' This at first appears contradictory, but it may be

*This, we presume, was the language of the clerks at Harrisburg, but it can mean nothing else than that the deed for the lands was executed at the house of Lassee Cocke, which is very probable.

†This is the description of the Pennsbury tract, and therefore must refer to Markham's purchase.

easily reconciled, by supposing that William Penn, who wrote a great deal, and was not very particular in the selection of his words, made use of the word came instead of went or set out for, a grammatical error not uncommon among fast speakers and fast writers. West river, twelve miles below Annapolis, lies at a considerable distance from Philadelphia, and the journey must have been performed by water as well as by land. It is natural to suppose, that anxious to be at the appointed place on the 19th, the day agreed upon, and considering the season, the uncertainty of the winds, the badness of the roads, and all the circumstances that might have impeded his progress, he chose to set out with his retinue in sufficient time to meet and overcome all the impediments that he might find on the road, and a week was not too long a time for that purpose. If, as he tells us, he left Philadelphia on the 11th, he must have been on the 14th on his way to Maryland, and could not have been at Shackamaxon to treat with the Indians. We must, therefore, reject that date, the envelope notwithstanding.

"We then consider ourselves at liberty to fix the epoch of the great treaty, at such time as we shall think most consistent with probability, and we believe that to be on his return from New-York, about the latter end of November. The season was then beautiful, as is generally the fall season in our country. His journey lasted about a month, and he had sufficient time to go to New-York and Long Island, visit his friends on the way in Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, and treat with the Indians on his return. On his departure from New-Castle, his friend Markham had full time to give notice to the chiefs to meet him at Shackamaxon; in short, by adopting this period, we find ourselves free from the objections that meet us at every step in choosing any other. It is possible that documents may yet be discovered, which will induce us to alter this opinion; but until then we do not think that we can offer a better.

"As to the Indian tribes that met William Penn, at this famous treaty, our opinion is that they were those called the River Indians, chiefly if not all, of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware stock. To these must be added the Mingoes and other Susquehanna tribes, who came to solicit his protection; they must have formed, together, a very respectable assemblage.

"Of the ceremonies of the treaty, we have a full and very satisfactory account by William Penn himself, in his letter to the free traders, leaving out only what relates to the purchase of lands. It is the form in which the Indians hold their most solemn treaties and conferences. The same is also described by Campanius, and by other writers.

"It will be in vain to look for a record of this treaty and of the stipulations that it contained, elsewhere than in the minutes of that conference, if ever they should chance to be discovered. It is certain that they have existed, and that they were in the possession of Governor Gordon in 1728, otherwise he could not have cited from them literally nine articles, which it is impossible not to believe to have been a part of the great treaty.

"But no one must expect ever to see a parchment roll signed and executed by all the parties. It was not the way in which treaties were made at that time, or at any time with the Indians. They could neither read nor write; they trusted to our records and their own strong retentive memories, assisted by means peculiar to them. We regret that we cannot make a more splendid display on this occasion. We leave that to the painter and to the poet, who, no doubt, will for a long time hereafter employ their pencil and their pen to this noble theme. We hope that the memory of the great treaty, and of our illustrious founder, will remain engraved on the memory of our children and our children's children to the end of time."

This imperfect account of the great treaty, the best now upon record, serves to show that the conditions were faithfully observed by the Indians. It also indicates that a record of it was then in existence. It was mentioned about the middle of last century, by Voltaire, as the only treaty that had been made between the Indians and Christians, which was not ratified by an oath; and was never infringed. This intercourse thus begun with the native inhabitants of the country, and the extraordinary kindness uniformly manifested towards them, produced in their minds a feeling of uncommon veneration for him, and secured the peace of the province during the life of William Penn, and for several years after his death. The peaceable manner in which the first settlement of Pennsylvania was effected, and the friendship established and maintained with the native inhabitants, as long as the principles of William Penn and his coadjutors were permitted to govern the councils of the province, may be fairly considered as having settled the question whether the intercourse of nations could be carried on without the aid of military force. The people among whom the first settlers in Pennsylvania erected their peaceful habitations, were inured to the chase, an occupation more nearly allied, than any other, to war, and they were not only destitute of the arts of civilized life, but ignorant of

the principles and doctrines of Christianity. If the strict observance of justice, and a conduct uniformly pacific, could preserve the relations of friendship and peace with such a people, it is a libel on the religion which we profess, to deny that the same relations might be maintained among Christians, by similar means. And when we observe the rapid advances of Pennsylvania in population and wealth, we must admit that the experiment of William Penn has sufficiently proved the superiority of the pacific policy, when viewed as a question of political expediency, above that usually adopted.

It is true, that William Penn was not the only one, nor the first, who obtained possession of the Indian lands by purchase. The example had been set in Massachusetts, New-York, Maryland, New-Jersey, and by the Dutch, Swedes and Fins, on the Delaware. It does not, however, appear, that in any other colony, was so favourable and permanent an impression made, upon the original inhabitants, as in Pennsylvania. And it is not unreasonable to suppose, that if William Penn could have seen his way clear to settle himself and his family permanently in Pennsylvania, at the time of his first visit; to have superintended in person, the intercourse between the new settlers and the native inhabitants, and to have added the influence of his character and religious weight, to the efforts which were made to enlighten the minds and improve the condition of these people, that the soil of Pennsylvania, might, at this day, have contained no inconsiderable number of its native occupants, enjoying the comforts of civilized life, and the benefits of the Christian religion. It is cause of poignant regret, that the settlement of the Europeans in their vicinity, instead of extending the benefits of civilization and Christianity, among the untutored inhabitants of the wilderness, should be the signal for their extinction. Even in Pennsylvania, notwithstanding the prohibitory laws of the founder, the sale of spirituous liquors to the Indians, was prosecuted to a considerable extent, and was attended with its usual deteriorating consequences.*

One of the objects of attention with William Penn, before the end of the year 1682, was to lay out the principal town of the province. The situation chosen for this purpose, was remarkably favourable. The name assigned to this new capital of the province, was expressive of the principles of its founder. The Indian name of the place where that city now stands was Coaquannock.

So favourable an opinion was entertained of the country assigned to William Penn, and of the character of its proprietor, that within little more than a year after the arrangements were made for settling it, between twenty and thirty vessels arrived with emigrants, amounting collectively, to more than two thousand individuals. A large part of these, were members of the religious Society of Friends. They had left their own country, to avoid the vexations and vices of Europe, that they might lead quiet and peaceable lives, and worship God according to their conscientious persuasion. The diffusion of the doctrines of Christianity among the ancient inhabitants of the land, appears to have been one of the objects in view, with these early settlers in Pennsylvania. Though these emigrants were not generally rich, yet many of them possessed considerable estates, and were persons of good education. They were mostly sober, industrious people, of reputable characters, well qualified to advance the interests of this rising

* The most formidable evil visited upon the Indians, and flowing from their connection with the Europeans, was the introduction of ardent spirits. That terrible agent did not fail to ensnare the unreflecting Indian, and feeding the fierce passions of his unsubdued nature, fitted him for every atrocity, and made him the prey of every evil artifice. The indulgence in the use of inebriating draughts, had, moreover, the effect to introduce physical maladies before unknown among them, and to subject them to outrage and wrong in the disposal of their lands and commodities; in short, that liquid fire threatened with swift destruction to sweep them from the face of the earth.

To protect the natives from these fearful consequences, the wise and virtuous lawgiver of Pennsylvania saw, on his arrival, the necessity of interposing his authority to correct mischiefs which had existed antecedent to his possession of the province; he therefore, in 1682, declared and enacted, that, "Whereas, divers persons, as English, Dutch, Swedes, &c., have been wont to sell to the Indians, rum and brandy, and such like distilled spirits, though they know the said Indians are not able to govern themselves in the use thereof, but do commonly drink of it to such excess as makes themselves destroy one another, and grievously annoy and disquiet the people of this province, and peradventure, those of neighbouring governments, whereby they may make the poor natives worse, and not better, for coming among them, which is an heinous offence to God, and a reproach to the blessed name of Christ and his holy religion; it is, therefore, enacted, that no person within this province, do henceforth presume to sell or exchange any rum or brandy, or any other liquors, at any time, to any Indian within this province; and if any one shall offend therein, the person so convicted, shall, for every such offence, pay five pounds." The same subject claimed the attention of the Yearly Meeting of Friends, in 1685, and 1687, and advice correspondent with the efforts of the proprietary, were issued to the members of that Society.

colony. As they arrived in succession, they were kindly received and assisted by those who were there before them; and scattering along the Delaware, as choice or convenience suggested, the country was thinly peopled from the falls, at Trenton, to Chester. The inhabitants, including the Dutch and Swedes, who had been long resident in the country, are computed at the time to which we have arrived, to be about four thousand; so that William Penn may be said to have raised up a colony at once, in his new domains.

It may be readily conjectured, that the establishment of meetings for Divine worship, and the preservation of order, would early occupy the attention of the settlers in Pennsylvania. We accordingly find, that before the arrival of William Penn, a meeting of Friends was held at Shackamaxon, and that in 1682, a meeting was held in a frame house erected for the purpose, within the present limits of Philadelphia.* A meeting of the Society appears to have been held at Uplands, Chester, several years before the arrival of William Penn, and at that place a meeting of record, probably the first in the province, was held as early as 1681. A meeting was settled at Darby, in 1682.

In the course of the year 1682, and the two following ones, great numbers of emigrants arrived from England, Ireland, Wales, Holland and Germany, who extended their settlements into the interior of the country. The Welsh settled on both sides of the Schuylkill, and have left in the names of the townships, Merion, Haverford, Radnor, Tredyffin, Gwynedd, &c., a lasting memorial of their original locations. Among the emigrants from Germany, were a number of Friends, formerly inhabitants of Crisheim in the Palatinate, among whom William Penn had travelled in the service of the Gospel during the year 1677. They formed the flourishing settlement of Germantown; and by their opportune removal to the asylum which was provided for them, escaped the calamity which a few years afterward overtook their native land, when Louis XIV., in the wantonness of power, desolated the Palatinate with fire and sword.

During the year 1683, William Penn appears to have been occupied with the secular concerns of the province. A session of the legislature was held at Philadelphia, the members being chosen as representatives of the freemen and acting on their behalf. A new charter was granted to the inhabitants by the proprietary. Very considerable progress was made in the building of the new city, so that by the end of the year, no fewer than an hundred houses had made their appearance. The land in the vicinity was in places cleared and brought into cultivation; and the grains of Europe were beginning to flourish on the virgin soil of Pennsylvania. A letter written a number of years afterwards, by one of the companions of William Penn, describing the situation of the colony at this time, is deemed on account of its native and beautiful simplicity, not unworthy a place in these memoirs.

"After our arrival," says he, "we found it a wilderness. The chief inhabitants were Indians and some Swedes, who received us in a friendly manner; and though there was a great number of us, the good hand of Providence was seen in a particular manner, in that provisions were found for us by the Swedes and Indians at very reasonable rates, as well as brought from divers other parts that were inhabited before.

"After some time I set up a mill on Chester creek, which I brought ready framed from London, which served for grinding of corn and sawing of boards, and was of great use to us. Besides, with Joshua Tittery, I made a net, and caught great quantities of fish, which supplied ourselves and many others; so that, notwithstanding it was thought near three thousand persons came in the first year, we were so providentially provided for, that we could buy a deer for about two shillings, and a large turkey for about a shilling, and Indian corn for about two shillings and sixpence per bushel.

"And as our worthy proprietor treated the Indians with extraordinary humanity, they became very civil and loving to us, and brought us in abundance of venison. As in other countries the Indians were exasperated by hard treatment, which hath been the foundation of much bloodshed, so the contrary treatment here hath produced their love and affection.

"After our arrival there came in about twenty families from High and Low Germany of religious good people, who settled about six miles from Philadelphia, and called the place Germantown. About the time when Germantown was laid out, I settled upon my tract of land, which I had bought of the proprietor in England, about a mile from thence, where I set up a house and corn-mill, which was very useful to the country for several

* A brick meeting-house, near the centre of the city, was built in 1684. That on the bank, in Front Street, called the Bank Meeting-house, was built in 1685. The great meeting-house in High Street, in 1695. These are all that were erected in the city, during the life of William Penn; but there were eighteen meetings of Friends in the province, as early as 1684.

miles round; but there not being plenty of horses, people generally brought their corn on their backs many miles. I remember one man had a bull so gentle, that he used to bring his corn on him instead of a horse.

"Being now settled within six or seven miles of Philadelphia, where I left the principal body of Friends together with the chief place of provisions, flesh meat was very scarce with me for some time, of which I found the want. I remember I was once supplied by a particular instance of Providence in the following manner:

"As I was in my meadow mowing grass, a young deer came and looked on me. I continued mowing, and the deer in the same attention to me. I then laid down my scythe and went towards him; upon which he ran off a small distance. I went to my work again, and the deer continued looking on me; so that several times I left my work to go towards him: but he still kept himself at a distance. At last, as I was going towards him, and he looking on me did not mind his steps, he ran forcibly against the trunk of a tree, and stunned himself so much that he fell; upon which I ran forward, and getting upon him held him by the legs. After a great struggle, in which I had almost tired him out, and rendered him lifeless, I threw him on my shoulders, holding him fast by the legs, and with some difficulty, on account of his fresh struggling, carried him home, about a quarter of a mile, to my house; where, by the assistance of a neighbour, who happened to be there, and who killed him for me, he proved very serviceable to my family. I could relate several other acts of Providence of this kind, but omit them for brevity.

"As people began to spread, and to improve their lands, the country became more fruitful, so that those who came after us were plentifully supplied; and with what we abounded we began a small trade abroad; and as Philadelphia increased, vessels were built, and many employed. Both country and trade have been wonderfully increasing to this day; so that, from a wilderness, the Lord, by his good hand of providence, hath made it a fruitful land; on which things to look back and observe all the steps, would exceed my present purpose. Yet, being now in the eighty-fourth year of my age, and having been in this country near forty-six years, and my memory being pretty clear concerning the rise and progress of the province, I can do no less than return praises to the Almighty, when I look back and consider his bountiful hand, not only in temporals, but in the great increase of our religious meetings, wherein he hath many times manifested his great lovingkindness in reaching and convincing many persons of the principles of Truth: and those who were already convinced, and who continued faithful, were not only blessed with plenty of the fruits of the earth, but also with the dew of heaven."

In the sixth month of this year, William Penn wrote a letter to the Free Society of Traders of Pennsylvania residing in London; in which he gave an account of the settlements, and such a description of the character of the Indians, and the natural productions of the province as he was able to collect from personal observation or the information of others. Of this interesting communication, the following portion may suffice.

For the province, the general condition of it take as followeth.

I. The country itself in its soil, air, water, seasons and produce, both natural and artificial, is not to be despised. The land containeth divers sorts of earth, as sand, yellow and black, poor and rich. Also gravel both loomy and dusty; and in some places, a fast fat earth, like to our best vales in England, especially by inland brooks and rivers; God in his wisdom having ordered it so, that the advantages of the country are divided, the back lands being generally three to one richer than those that lie by navigable waters. We have much of another soil, and that is a black hasel-mould, upon a stony or rocky bottom.

II. The air is sweet and clear, the heavens serene like the south parts of France, rarely overcast; and as the woods come by numbers of people to be more cleared, that itself will refine.

III. The waters are generally good, for the rivers and brooks have mostly gravel and stony bottoms, and in number hardly credible. We have also mineral waters, that operate in the same manner with Barnet and North-Hall, not two miles from Philadelphia.

IV. For the seasons of the year, having by God's goodness now lived over the coldest and hottest, that the oldest liver in the province can remember, I can say something to an English understanding.

First, Of the fall, for then I came in: I found it from the 24th of October, to the beginning of December, as we have it usually in England in September, or rather like an English mild spring. From December, to the beginning of the month called March, we had sharp frosty weather; not foul, thick, black weather, as our north-east winds bring with them in England; but a sky as clear as in summer, and the air dry, cold, piercing and

hungry; yet I remember not that I wore more clothes than in England. The reason of this cold is given, from the great lakes that are fed by the fountains of Canada. The winter before was as mild, scarcely any ice at all; while this, for a few days, froze up our great river Delaware. From that month, to the month called June, we enjoyed a sweet spring, no gusts, but gentle showers, and a fine sky. Yet this I observe, that the winds here, as there, are more inconstant spring and fall, upon that turn of nature, than in summer or winter. From thence, to this present month, which endeth the summer, (commonly speaking) we have had extraordinary heats, yet mitigated sometimes by cool breezes. The wind that ruleth the summer season, is the south-west; but spring, fall and winter, it is rare to want the wholesome north-western seven days together. And whatever mists, fogs or vapours, foul the heavens by easterly or southerly winds, in two hours time are blown away; the one is followed by the other. A remedy that seems to have a peculiar providence in it to the inhabitants; the multitude of trees yet standing, being liable to retain mists and vapours, and yet not one quarter so thick as I expected.

V. The natural produce of the country, of vegetables, is trees, fruits, plants, flowers. The trees of most note, are the black walnut, cedar, cyprus, chesnut, poplar, gumwood, hickory, sassafras, ash, beech and oak of divers sorts, as red, white and black, Spanish, chesnut and swamp, the most durable of all. Of all which, there is plenty for the use of man.

The fruits that I find in the woods, are the white and black mulberry, chesnut, walnut, plumbs, strawberries, cranberries, hurtleberries and grapes of divers sorts. The great red grape (now ripe) called by ignorance, the fox-grape, because of the relish it hath with unskilful palates, is in itself an extraordinary grape, and by art, doubtless may be cultivated to an excellent wine, if not so sweet, yet little inferior to the Frontiniac, as it is not much unlike in taste, ruddiness set aside, which in such things, as well as mankind, differs the case much. There is a white kind of Muscatel, and a little black grape, like the cluster grape of England, not yet so ripe as the other; but they tell me, when ripe, sweeter, and that they only want skilful vinerons to make good use of them. I intend to venture on it with my Frenchman this season, who shows some knowledge in those things. Here are also peaches, and very good, and in great quantities, not an Indian plantation without them; but whether naturally here at first, I know not, however, one may have them by bushels for little; they make a pleasant drink, and I think not inferior to any peach you have in England, except the true Newington. It is disputable with me, whether it be best to fall to fining the fruits of the country, especially the grape, by the care and skill of art, or send for foreign stems and sets, already good and approved. It seems most reasonable to believe, that not only a thing groweth best, where it naturally grows, but will hardly be equalled by another species of the same kind, that doth not naturally grow there. But to solve the doubt, I intend, if God give me life, to try both, and hope the consequence will be as good wine, as any European countries of the same latitude yield.

VI. *The artificial produce of the country, is wheat, barley, oats, rye, peas, beans, squashes, pumpkins, water-melons, musk-melons, and all herbs and roots that our gardens in England usually bring forth.

VII. Of living creatures, fish, fowl and the beasts of the woods; here are divers sorts, some for food and profit, and some for profit only. For food as well as profit, the elk, as big as a small ox, deer, bigger than ours, beaver, raccoon, rabbits, squirrels, and some eat young bear, and commend it. Of fowl of the land, there is the turkey, forty and fifty pounds weight, which is very great; pheasants, heath-birds, pigeons and partridges in abundance. Of the water, the swan, goose, white and gray; brands, duck, teal, also the snipe and curlew, and in great numbers; but the duck and teal excel, nor so good have I ever eaten in other countries. Of fish, there is the sturgeon, herring, rock, shad, cat's-head, sheep's-head, eel, smelt, perch, roach; and in inland rivers, trout, some say, salmon, above falls. Of shell-fish, we have oysters, crabs, cockles, conchs and muscles; some oysters six inches long; and one sort of cockles as big as the stewing-oysters, they make a rich broth. The creatures for profit only, by skin or fur, and that are natural to these parts, are the wild-cat, panther, otter, wolf, fox, fisher, mink, musk-rat. And of the water, the whale for oil, of which we have good store, and two companies of whalers, whose boats are built, will soon begin their work, which hath the appearance of a considerable improvement. To say nothing of our reasonable hopes of good cod in the bay.

* Note. That Edward Jones, son-in-law to Thomas Wynn, living on the Schuylkill, had with ordinary cultivation, for one grain of English barley, seventy stalks and ears of barley. And it is common in this country, from one bushel sown, to reap forty, often fifty, and sometimes sixty. And three pecks of wheat sows an acre here.

VIII. We have no want of horses, and some are very good and shapely enough; two ships have been freighted to Barbadoes with horses and pipe-staves, since my coming in. Here is also plenty of cow-cattle, and some sheep; the people plough mostly with oxen.

IX. There are divers plants, that not only the Indians tell us, but we have had occasion to prove by swellings, burnings, cuts, &c., that they are of great virtue, suddenly curing the patient. And for smell, I have observed several, especially one, the wild myrtle; the others I know not what to call, but are most fragrant.

X. The woods are adorned with lovely flowers, for colour, greatness, figure and variety. I have seen the gardens of London best stored with that sort of beauty, but think they may be improved by our woods. I have sent a few to a person of quality this year for a trial. Thus much of the country, next of the natives, or aborigines.

XI. The natives I shall consider in their persons, language, manners, religion and government, with my sense of their original. For their persons, they are generally tall, straight, well-built and of singular proportion; they tread strong and clever, and mostly walk with a lofty chin. Of complexion, black, but by design, as the gypsies in England. They grease themselves with bear's-fat clarified, and using no defence against sun or weather, their skins must needs be swarthy. Their eye is little and black, not unlike a straight-looked Jew. The thick lip and flat nose, so frequent with the East Indians and blacks, are not common to them; for I have seen as comely European-like faces among them of both, as on your side the sea; and truly an Italian complexion hath not much more of the white, and the noses of several of them have as much of the Roman.

XII. Their language is lofty, yet narrow, but like the Hebrew; in signification full, like short-hand in writing; one word serveth in the place of three, and the rest are supplied by the understanding of the hearer. Imperfect in their tenses, wanting in their moods, participles, adverbs, conjunctions, interjections. I have made it my business to understand it, that I might not want an interpreter on any occasion. And I must say, that I know not a language spoken in Europe, that hath words of more sweetness or greatness, in accent and emphasis, than theirs. For instance, *Octocockon*, *Rancocas*, *Oricton*, *Shak*, *Marian*, *Poquesien*, all which are names of places and have grandeur in them. Of words of sweetness, *Anna*, is mother, *Issimus*, a brother, *Netcap*, friend, *Usque Oret*, very good, *Pane*, bread, *Metse*, eat, *Matta*, no, *Hatta*, to have, *Payo*, to come; *Sepassen*, *Passijon*, the names of places; *Tamane*, *Secane*, *Menanse*, *Secatereus*, are the names of persons. If one ask them for any thing they have not, they will answer, *Mattá ne Hattá*, which to translate is, not I have, instead of I have not.

XIII. Of their customs and manners, there is much to be said, I will begin with children. The children will go very young, at nine months commonly; if boys, they go a fishing till ripe for the woods, which is about fifteen; then they hunt, and after having given some proofs of their manhood, by a good return of skins, they may marry, else it is a shame to think of a wife. The girls stay with their mothers, and help to hoe the ground, plant corn and carry burthens; and they do well to use them to that while young, which they must do when they are old; for the wives are the true servants of the husbands; otherwise the men are very affectionate to them.

XIV. When the young women are fit for marriage, they wear something upon their heads for an advertisement, but so as their faces are hardly to be seen, but when they please. The age they marry at, if women, is about thirteen and fourteen, if men, seventeen and eighteen; they are rarely older.

XV. Their houses are mats, or barks of trees, set on poles, in the fashion of an English barn, but out of the power of the winds, for they are hardly higher than a man; they lie on reeds or grass. In travel, they lodge in the woods about a great fire, with the mantle of Dussills they wear by day, wrapt about them, and a few boughs stuck round them.

XVI. Their diet is maize, or Indian corn, divers ways prepared; sometimes roasted in the ashes, sometimes beaten and boiled with water, which they call hominy; they also make cakes, not unpleasant to eat. They have likewise several sorts of beans and peas, that are good nourishment; and the woods and rivers are their larder.

XVII. If a European comes to see them, or calls for lodging at their house or wigwam, they give him the best place and first cut. If they come to visit us, they salute us with an *Itah*, which is as much as to say, Good be to you, and set them down, which is mostly on the ground, close to their heels, their legs upright; it may be they speak not a word, but observe all passages. If you give them any thing to eat or drink, well, for they will not ask; and be it little or much, if it be with kindness, they are well pleased, else they go away sullen, but say nothing.

XVIII. They are great concealers of their own resentments, brought to it, I believe, by

the revenge that hath been practised among them; in either of these, they are not exceeded by the Italians. A tragical instance fell out since I came into the country. A king's daughter, thinking herself slighted by her husband, in suffering another woman, rose up, went out, plucked a root out of the ground and eat it, upon which she immediately died; and for which, last week, he made an offering to her kindred, for atonement and liberty of marriage; as two others did to the kindred of their wives, who died a natural death. For till widowers have done so, they must not marry again.

XIX. In liberality they excel, nothing is too good for their friend; give them a fine gun, coat or other thing, it may pass twenty hands before it sticks; light of heart, strong affections, but soon spent; the most merry creatures that live, feast and dance perpetually; they never have much, nor want much. Wealth circulateth like the blood, all parts partake; and though none shall want what another hath, yet exact observers of property. Some kings have sold, others presented me with several parcels of land; the pay or presents I made them, were not hoarded by the particular owners, but the neighbouring kings and their clans being present when the goods were brought out, the parties chiefly concerned, consulted what, and to whom, they should give them. To every king then, by the hands of a person for that work appointed, is a proportion sent, so sorted and folded, and with that gravity, that is admirable. Then the king sub-divideth it in like manner among his dependents, they hardly leaving themselves an equal share with one of their subjects. And be it on such occasions as festivals, or at their common meals, the kings distribute, and to themselves last. They care for little, because they want but little, and the reason is, a little contents them. In this they are sufficiently revenged on us; if they are ignorant of our pleasures, they are also free from our pains. They are not disquieted with bills of lading and exchange, nor perplexed with chancery-suits and exchequer-reckonings. We sweat and toil to live; their pleasure feeds them; I mean their hunting, fishing and fowling, and this table is spread every where. They eat twice a day, morning and evening; their seats and table are the ground. Since the Europeans came into these parts, they are grown great lovers of strong liquors, rum especially; and for it exchange the richest of their skins and furs. If they are heated with liquors, they are restless till they have enough to sleep; that is their cry, Some more, and I will go to sleep; but when drunk, one of the most wretched spectacles in the world.

XX. In sickness, impatient to be cured, and for it give any thing, especially for their children, to whom they are extremely natural. They drink at those times, a decoction of some roots in spring-water; and if they eat any flesh, it must be of the female of any creature. If they die, they bury them with their apparel, be they man or woman, and the nearest of kin fling in something precious with them, as a token of their love. Their mourning is blacking of their faces, which they continue for a year. They are choice of the graves of their dead; for lest they should be lost by time, and fall to common use, they pick off the grass that grows upon them, and heap up the fallen earth with great care and exactness.

XXI. These poor people are under a dark night in things relating to religion, to be sure, the tradition of it; yet they believe in a God and immortality, without the help of metaphysics; for they say, There is a great King that made them, who dwells in a glorious country to the southward of them, and that the souls of the good shall go thither, where they shall live again. Their worship consists of two parts, sacrifice and cantico. Their sacrifice is their first fruits; the first and fattest buck they kill, goeth to the fire, where he is burnt, with a mournful ditty of him that performeth the ceremony, but with such marvellous fervency and labour of body, that he will even sweat to a foam. The other part is their cantico, performed by round-dances, sometimes words, sometimes songs, then shouts, two being in the middle that begin, and by singing and drumming on a board, direct the chorus. Their postures in the dance are very antic and differing, but all keep measure. This is done with equal earnestness and labour, but great appearance of joy. In the fall, when the corn cometh in, they begin to feast one another; there have been two great festivals already, to which all come that will. I was at one myself; their entertainment was a great seat by a spring, under some shady trees, and twenty bucks, with hot cakes of new corn, both wheat and beans, which they make up in a square form, in the leaves of the stem, and bake them in the ashes; and after that they fell to dance. But they that go, must carry a small present in their money, it may be six-pence, which is made of the bone of a fish; the black is with them as gold, the white, silver; they call it all wampum.

XXII. Their government is by kings, whom they call Sachems, and those by succession, but always of the mother's side. For instance, the children of him that is now king, will not succeed, but his brother by the

mother, or the children of his sister, whose sons, and after them the children of her daughters will reign; for no woman inherits; the reason they render for this way of descent is, that their issue may not be spurious.

XXIII. Every king hath his council, and that consists of all the old and wise men of his nation, which perhaps is two hundred people. Nothing of moment is undertaken, be it war, peace, selling of land or traffic, without advising with them; and which is more, with the young men too. It is admirable to consider, how powerful the kings are, and yet how they move by the breath of their people. I have had occasion to be in council with them upon treaties for land, and to adjust the terms of trade; their order is thus: the king sits in the middle of an half moon, and hath his council, the old and wise on each hand: behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger fry, in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved their business, the king ordered one of them to speak to me; he stood up, came to me, and in the name of his king saluted me, then took me by the hand, and told me, he was ordered by his king to speak to me, and that now it was not he, but the king that spoke, because what he should say, was the king's mind. He first prayed me, to excuse them that they had not complied with me the last time; he feared there might be some fault in the interpreter, being neither Indian nor English; besides, it was the Indian custom to deliberate, and take up much time in council, before they resolve; and that if the young people and owners of land had been as ready as he, I had not met with so much delay. Having thus introduced his matter, he fell to the bounds of the land they had agreed to dispose of, and the price, which now is little and dear, that which would have bought twenty miles, now not buying two. During the time that this person spoke, not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile; the old, grave, the young, reverend in their deportment; they speak little, but fervently, and with elegancy. I have never seen more natural sagacity, considering them without the help, I was going to say, the spoil, of tradition; and he will deserve the name of wise, that out-wits them in any treaty about a thing they understand. When the purchase was agreed, great promises past between us of kindness and good neighbourhood, and that the Indians and English must live in love, as long as the sun gave light. Which done, another made a speech to the Indians, in the name of all the sachamakers or kings, first, to tell them what was done; next to charge and command them, to love the Christians, and particularly live in peace with me and the people under my government. That many governors had been in the river, but that no governor had come himself to live and stay here before; and having now such an one that had treated them well, they should never do him or his any wrong. At every sentence of which they shouted, and said, Amen, in their way.

XXIV. The justice they have is pecuniary. In case of any wrong or evil fact, be it murder itself, they atone by feasts and presents of their wampum, which is proportioned to the quality of the offence or person injured, or of the sex they are of. For in case they kill a woman, they pay double, and the reason they render, is, that she breedeth children, which men cannot do. It is rare that they fall out, if sober; and if drunk, they forgive it, saying, It was the drink, and not the man, that abused them.

XXV. We have agreed, that in all differences between us, six of each side shall end the matter. Do not abuse them, but let them have justice, and you win them. The worst is, that they are the worse for the Christians, who have propagated their vices, and yielded them tradition for ill, and not for good things. But as low an ebb as these people are at, and as glorious as their own condition looks, the Christians have not out-lived their sight, with all their pretensions to an higher manifestation. What good then might not a good people graft, where there is so distinct a knowledge left between good and evil? I beseech God to incline the hearts of all that come into these parts, to out-live the knowledge of the natives, by a fixed obedience to their greater knowledge of the will of God; for it were miserable indeed for us to fall under the just censure of the poor Indian conscience, while we make profession of things so far transcending.

XXVI. For their original, I am ready to believe them of the Jewish race, I mean, of the stock of the Ten Tribes, and that for the following reasons; first, They were to go to a land not planted or known, which to be sure Asia and Africa were, if not Europe; and he that intended that extraordinary judgment upon them, might make the passage not uneasy to them, as it is not impossible in itself, from the easternmost parts of Asia, to the westernmost of America. In the next place, I find them of the like countenance, and their children of so lively resemblance, that a man would think himself in Duke's-place or Berry-street in London, when he seeth them. But this is not all; they agree in rites, they reckon by moons; they offer their first fruits, they have a kind of feast of tabernacles; they are said to lay their altar upon twelve stones;

their mourning a year, customs of women, with many things that do not now occur.

So much for the natives, next the old planters will be considered in this relation, before I come to our colony, and the concerns of it.

XXVII. The first planters in these parts were the Dutch, and soon after them the Swedes and Finns. The Dutch applied themselves to traffic, the Swedes and Finns to husbandry. There were some disputes between them some years, the Dutch looking upon them as intruders upon their purchase and possession, which was finally ended in the surrender made by John Rizeing, the Swedish governor, to Peter Styvesant, governor for the states of Holland, Anno 1655.

XXVIII. The Dutch inhabit mostly those parts of the province, that lie upon or near to the bay, and the Swedes the freshes of the river Delaware. There is no need of giving any description of them, who are better known there than here; but they are a plain, strong, industrious people, yet have made no great progress in culture or propagation of fruit-trees, as if they desired rather to have enough, than plenty or traffic. But I presume, the Indians made them the more careless, by furnishing them with the means of profit, to wit, skins and furs, for rum and such strong liquors. They kindly received me, as well as the English, who were few, before the people concerned with me came among them. I must needs commend their respect to authority and kind behaviour to the English; they do not degenerate from the old friendship between both kingdoms. As they are people proper and strong of body, so they have fine children, and almost every house full; rare to find one of them without three or four boys, and as many girls; some six, seven and eight sons. And I must do them that right, I see few young men more sober and laborious.

XXIX. The Dutch have a meeting-place for religious worship at New-Castle, and the Swedes, three, one at Christiana, one at Tenecum, and one at Wicoco, within half a mile of this town.

XXX. There rests, that I speak of the condition we are in, and what settlement we have made, in which I will be as short as I can; for I fear, and not without reason, that I have tried your patience with this long story. The country lieth bounded on the east, by the river and bay of Delaware and Eastern sea; it hath the advantage of many creeks, or rivers rather, that run into the main river or bay; some navigable for great ships, some for small craft. Those of most eminency, are Christiana, Brandywine, Skilpot and Schuylkill; any one of which has room to lay up the royal navy of England, there being from four to eight fathom water.

XXXI. The lesser creeks or rivers, yet convenient for sloops and ketches of good burthen, are Lewis, Mespilion, Cedar, Dover, Cranbrook, Feversham, and Georges below, and Chichester, Chester, Toacawny, Pemmapecka, Poquessin, Neshimenck and Pennbury in the freshes; many lesser that admit boats and shallops. Our people are mostly settled upon the upper rivers, which are pleasant and sweet, and generally bounded with good land. The planted part of the province and territories is cast into six counties, Philadelphia, Buckingham, Chester, New-Castle, Kent and Sussex, containing about four thousand souls. Two general assemblies have been held, and with such concord and despatch, that they sate but about three weeks, and at least seventy laws were passed without one dissent in any material thing. But of this more hereafter, being yet raw and new in gear. However, I cannot forget their singular respect to me in this infancy of things, who by their own private expenses so early considered mine for the public, as to present me with an impost upon certain goods imported and exported. Which, after my acknowledgments of their affection, I did as freely remit to the province and the traders to it. And for the well government of the said counties, courts of justice are established in every county, with proper officers, as justices, sheriffs, clerks, constables, &c., which courts are held every two months. But to prevent law-suits, there are three peacemakers chosen by every county-court, in the nature of common arbitrators, to hear and end differences between man and man; and spring and fall there is an orphans' court in each county, to inspect and regulate the affairs of orphans and widows.

XXXII. Philadelphia, the expectation of those that are concerned in this province, is at last laid out, to the great content of those here, who are anyways interested therein. The situation is a neck of land, and lieth between two navigable rivers, Delaware and Schuylkill, whereby it hath two fronts upon the water, each a mile, and two from river to river. Delaware is a glorious river, but the Schuylkill being an hundred miles boatable above the falls, and its course north-east toward the fountain of Susquehanna, (that tends to the heart of the province, and both sides our own) it is like to be a great part of the settlement of this age. I say little of the town itself, because a plat-form will be shown you by my agent, in which those who are purchasers of me, will find their names and interests. But this I will say for the good

providence of God, that of all the many places I have seen in the world, I remember not one better seated; so that it seems to me to have been appointed for a town, whether we regard the rivers, or the conveniency of the coves, docks, springs, the loftiness and soundness of the land and the air, held by the people of these parts to be very good. It is advanced within less than a year to about four-score houses and cottages, such as they are, where merchants and handicrafts are following their vocations as fast as they can, while the country-men are close at their farms. Some of them got a little winter corn in the ground last season, and the generality have had an handsome summer crop, and are preparing for their winter corn. They reaped their barley this year in the month called May; the wheat in the month following; so that there is time in these parts for another crop of divers things before the winter season. We are daily in hopes of shipping to add to our number; for blessed be God, here is both room and accommodation for them; the stories of our necessity being either the fear of our friends, or the scare-crows of our enemies; for the greatest hardship we have suffered, hath been salt-meat, which by fowl in winter, and fish in summer, together with some poultry, lamb, mutton, veal, and plenty of venison the best part of the year, hath been made very passable. I bless God, I am fully satisfied with the country and entertainment I can get in it; for I find that particular content which hath always attended me, where God in his providence hath made it my place and service to reside. You cannot imagine my station can be at present free of more than ordinary business, and as such, I may say, it is a troublesome work; but the method things are putting in will facilitate the charge, and give an easier motion to the administration of affairs; however, as it is some men's duty to plough, some to sow, some to water, and some to reap, so it is the wisdom as well as duty of a man, to yield to the mind of Providence, and cheerfully, as well as carefully, embrace and follow the guidance of it.

CHAPTER XXII.

1684. It has been already mentioned that William Penn, in the autumn of 1682, paid a visit to Lord Baltimore, with a view of effecting a settlement of their mutual boundary, but that the business was postponed to the ensuing spring. The negociation was accordingly renewed in the following year, but without any decisive result.

Although this question continued for many years to be a subject of controversy between the proprietaries of Maryland and Pennsylvania, and was not finally adjusted until long after the death of William Penn; it is not my design to investigate the subject any further than appears requisite, in order to vindicate the character of the illustrious founder of Pennsylvania. This vindication appears indispensable in a memoir of his life, particularly as some recent authors have indulged in very acrimonious reflections upon the part which he acted in this protracted litigation.

When the charters for Maryland and Pennsylvania were granted, there were no correct maps of those countries in existence. The former, if not the latter, appears to have been traced from Smith's map, contained in his History of Virginia. In that map the latitude of forty degrees appears near where the division line between the provinces was eventually settled. In Lord Baltimore's patent, the northern boundary is described as lying on the bay of Delaware, under the fortieth degree of north latitude. Hence it is manifest that the province of Maryland was not understood, when the patent was granted, to bound on the river Delaware, but merely on the bay. The two descriptions being incompatible, the true construction would necessarily be, that the grant should include what was intended to be granted, and that intentions should be inferred from the part of the description which was best understood. Now the relative situation of the Delaware and Chesapeake bays was tolerably well known when the patent of Lord Baltimore was granted, though the latitudes were not correctly ascertained until William Penn's charter was obtained.

But besides the controversy respecting the northern boundary of Maryland, there was another in regard to the eastern one. Lord Baltimore claimed the lands on the Delaware bay, which were embraced in the grant of the Duke of York. This claim was not then new, and the tract would have been within the limits of his patent, in case it had then belonged to the British crown and remained unoccupied. For the grant to Lord Baltimore was expressly confined to land hitherto uncultivated. It does not appear to be now certainly known at what time the first Europeans obtained possession of the land on the western shore of the Delaware river and bay, but it is clearly ascertained that the three lower counties, now composing the state of Delaware, never were under the actual jurisdiction of the governor of Maryland. The land was claimed by Lord Baltimore as early as 1659, but the envoy of the New-Netherlands firmly maintained the right of the Dutch, pleading purchase and colonization before the

Maryland patent was granted. The facts upon which this argument was founded, were not denied. Still the claim was continued, and upon the restoration of King Charles, it was vigorously renewed. But the claim was resisted by the Dutch authorities; until the conquest, in 1664, subjected the Dutch possessions in North America to the dominion of Great Britain. Upon that event, this tract of land came into possession of the Duke of York, from whom William Penn obtained his grant. Had this land been then considered as a part of Maryland, the eighteen years which elapsed between the conquest and the grant to William Penn, afforded an opportunity for Lord Baltimore to establish his claim. The agents of Lord Baltimore as well as the duke, were heard before the charter for Pennsylvania, or the deeds for the lower counties were obtained, and it is not reasonable to suppose that the territory granted to William Penn was understood to be either wholly or in part comprehended within the patent of Lord Baltimore. The description of the northern boundary in the Maryland patent is not quite free from ambiguity; as the fortieth degree may signify the beginning or the end of that degree; but in the charter for Pennsylvania, the southern boundary is expressly placed at the beginning of the fortieth degree, or in latitude thirty-nine. This affords testimony nearly if not quite conclusive, that the legal authorities who were consulted respecting the charter of William Penn, considered the beginning and not the end of the fortieth degree as the boundary of Maryland. It does not appear that previous to the arrival of William Penn, any part of the disputed territory was ever occupied under Maryland titles, except by a small colony on the Schuylkill, which was expelled by the Dutch in 1642.

Although the tract in question included a large portion of valuable land; yet William Penn was more anxious to secure to his province the benefit of an outlet upon the Chesapeake, than to obtain for himself or his heirs the profits arising from the sale of the lands. "The whole history of these transactions," says a modern writer, "shows conclusively the fairness and candour, the moderation and firmness of William Penn, the illustrious and irreproachable founder of Pennsylvania, and the justice of the claims of his posterity; and rescue his name from the imputation of injustice."

Being solicitous for the religious advancement, as well as the temporal prosperity of the people under his charge, and more especially those of his own Society, he wrote in 1684, an epistle addressed to the people of God called Quakers, in Pennsylvania and the territories thereto belonging; which manifests his tender and paternal regard for the inhabitants of his American plantations. It is as follows, viz:

"Dear friends,

"The salutation of my love is unto you who make a profession of the blessed way of Truth in the inward parts, desiring both night and day, with tender and fervent supplication to the God of the light that hath sprung upon us in a living and powerful visitation, that we may all answer the love and mercy of the Lord so plenteously manifested to us.

"Friends, it is upon me, and long hath been, from the God of truth and righteousness, to communicate to you a short word of counsel and advice. God hath brought us hither, and we are yet among the living. He hath a work for us to do here, though the spiteful and envious will not believe us. O! that we may be faithful to the measure of grace received, that the evil-minded may be disappointed. Friends, keep in the sense of that which first visited you and kept you, and he that was with you to bless you in your native country, will be with you and bless you and yours, and make you a blessing to them that you are come among, who know him not, in this wilderness also. The earth is the Lord's, and his presence fills it, and his power upholds it, and it is a precious thing to enjoy and use it in the sense and feeling of the same; truly this honour have all the saints, to whom he will give it for a quiet habitation. Have a care of cumber and the love and care of the world. It is the temptation that lieth nearest to those who are redeemed from looseness, or not addicted to it. The moon, the figure of the changeable world, is under the foot of the true woman, whose seed ——— we ought to approve ourselves. God hath ordained it for a footstool, and we must not make a throne of it, nor doth it become them who seek heavenly places in Christ Jesus. Show forth a blessed example, for the Lord's sake; and truly, blessed is that man and woman who in the invisible power rule their affections about the visible things, and who use the world as true travellers and pilgrims, whose home is not here below; such do not extort, grind or oppress their neighbours in their dealings, but are content with moderate gain, looking to the blessing that follows; knowing right well, that they who over-value and over-care, fall into divers snares and sorrows, that hurt and pierce the soul's peace. And in like manner, dear friends, have a care of

looseness, for it becometh us to be watchful, and to gird up the loins of our minds, and be sober, and hope to the end. Are we from under outward sufferings and trials that we once knew, and that carry an humiliation with them upon the spirits of people? Let us be more circumspect, that we forget not the Lord nor his tender mercies towards us; for he is God, and he can find us out, and trouble, and vex, and plague the disobedient and careless here, as well as in other lands. Be zealous therefore for the Lord, for he is a jealous God, and especially over those that have betrothed themselves unto him by the profession of his holy Truth: yea, he will be avenged of the hypocrite and rebellious, but the obedient he will bless, which my soul prayeth you may be, that so I may never have an occasion to exercise any other power than that of love and brotherly-kindness. And dear friends, remember who it was that said to his children and followers, 'Ye are brethren:' and have a care of unnaturalness in the profession of the truth. To be without natural affection to one another in the truth, is a mark of apostacy; wherefore love one another, and help and assist, and comfort one another. This was the new and living commandment of our blessed Lord and Master, which if you keep, then can you not fall out, backbite, slander, go to law, or hate one another, in the sight of the world, and that for the things that perish; verily, if any do these things, the wrath of God will overtake them.

"O, friends! let us call to mind the day that hath dawned upon us, and what manner of persons we ought to be. Besides, you know that the eyes of the inhabitants of the lands, and those of neighbouring countries, yea, the people of remote regions are upon us and our doings; how we live, how we rule, and how we obey, and joy would it be to some to see us halt, hear evil tidings of our proceedings, as it would be an heavy and an unspeakable grief to those that wish well to our Zion. Friends, God requireth great watchfulness from you, especially elders and teachers in the church of Christ, that they watch over their own and others' families, that whatever appears in any, contrary to the testimony and mind of Truth, may be brought to judgment and disowned, that the camp of the Lord may be kept clean of the uncircumcised who resist the Spirit.

"My friends, remember that the Lord hath brought you upon the stage, he hath now tried you with liberty, yea, and with power too; he hath now put precious opportunities into your hands; have a care of a perverse spirit, and do not provoke the Lord by doing those things, by which the inhabitants of the land grieved his spirit, that were before you; but sanctify God, the living God in your hearts, that his blessings may fall and rest as the dew of heaven upon you and your offspring; then shall it be seen by the nations, that there is no enchantment against Jacob, nor divination against Israel, but your tents shall be goodly, and your dwellings glorious: which is the daily humble supplication of my soul to my God and your God, and to my Father and your Father; who am, with unfeigned love, in that lasting relation,

"Your tender, faithful friend and brother,

"WILLIAM PENN."

After residing nearly two years in Pennsylvania, and adjusting the concerns of his government, as well as his numerous avocations and the materials with which he had to work, would admit, he thought it best to revisit his native land.

Persecution was still raging in England. King Charles having concentrated in his own hands nearly all the powers of government; the dissenters in general were subjected to a rigorous persecution, in which Friends as usual bore the greatest share. By an account presented, in the beginning of the subsequent reign, to the king and both houses of parliament, it appears, there were about this time, nearly fifteen hundred members of this Society imprisoned, some in Wales and the rest in England, under the charge of violating the laws of the day. The pretexts for the incarceration of these unoffending people, were chiefly the obsolete acts of Queen Elizabeth's time, now revived and rigorously executed; together with the persecuting laws enacted soon after the restoration. But these laws, oppressive as they were in their nature, were in many instances rendered still more intolerable by the manner of their execution. Numerous families, in comfortable circumstances, were reduced to poverty by the ruinous fines imposed upon them. In some cases, the officers seized upon every article of value which they could find within doors or without.

As the councils of the king were supposed to be greatly influenced by the advice of his brother, the presumptive heir to the crown, and William Penn had probably more place with that prince than any other member of the Society to which he belonged; these circumstances presented an inducement for his return at this time to his native land.

The dispute with Lord Baltimore, which, from the trial already made, was evidently not to be settled without the intervention of the authorities at home, formed another rea-

son. It also appears that numerous efforts had been made, by persons impelled by interest or envy, to bring his character and government into disgrace, in the view of those who held the reins at home. These efforts it was judged requisite to counteract, and that could be most effectually done in person. Nor are we to suppose that the society of his own family, with an amiable and accomplished wife at its head, was destitute of attractions to such a mind as William Penn's. Indeed, we can hardly believe that any thing less than a sense of imperious necessity could induce him to reside in America, while his wife and children remained in his native land. And it is not probable that the accommodations, which custom had rendered essential to their comfort, could then be procured by any means in the newly settled province of Pennsylvania.

Having made the necessary dispositions relative to the administration of the government during his absence, strictly charging the officers entrusted with the principal authority, to do justice to all of all degrees, without delay, fear or regard, he repaired on board the vessel which was to convey him to the land of his nativity. But such was the activity of his mind and his zeal for the religious preservation and advancement of his friends in Pennsylvania, that he wrote from on board the vessel the following epistle; viz.

"*For Thomas Lloyd, J. Claypoole, J. Simcock, Charles Taylor and J. Harrison, to be communicated in meetings in Pennsylvania, &c., among Friends.*

"Dear friends,

"My love and my life is to you and with you; and no water can quench it, nor distance wear it out, or bring it to an end. I have been with you, cared over you, and served you with unfeigned love; and you are beloved of me, and near to me, beyond utterance. I bless you, in the name and power of the Lord; and my God bless you with his righteousness, peace and plenty, all the land over. Oh, that you would eye him in all, through all, and above all the works of your hands; and let it be your first care, how you may glorify God in your undertakings. For to a blessed end are you brought hither; and if you see and keep in the sense of that Providence, your coming, staying and improving will be sanctified; but if any forget God, and call not upon his name in truth, he will pour out his plagues upon them; and they shall know who it is that judgeth the children of men.

"Now you are come to a quiet land, provoke not the Lord to trouble it. And as liberty and authority are with you, and in your hands, let the government be upon His shoulders, in all your spirits; that you may rule for him, under whom the princes of this world will one day esteem it their honour to govern and serve, in their places. I cannot but say, when these things come mightily upon my mind, as the apostle did of old, 'What manner of persons ought we to be, in all holy conversation and godliness?' Truly, the name and honour of the Lord are deeply concerned in you, as to the discharge of yourselves, in your present stations; many eyes being upon you; and remember, that as we have been belied about disowning the true religion, so of all government; to behold us exemplary and Christian in the use of that, will not only stop our enemies, but minister conviction to many on that account prejudiced. Oh, that you may see and know that service, and do it for the Lord in this your day.

"And thou, Philadelphia, the virgin settlement of this province, named before thou wert born, what love, what care, what service, and what travail has there been, to bring thee forth and preserve thee from such as would abuse and defile thee!

"Oh, that thou mayst be kept from the evil that would overwhelm thee; that, faithful to the God of thy mercies, in the life of righteousness thou mayst be preserved to the end. My soul prays to God for thee, that thou mayst stand in the day of trial, that thy children may be blessed of the Lord, and thy people saved by his power;—my love to thee has been great, and the remembrance of thee affects mine heart and mine eye!—the God of eternal strength keep and preserve thee to his glory and thy peace.

"So, dear friends, my love again salutes you all, wishing that grace, mercy and peace, with all temporal blessings, may abound richly among you;—so says, so prays, your friend and lover in the Truth,

"William Penn.

"From on board the ketch Endeavour,
the Sixth month, 1684."

Oldmixon, a cotemporary author, who appears to have derived his information in part, at least, from William Penn, states that Philadelphia contained at that time three hundred houses, and about two thousand five hundred inhabitants. The Indians within the province were estimated at six thousand. William Penn is said to have made a league of amity with nineteen Indian nations or tribes, ten of which are supposed to have resided within the limits of the province. It is characteristic of the benevolence of the founder of Pennsylvania, that the friendship engaged thus was on behalf

of all the English in America. The intercourse between him and these native sons of the forest, was not, as already intimated, one of empty profession; for he had expended several thousand pounds in his efforts to instruct, support and oblige them. This benevolent treatment procured for his name and character, a veneration in the minds of these people, which the lapse of a century and a half has not obliterated. And it is a subject of gratulation, that the friendship thus established between William Penn and the native inhabitants of the land, has been maintained between their descendants and the Society of Friends from that time to this.

He sailed on the 12th of sixth month, (now eighth) and after a voyage of about seven weeks, arrived safely in England. Landing within seven miles of his own house, he soon had the satisfaction to find his wife and family in good health, for which and his own preservation and exemption from sickness, amidst the hardships and dangers of his American excursion, he did not fail to express his gratitude to the Father and Fountain of all good.

We find that he obtained, soon after his arrival, an interview with the king and Duke of York, by whom and the nobility, he was respectfully treated; and he was encouraged to hope that way would be made in their hearts, by which he should be enabled to lighten the burdens of his suffering friends, as well as to promote his American interests. In regard to his friends, nothing appears to have been effected during the existing reign.

A letter from Stephen Crisp, received after his arrival in England, informed him of a number of reports injurious to his character, which had been put in circulation. One of these indicated that he had dishonoured his profession by giving his sanction to some military operations. This drew from him a letter in return, in which he repelled the charges adduced. In regard to the military one, he observed that he knew of no act of hostility. There was at New-Castle, an old timber house, above the sessions chamber, standing upon a green, on which lay seven old cannon, the property of the government of New-York, some on the ground, and others on broken carriages; but there was neither a military man, nor powder nor ball belonging to them. Whether the people of New-Castle had placed them under enclosure, since he left them, he could not tell; but he was sure that while he was there, no soldier or militia-man was seen. There was no one who had any military commission from him; and no law existed to authorize the issuing of one.

The other charges were answered in a manner which sufficiently demonstrated their frivolous character.

We have here a sample of the spirit with which William Penn was obliged to contend, in consequence of the eminence of his station; and are fully admonished of the sacrifice of personal repose, at which a conspicuous situation in the world, must be purchased. If any man, in such situation, could escape the shafts of envy, William Penn might reasonably have expected to be the man. Whatever suavity of manners could be superinduced by the best education, and by intercourse with the world, he had unquestionably acquired, before he became united with the Society of Friends. And although the principles of that Society forbade a compliance with the manners and maxims of the fashionable world, they had no tendency to diminish attention to genuine politeness. On the other hand, while they stripped off the tinsel, they substituted the essence of true civility. George Fox himself, as William Penn, from an intimate acquaintance with him, asserts, was "civil beyond all forms of breeding;" and the latter has shown in various parts of his works, that he did not consider his religion as dispensing with any part of those attentions to the feelings of others, in which true politeness consists. While these exterior characteristics were a security against minor offences, the integrity of his principles, and the remarkable disinterestedness of his character, were a sufficient guarantee against graver causes of complaint. It was not likely that a man who treated the untutored Indians with such distinguished justice and humanity, would be guilty of injustice to his own countrymen. Yet while he was spending the prime of his life and the income of an ample estate, in constant efforts to improve the condition of his contemporaries, and to lay a foundation for the melioration of ages to come, we find the tongue of slander was busily employed in defaming his character, and counteracting his endeavours. So true is the observation of the poet—Envy will merit, as its shade, pursue, and like the shadow, proves the substance true.

CHAPTER XXIII.

One of the objects which William Penn had in view, in returning to England, was the adjustment of the dispute with Lord Baltimore. The history of that controversy being given in a preceding chapter need not be repeated here. In regard to his friends, although the king does not appear to have had any particular antipathy to the Society, or to have delighted in

cruelty, yet his indolent habits and temporizing policy prevented even the energy and zeal of William Penn from procuring for them any effectual relief.

It was not long however till the reins of government fell into other hands. For on the 2nd of the twelfth month, 1684–5, the king was suddenly seized with an apoplexy, under which he continued for some hours, in a state of insensibility. He afterwards revived, and remained in a suffering condition, until the 6th of the month, when he expired. Little as he thought of serious things when in health, we find that the pains of expiring nature and the prospect of approaching dissolution, humbled his mind and made him feel his dependent state. He was ready not only to pray for pardon on account of his sins, but to crave forgiveness of such as he had injured. A few hours after his death, the Duke of York was proclaimed king, by the name of James II.

The accession of James, who openly professed the Roman Catholic religion, and went with his queen shortly after he mounted the throne, publicly to mass, excited the fears of the people. The arbitrary measures of the deceased king were chiefly attributed to the counsel of James; and the persecutions of Mary's reign, the last British sovereign who professed the popish religion, were identified with the religion itself. Hence, the arbitrary measures and fiery persecutions of Mary's days, were arrayed before the affrighted eyes of the British nation. James had frequently protested in the hearing of William Penn, that he was principled in favour of liberty of conscience, and as the prince had been considered a man of unimpeachable veracity, there was certainly no absurdity in believing him. The integrity of William Penn's religion, would not permit him to take advantage of what he considered an unfounded apprehension, and gratitude to the reigning monarch for personal favours, led him, as far as his influence extended, to compose rather than to augment, the prevailing agitation. In a letter to Thomas Lloyd, president of the Provincial council, written soon after James' accession, he expressed a caution against any indecent reflections on the government, on account of the open profession which the king was making. Considering freedom of conscience as an unalienable right, he was as ready to allow it to the king as to his subjects; and was no more disposed to make a concurrence in religious principles, the reason of his allegiance to the former, than of civil liberty to the latter. But while he used the freedom to tell the king that he approved the open avowal of his own opinions, he took care to remind him of the religious rights of others, and to express a hope that Friends would be permitted to enjoy the unmolested exercise of their religion.

Being desirous of improving the influence which he possessed with the king, to the advantage of his suffering friends, he took lodgings at Kensington, a village two miles west of London. He appears to have made it his business to serve his friends; and as every man is a friend to him that giveth gifts, he soon found the number of his very great. His house and gates were daily thronged with clients and suppliants desiring him to present their addresses to the king. According to Gerard Croese, there were sometimes upwards of two hundred of these applicants in attendance. But instead of becoming impatient with their importunity, he treated them with the utmost kindness, and promoted their desires with promptitude and cheerfulness. Instead of seeking emolument from these incessant labours, he often defrayed out of his own funds the expense, unavoidably attendant upon the preparation of the documents which passed through his hands. Yet, numerous as were the applications for the employment of his interest at court, he does not appear to have waited for an application when he knew of cases in which his interference could be of use. Nor were his efforts confined to those in which the members of his own religious society were concerned.

It has been already mentioned that there were at the time of king Charles's death nearly fifteen hundred Friends confined in prison. An address was presented to the new king, about a month after his accession, soliciting his interposition on their behalf. A parliament being convened in the early part of this year, a particular statement of these sufferings was drawn up by Friends of London, addressed to the king and both houses of parliament; in which they pourtrayed in strong but natural colours the multiplied hardships to which they were exposed, for no other offence than a care to preserve a conscience void of offence; and solicited a repeal of those iniquitous laws.

Whether an opportunity was afforded of laying this address before parliament, is uncertain. It is, however, known that no redress was then procured.* The news of the Duke of Monmouth's arrival, with a view

*William Sewel quotes a proclamation of king James, dated 18th of April, 1685, which he represents as putting a stop to persecution; but it appears to me that he must have been mistaken, for the proclamation evidently relates to a totally different class of sufferers, though the laws on which they were prosecuted, were probably the same as those of which Friends had so much reason to complain.

of disputing the crown with the reigning monarch, soon put an end to the deliberations of that body.

The history of Monmouth's invasion, has little or no connection with the biography of William Penn, except as he was indirectly involved in its consequences. It is well known that after the defeat of the Duke, the military commanders Feversham and Kirk, manifested a very great share of cruelty towards his unfortunate accomplices; and that Chief-justice Jeffreys astonished and disgusted the nation by the severity with which he punished those who were charged with participating in the rebellion. So great indeed was the terror infused into the juries by the menaces of the judge, that very little evidence of guilt was required to ensure conviction; and so unrelenting the rigour with which trifling offences were visited, that some were executed for having furnished hay or victuals to Monmouth's soldiers. The sufferers being mostly persons in the humbler walks of life, could not be objects of jealousy with the court. Hence the severity with which they were treated, created the greater odium. Although these barbarities were originally inflicted by the military and judicial organs of the government, the king turned the odium upon himself, by rewarding the inhumanity of Jeffreys with a peerage, and the office of chancellor. The measures which followed, were generally considered as clear indications of a determination on the part of the king, to govern the nation without regard to the restraints of law; and the proceedings in favour of the Romish religion, awakened anew the dread of popery and arbitrary power, which the declaration of James upon his accession to the crown, had contributed to allay.

There is no reason to believe that any of these offensive proceedings were countenanced by William Penn; for every part of his conduct, as far as known, leads to the opposite conclusion, yet his intimacy at court, and his supposed influence with the king, turned upon him no inconsiderable share of the odium which attended the religion of the king and the measures of government. But in this case, as usually happens, the tongue of slander defeated its own purposes, at least with posterity, by loading his character with charges too inconsistent with its general tenor to admit of belief. Not satisfied with imputing to him a participation in the political errors of James, over which he certainly had no control, they represented him to be a papist or jesuit, or engaged in a correspondence with the jesuits at Rome. He was even said to have been bred at St. Omers, and to have received a priest's orders at Rome. As it was obvious he was married, which the Romish priests were not permitted to be, it was asserted that he had obtained a dispensation from the pope for that purpose. Among the means which were used to fix upon him the charge of popery, was a copy of some verses, published soon after the death of Charles, signed with the initials of his name. These verses, condoling the death of the late king, and gratulating the accession of James, were sufficiently marked with flattery and popish predilections, to render the author odious in the view of an excited populace. This production, as was probably intended, was attributed to him. To disabuse the credulous public, and satisfy his friends that the imputation was erroneous, he issued the following paper.

"*To my esteemed friends, called Quakers, on occasion of two copies of verses printed and subscribed* W. P.

"Dear friends,

"I have written this for your satisfaction, and yet not for yours, as you well say, but to inform those many that importune you on my account, asking, if I was the author of the condoling and congratulating verses on the late and present king; printed (say they) in my name: concluding if I were the author, I must needs have turned papist, flatterer, and what they please.

"Others, I perceive, without this help, as well as without truth or modesty, stick not to report me a declared papist, and that I openly go to mass.

"Now though it looks idle in any to wonder I should be a papist at this time of day, who have been thought, and upon just as good grounds, a jesuit so many years, yet because they have no better evidence, a man would wonder why they should be so believing, but that we lamentably see, men are apter to be injurious than just. In the mean while I have a fine time of it, to be reported a papist on one hand, and presented and prosecuted as a disaffected person on the other hand; but I know myself, and the world too well, to be troubled at this, and worse, if that can be: it is enough for me it is false.

"For the verses, if it be considered, the two letters W. P. may begin five hundred names besides mine; and I that pretend not to poetry at any time, should hardly have done it then, when I must needs look to have such sad company, as the dull flattery of all the suburbs of the town.

"But that I did not write them, the stuff itself shows, and they must be bereaved of sense as well as charity, that can think it: for to own myself a Quaker, and jeer the

profession: to use their phrases and profane them: to promise as Quakers to live peaceably, and yet engage to be no more such: to make ourselves loyal in one stanza, and ask pardon for not being so in another: be now a mistaken and wilful rout, and presently the loving and loyal friends of Charles and James, make up a jar and a nonsense that I have not been used to be guilty of in prose; and whenever I turn such a penny-poet, let such confusion be my judgment: however, it would look rude to be angry at them; for certainly they put a mighty compliment upon my name, that thought two letters of it would make their drug sell: and because I am so known a friend to property, to the unknown hawker-wit that writ them I leave them, with the credit of all the fine and foolish fancy they are laboured with: contenting myself against all defamations that I have this defence of my religion and conduct in my conclusion;

"First, That the Grace of God within me, and the Scriptures without me, are the foundation and declaration of my faith and religion, and let any man get better if he can.

"Secondly, That the profession I make of this religion, is in the same way and manner, that I have used for almost these eighteen years last past.

"Thirdly, That my civil conduct, I humbly bless my God, has been with peace on earth, and good will to all men, from the king on the throne, to the beggar on the dunghill.

"I have ever loved England, and moderation to all parties in it, and long seen, and foreseen the consequences of the want of it. I would yet heartily wish it might take place, and persuasion that of persecution, that we might not grow barbarous for Christianity, nor abuse and undo one another for God's sake.

"These have been, these are, and with God's strength shall be, through all the crooked and uneven paths of time, the principles and practice of

"Your ancient and constant friend,

"WILLIAM PENN.

"Worminghurst-place, the last of the Second month, called April, 1685.

"P. S. If this will not serve and satisfy the mistaken, for the malicious I fear are past cure, let them but prove the report upon any body, and I will yet, as late in the day as it looks for such work, effectually convince them with the judgment of the law, that ought to be every honest man's shield.

"WILLIAM PENN."

The charge of his being at least popishly inclined, continued to be entertained; and some persons in the higher ranks appear to have given credit to it. Among this class was Dr. Tillotson, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, who having imbibed a suspicion of him dropped some expressions, which were afterwards reported to his disadvantage. This coming to the ears of William Penn, he wrote to the doctor on the subject; a correspondence followed, which terminated in a full conviction, in the mind of the latter, that the suspicion was groundless. The correspondence is subjoined.

WILLIAM PENN TO DR. TILLOTSON.

"Worthy friend,

"Being often told that Dr. Tillotson should suspect me, and so report me, a papist, I think a jesuit, and being closely prest I take the liberty to ask thee, if any such reflection fell from thee: if it did, I am sorry one I esteemed ever the first of his robe, should so undeservedly stain me, for so I call it; and if the story be false, I am sorry they should abuse Dr. Tillotson as well as myself without a cause. I add no more, but that I abhor two principles in religion, and pity them that own them. The first is, obedience upon authority without conviction; and the other, destroying them that differ from me for God's sake. Such a religion is without judgment, though not without teeth: union is best, if right; else charity: and as Hooker said, "The time will come, when a few words spoken with meekness, and humility and love, shall be more acceptable than volumes of controversies;" which commonly destroy charity, the very best part of true religion: I mean not a charity that can change with all, but bear all, as I can Dr. Tillotson in what he dissents from me, and in this reflection too, if said, which is not yet believed by

"Thy Christian true friend,

"WILLIAM PENN.

"Charing-cross, 22nd of the Eleventh month, 1685–6."

DR. TILLOTSON TO WILLIAM PENN.

"Jan. 26, 1685.

"Honoured sir,

"The demand of your letter is very just and reasonable, and the manner of it very kind, therefore in answer to it, be pleased to take the following account. The last time you did me the favour to see me at my house, I did, according to the freedom I always use, where I profess any friendship, acquaint you with something I had heard of a correspondence you held with some at Rome, and particularly with some of the jesuits there. At which you seemed a little surprised, and after some general discourse about it, you said,

you would call on me some other time, and speak further of it: since that time I never saw you, but by accident and in passage, where I thought you always declined me, particularly at Sir William Jones's chamber, which was the last time, I think, I saw you; upon which occasion I took notice to him, of your strangeness to me, and told him what I thought might be the reason of it, and that I was sorry for it, because I had a particular esteem of your parts and temper. The same, I believe, I have said to some others, but to whom I do not so particularly remember. Since your going to Pennsylvania, I never thought more of it, till lately, being in some company, one of them pressed me to declare, whether I had not heard something of you, which had satisfied me that you were a Papist? I answered, No, by no means. I told him what I had heard, and what I said to you, and of the strangeness that ensued upon it; but that this never went further with me, than to make me suspect there was more in that report which I had heard, than I was at first willing to believe; and that if any made more of it, I should look upon them as very injurious both to Mr. Penn and myself.

"This is the truth of that matter, and whenever you will please to satisfy me that my suspicion of the truth of that report I had heard was groundless, I will heartily beg your pardon for it. I do fully concur with you in the abhorrence of the two principles you mention, and in your approbation of that excellent saying of Mr. Hooker's, for which I shall ever highly esteem him. I have endeavoured to make it one of the governing principles of my life, never to abate any thing of humanity or charity, to any man for his difference from me in opinion, and particularly to those of your persuasion, as several of them have had experience. I have been ready upon all occasions to do all offices of kindness, being truly sorry to see them so hardly used; and though I thought them mistaken, yet in the main I believed them to be very honest. I thank you for your letter, and have a just esteem of the Christian temper of it, and rest,

"Your faithful friend,

"Jo. Tillotson."

William Penn to Dr. Tillotson.

"Worthy friend,

"Having a much less opinion of my own memory, than of Dr. Tillotson's truth, I will allow the fact, though not the jealousy. For besides that I cannot look strangely where I am well used, I have ever treated the name of Dr. Tillotson with another regard. I might be grave, and full of my own business; I was also then disappointed by the doctor's; but my nature is not harsh, my education less, and my principle least of all. It was the opinion I have had of the doctor's moderation, simplicity and integrity, rather than his parts, or post, that always made me set a value upon his friendship, of which, perhaps, I am better judge, leaving the latter to men of deeper talents. I blame him nothing, but leave it to his better thoughts, if in my affair, his jealousy was not too nimble for his charity. If he can believe me, I should hardly prevail with myself to endure the same thought of Dr. Tillotson on the like occasion, and less to speak of it. For the Roman correspondence I will freely come to confession. I have not only no such thing with any jesuit at Rome, (though Protestants may have without offence) but I hold none with any jesuit, priest or regular in the world, of that communion. And that the doctor may see what a novice I am in that business, I know not one any where. And yet, when all this is said, I am a Catholic, though not a Roman. I have bowels for mankind, and dare not deny others what I crave for myself, I mean, liberty for the exercise of my religion; thinking faith, piety and providence a better security than force, and that if Truth cannot prevail with her own weapons, all others will fail her.

"Now, though I am not obliged to this defence, and that it can be no temporizing now to make it, yet that Dr. Tillotson may see how much I value his good opinion, and dare own the truth and myself at all turns, let him be confident, I am no Roman Catholic, but a Christian, whose creed is the Scripture, of the truth of which I hold a nobler evidence, than the best church authority in the world; and yet I refuse not to believe the porter, though I cannot leave the sense to his discretion; and when I should, if he offends against those plain methods of understanding, which God hath made us to know things by, and which are inseparable from us, I must beg his pardon; as I do the doctor's for this length, upon the assurance he has given me of his doing the like upon better information; which that he may fully have, I recommend him to my Address to Protestants, from page 133 to the end, and to the four first chapters of my No Cross, No Crown; to say nothing of our most inceremonious and unworldly way of worship, and their pompous cult; where at this time I shall leave the business, with all due and sensible acknowledgments to thy friendly temper, and assurance of the sincere wishes and respects of thy affectionate real friend,

"William Penn.

"Charing-cross, the 29th of the Eleventh month, 1686."

WILLIAM PENN TO DR. TILLOTSON.

"Charing-cross, 27th of Second month, 1686.

"Worthy friend,

"THIS should have been a visit, but being of opinion that Dr. Tillotson is yet a debtor to me this way, I chose to provoke him to another letter by this, before I made him one. For though he was very just and obliging when I last saw him, yet certainly no expression, however kindly spoken, will so easily and effectually purge me from the unjust imputation some people cast upon me in his name, as his letter will do. The need of this he will better see when he has read the enclosed, which, coming to hand since my last, is, I presume, enough to justify this address, if I had no former pretensions. And therefore I cannot be so wanting to myself, as not to press him to a letter in my just defence, nor so uncharitable to him, as to think he should not frankly write what he has said, when it is to right a man's reputation, and disabuse the too credulous world. For to me it seems from a private friendship, to become a moral duty to the public, which, with a person of so great morality, must give success to the reasonable desire of

"Thy very real friend,

"WILLIAM PENN."

DR. TILLOTSON TO WILLIAM PENN.

"April the 29th, 1686.

"Sir,

"I AM very sorry that the suspicion which I had entertained concerning you, of which I gave you the true account in my former letter, hath occasioned so much trouble and inconvenience to you. And I do now declare with great joy, that I am fully satisfied there was no just ground for that suspicion, and therefore I do heartily beg your pardon for it. And ever since you were pleased to give me that satisfaction, I have taken all occasions to vindicate you in this matter; and shall be ready to do it, to the person that sent you the enclosed, whenever he will please to come to me. I am very much in the country, but will seek the first opportunity to visit you at Charing-cross, and renew our acquaintance, in which I took great pleasure. I rest,

"Your faithful friend,

"JO. TILLOTSON."

A work written by the Duke of Buckingham, in defence of liberty of conscience, for which he had always been an advocate, near this time drew from an anonymous author, some unjust reflections, both on the duke and on William Penn. This induced the latter to make a reply, in which he exposed the absurdities, misrepresentations and contradictions of the writer, with the force of argument and keenness of wit for which he was, at times, so remarkable.

A larger tract soon followed, entitled, "A persuasive to moderation," the object of which was to show the propriety of a general toleration to church dissenters. This is a very valuable treatise; and though the doctrine which the author was then labouring to establish, is now generally received as self-evident, it is worthy of a serious perusal in the present day. I shall attempt a concise analysis of its contents.

He begins by defining conscience to be the apprehension and persuasion a man has of his duty to God; and liberty of conscience, to mean a free and open profession and exercise of that duty, especially in regard to worship; but expressly limits that freedom to a conscience which keeps within the bounds of morality, and is as exact to yield to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, as jealous of withholding from God the things that are God's.

He next shows, by a series of historical facts, that the toleration of different professions in religion, has never been destructive to governments which used it; and that the revolutions of political power have been more frequently effected by the adherents than by the opponents of the prevailing religion. He also argues that the toleration of dissenters, would increase the security of the state, by removing the causes which frequently give rise to discontent and rebellion. He then explains the causes of the contests which had agitated the English nation during the reign of Charles I.; and the motives by which the different parties were actuated at that time, as well as under the protectorate; and shows that a general toleration would have prevented or cured a great part of the evils of the state. A general toleration, by rendering the property of all persuasions secure, would increase the industry and wealth of the nation. This doctrine is illustrated and confirmed by the results of King Charles' declaration of indulgence to dissenters, which was issued in the year 1672. He does not examine the motives or legality of this declaration, but shows that its effect was highly recommendatory of a general toleration. The case is afterwards argued on grounds more clearly religious; viz. That offerings contrary to conscience, are as odious to God as uneasy to those who make them. That our Saviour would not permit fire to be brought, though from heaven, to consume the dissenters of his day. That he

commanded them to let the tares grow with the wheat until harvest; and to exclude worldly strife for religion, we are informed that his kingdom is not of this world. The apostle Paul advocates the same doctrine. He advised that every man should be fully persuaded in his own mind, and if any were mistaken, God, in his own time, would inform them better. He spoke of schismatics and heretics; they were to be admonished, and if admonition should fail, they were to be denied the fellowship of the church. But there the authority of the church ended.

The essay was closed with a number of quotations from the Christian fathers, and the opinions of others eminent for their wisdom or stations in life, in support of religious toleration. Among these were the father and grand-father of the reigning monarch.

These tracts are without date, except as the year of their publication appears in the margin, in the printed works of our author. From what J. Besse, the biographer of William Penn, has said on the subject, we may infer that this tract was written, if not published, previous to the proclamation for a general pardon issued in 1686, and we find that a particular charge was given by the king to the judges of assize in their several circuits, to extend the benefits of the pardon to such of the people called Quakers, as were convicted or under process in order for conviction, of premunire, for refusing to swear, or presented for absence from church, or other similar causes; by which means about thirteen hundred Friends, many of whom had lain in prison a number of years, were restored to liberty. Whatever motives may have influenced the king and his council in this proceeding, it was not to be doubted that Friends would receive the boon, with gratitude to the king as the immediate dispenser, and primarily to the Author of all good as the supreme and original disposer of events.

In the course of the year 1686, William Penn paid a visit to the continent. The king being informed of his prospect, requested him to undertake a mission to the Prince of Orange, afterwards William III. The object of the mission was to procure his consent to a general religious toleration in England, together with the removal of all tests.*

The object in view was very congenial with William Penn's opinions and principles. In his "Persuasive to moderation," then just published, he had expressed the sentiment, that the business of the state might be better managed, by allowing the prince to choose his agents out of six denominations, than by limiting him to one. In his own practice in Pennsylvania, he manifested the liberality of his principles. He not only secured freedom of conscience to all the inhabitants, but frequently entrusted important offices to the hands of persons who did not belong to his own religious Society.

Upon arriving on the continent, he went immediately to the Hague, where he had several conferences with the prince, on the subject.* Here he met with Burnet the historian, who was then at the same court, endeavouring to procure the consent of the prince to a toleration in England, but not to a removal of the tests. They spent several hours in discussing the subject. William Penn supported the opinion that tests were not necessary as a security to toleration, because dissenters were amenable to the laws for any deviation from constitutional rectitude.

While he was executing his commission, he became acquainted with several persons, both English and Scotch, who had fled from their country on account of persecution for their religion. These were not of his religious persuasion, yet upon his return to England he interested himself in their favour, and procured their indemnity. One of them, upon his return, finding his estate in possession of another, acquainted William Penn with the circumstances; who immediately called on the possessor, and by his remonstrances ob-

* The Test act was passed in 1673, and it required that all persons holding any public office, besides taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and receiving the sacrament according to the rites of the church of England, should abjure the doctrine of transubstantiation.

* It may appear strange that William Penn should countenance an application to a foreign prince for permission to repeal the penal laws and abolish the tests in Great Britian. The Prince of Orange certainly had no authority to interfere with the legislation of the kingdom; yet as his wife, the eldest daughter of James, was presumptive heiress to the crown, it was obvious that in case of her succession, the prince must have great influence over the affairs of the nation. He was indeed considered as the hope of the Protestants, and in the existing state of public opinion, there was little prospect of carrying so important a measure through the British parliament without his approbation. I find no account of the effect, if any was produced, of the interviews with William Penn; but it appears that the prince subsequently authorized Fagel, counsellor and chief-pensionary at the Hague, to inform the king, that he and the Princess Mary highly approved of granting an entire toleration to all Protestant dissenters; and were willing the Roman Catholics should also enjoy the liberty of their consciences. But that they could not agree to the repeal of the test and the other penal laws which excluded the professors of that religion from parliament and public employment.

tained the restitution of a part of it. After the revolution the remainder was recovered.

The object of his visit to the continent, was a religious one, but of the particulars, very little is known. It appears he visited his friends at Amsterdam, and was at the house of William Sewel the historian, who was then engaged in translating his account of Pennsylvania, and No Cross, No Crown, into the Low Dutch language. With him he carried on for some time a correspondence in Latin, some portions of which were used by Thomas Clarkson in his biography of William Penn.

From Amsterdam he pursued his travels in the work of the ministry to Utrecht; but of the other places he visited nothing is now known. It is understood, however, that he extended his visit to some parts of Germany, and in a letter written afterwards, to one of his friends, he expressed that he had had blessed service for the Lord.

After his return from the continent, he visited a considerable part of his native land. He travelled in the work of the Gospel through Oxfordshire, Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Cheshire, Lancashire, Yorkshire, and the counties of Westmoreland and Durham. This religious service appears to have been accomplished to the satisfaction of his own mind, for he thankfully testified that the Lord had been with him at that season in a sweet and melting life, to the great joy of himself and refreshment of his friends.

Soon after the proclamation of pardon already noticed, King James checked the rapacity of the informers about London and Middlesex, by signifying his pleasure to the justices that they should withhold their encouragement, from that unprincipled crew. Still Friends were persecuted as popish recusants, particularly by the act of 23 Elizabeth, for twenty pounds a month, on account of absence from the national worship. Application being made to the king, he was pleased to grant a *nolle prosequi*, and gave orders to the attorney-general, that no writs should be issued out of the exchequer against Friends on these accounts. Thus the ruin of great numbers of Friends was prevented, and their estates saved to the amount of many thousand pounds; a result which the labours and influence of William Penn were no doubt instrumental in producing.

The relief thus afforded, may perhaps be considered as fairly included in the royal prerogative; but in the early part of 1687, the king issued a declaration of general indulgence, or liberty of conscience, by his sovereign authority and absolute power, to his subjects of all religions; ordering that thenceforth the execution of all penal laws concerning ecclesiastical affairs, for not coming to church, for not receiving the sacraments, or for any other non-conformity with the established religion, or for performing religious worship in other ways, should be suspended.*

This was certainly a stretch of the royal prerogative totally irreconcileable with the nature of a limited monarchy. Yet as the boon, so far as liberty of conscience was regarded, was nothing more than reason and justice required, the dissenters in general accepted it with gratitude. Addresses of thanks to the king were therefore presented from numerous quarters. Among others, Friends of the city of London presented one, expressive of their gratitude to the king for this act of justice and mercy. But this address being presented only by Friends in the vicinity of London, the ensuing Yearly Meeting held in that city prepared one in behalf of the Society at large, and deputed William Penn, in conjunction with some others, to present it.

Being admitted to the king, William Penn introduced the address by a speech to the following import.

"It was the saying of our blessed Lord to the captious Jews in the case of tribute, 'Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's.' As this distinction ought to be observed by all men in the conduct of their lives, so the king has given us an illustrious example, in his own person, that excites us to it: for while he was a subject he gave Cæsar his tribute, and now he is Cæsar he gives God his due, namely, the sovereignty over consciences. It were a great shame then, for any Englishman that professess Christianity, not to give God his due. By this grace he has relieved his distressed subjects from their cruel sufferings, and raised to himself a new and lasting empire by adding their affections to their duty. And we pray God to continue the king in this noble resolution; for he is now upon a principle that has good nature, Christianity and the good of civil society, on its side, a security to him beyond the little arts of government.

"I would not that any should think we come hither with design to fill the gazette with our thanks; but as our sufferings would have

* There were two proclamations published, one for Scotland and the other for England. The former expressly granted a toleration by his sovereign authority, prerogative royal and absolute power; but in the latter the language was softened, and a confident expectation of the concurrence of parliament introduced.

moved stones to compassion, so we should be harder if we were not moved to gratitude.

"Now, since the king's mercy and goodness have reached to us throughout the kingdom of England and principality of Wales, our General Assembly from all those parts, met at London about our church affairs, has appointed us to wait upon the king with our humble thanks, and me to deliver them; which I do, by this address, with all the affection and respect of a dutiful subject."

The address of the Yearly Meeting was then read, being as follows:

"We cannot but bless and praise the name of Almighty God, who hath the hearts of princes in his hand, that he hath inclined the king to hear the cries of his suffering subjects for conscience-sake; and we rejoice, that, instead of troubling him with complaints of our sufferings, he has given us so eminent an occasion to present him with our thanks. And since it hath pleased the king, out of his great compassion, thus to commiserate our afflicted condition, which hath so particularly appeared by his gracious proclamation and warrants, whereby twelve hundred prisoners were released from their several imprisonments, and many others from spoil and ruin in their estates and properties, and by his princely speech in council and Christian declaration for liberty of conscience, in which he doth not only express his aversion to all force upon conscience, and grant all his dissenting subjects an ample liberty to worship God in the way they are persuaded is most agreeable to his will, but gives them his kingly word the same shall continue during his reign. We do, as our friends of this city have already done, render the king our humble, Christian and thankful acknowledgments, not only in behalf of ourselves, but with respect to our friends throughout England and Wales; and pray God with all our hearts to bless and preserve thee, O king, and those under thee, in so good a work. And as we can assure the king it is well accepted in the several counties from which we came, so we hope the good effects thereof for the peace, trade and prosperity of the kingdom will produce such a concurrence from the parliament as may secure it to our posterity in after-times; and while we live, it shall be our endeavour, through God's grace, to demean ourselves, as in conscience to God and duty to the king, we are obliged, his peaceable, loving and faithful subjects."

To this the king then replied,

"Gentlemen, I thank you heartily for your address. Some of you know, I am sure you do, Mr. Penn, that it was always my principle that conscience ought not to be forced; and that all men ought to have the liberty of their consciences. What I have promised in my declaration I will continue to perform as long as I live. And I hope, before I die, to settle it so that after ages shall have no reason to alter it."

It has been made a subject of censure that Friends and other dissenters, should offer their acknowledgments to the king for a favour which was dispensed by the violation of a constitutional principle. A few observations will be sufficient to vindicate the Society of Friends. Their principles have always led them to live peaceably under the established governments; but to take no part in setting them up or pulling them down. They were not accustomed to scrutinize very closely the extent of the powers exercised by men in authority. The limits of the royal prerogative were at that time very imperfectly defined. Indeed Sir Edward Herbert, chief-justice of the king's bench, had declared a few months before, that there was nothing whatever with which the king as supreme lawgiver, might not dispense; and this decision was confirmed by eleven judges out of the twelve. It was not then to be expected that the exercise of this dispensing power would be disputed by those who were relieved by it from an oppressive burden. The penal laws, inasmuch as they abridged the freedom of worship, were justly considered as an usurpation of the Divine prerogative; the suspension of those laws by royal authority alone, might therefore be viewed as counteracting usurpation. As the king had always professed himself a friend to liberty of conscience, and the measures of his government, so far as they were then developed, were not incompatible with such profession, Friends were at liberty to attribute his proclamation to justifiable motives. And we may observe, they modestly intimate, in their address, the necessity of a concurrent action by the parliament, to render the measure permanent.

In the summer of 1687, William Penn again travelled in the work of the Gospel, through various parts of England, and in the course of the journey, held several meetings for worship at Bristol, where Friends had been so violently persecuted. These meetings were remarkably crowded, the people flocking to them in great numbers; showing that their zeal was rather increased than diminished by the recent persecutions. At Chew, about five or six miles from Bristol, he had a meeting in the open air, there being

no building to be had sufficiently capacious to accommodate the multitude that attended. "A large and heavenly meeting it was," says J. Whiting, "many Friends and others of the country round about, being there; and the more, that it was the first time, as I remember, that William Penn was ever in our county."

Among the places he visited in Cheshire, was Chester itself. The king being then on a journey, and arriving there at the time, attended the meeting; as he did at two or three other places, where he happened to be when the meetings were held. Visiting Oxford in the course of his journey, he there met with the king again. James was then attempting to introduce into the presidentship of Magdalen College, Parker, a man of dissolute morals, and strongly suspected of popish principles. The members of the college considering the interference of the king, as an encroachment upon their rights, had elected a president, whose character was more congenial to their principles. This brought on a contest between the king and the members of the college; in which the latter applied to William Penn for his interposition with the king. He had the courage and magnanimity to express, as modestly as the nature of the case would admit, yet in terms sufficiently explicit, his disapprobation of the measures the king was pursuing; and though he had endeavoured to procure a repeal of the test act as well as the penal laws, he proved himself no friend to popish ascendency. His remonstrance however, did not arrest the proceedings of James, by whose orders the fellows of the college were displaced, and Parker forcibly installed in the presidency.

In the same year, probably after his return from the journey just mentioned, he again took up his pen in the cause of liberty of conscience.

The freedom from persecution which Friends and other dissenters enjoyed, being founded upon the dispensing power of the king, was evidently held by a precarious tenure, as the proclamation might be revoked, as that of Charles II. had been. William Penn, therefore, with a view of promoting the good work of placing the religious liberties of the people upon a solid and permanent basis, produced a tract, entitled, "Good advice to the church of England, Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters. In which it is endeavoured to be made appear, that it is their duty, principle and interest to abolish the penal laws and tests. *Beati Pacifici.*"

This tract was published without the author's name, as the Persuasive to moderation had been, probably from an apprehension that the unjust odium, under which he laboured, might prejudice the public against any production which was known to be his. It is classed in his printed works among his political tracts; but is decidedly of a religious rather than a political character, for the subject is argued on Christian principles.

In the first place he urges that it is the duty of the three classes to whom the work is addressed, to promote the abolition of the penal laws and tests; because they all profess the Christian religion, and Christianity requires us to believe that faith is the gift of God; that he only is Lord of conscience, and is able to enlighten, persuade and establish it. Consequently, to injure men in their persons or property, or to exclude them from stations of trust on account of their religion, is contrary to the tenderness and equity of Christianity. This is confirmed by the consideration, that the Christian religion is founded in love. Its origin, progress and consummation, were all in love. Our Lord's rebuke to his disciples, who wished to call down fire from heaven, to consume those who rejected him, is applicable to all times and places. Christ commanded that the tares should be permitted to grow with the wheat, until the harvest; so that he was in favour of a toleration; and his mandates are not to be modified by reasons of state. When the disciples related the circumstance of having found one casting out devils in their master's name, whom they forbade, because he followed not with them, their decision was reversed by the Saviour himself, the great Wisdom of God to his people, from whom there is no appeal.

The church of England was extremely scandalized by the severity with which protestants were treated in France,* yet the penal laws of England were directed to the same end, conformity or ruin. The arguments in support of the penal laws in England, were of no more force, than those in defence of the persecutions in France. In Germany, the two religions were peaceably maintained together.

The church of England was deemed by many, a bulwark against popery; but this she could hardly be, when she was bringing in the worst part of popery, as she declared

*The Edict of Nantz, issued by Henry IV., in 1598, granted to the French protestants, the free exercise of religion, and a share in the administration of justice, and the privilege of being appointed to all employments of trust, profit and honour. It was revoked by Louis XIV., in 1685, and a severe persecution commenced against the protestants, in consequence of which the kingdom lost nearly 600,000 of its most valuable inhabitants, who transported their industry and skill to other countries.

persecution to be. The part of popery to which the church of England most successfully objects, is her violence; and this is indeed the only part she has cause to fear. The doctrines of the papists are easily refuted, but forcing others to their faith, or ruining them for refusing it, was the terrible thing they were taught to apprehend. But this very evil was practiced by the church of England; nearly twenty laws being then in force to compel uniformity; and those laws executed as far as she thought it her interest to enforce them.

It is asserted that the plots of the papists, during the reign of Elizabeth, caused the enactment of those laws. But this is no substantial reason; for there were laws enough in existence, or laws might have been enacted, to punish all civil enormities, without forming any against them as papists. The passage of those laws was a great error, and very dishonourable to the principles of the first reformers. Hence their continuance was the more obviously improper. Let laws be enacted to detect and punish conspiracies and treasons, and to preserve the peace. But let the actions and not the opinions of men, turn the magistrates' sword against them.

A church by law established, is not necessarily a true one. A true church is of the Saviour's making, and established by the gospel; and it was a token of a false church, that none must buy or sell in her dominion, who would not receive her mark in the forehead or right hand. No church can give faith, and therefore cannot force it. Another's faith cannot save me, though it should save him. Penal laws serve only to manifest the sincerity of those who suffer by them, and the cruelty of those who inflict them.

Our author in the second part of this treatise, proceeds to show, that laws restraining the free exercise of religion, are contrary to the avowed principles of the church of England. This is proved in the first place, by the declarations of the martyrs in the reign of queen Mary; who uniformly denounced persecution as anti-christian; and in the second by copious extracts from the writings and sermons of a number of the most eminent members of her communion; viz., Dr. Usher, bishop Saunderson, bishop Taylor, the bishop of St. Asaph, Dr. Stillingfleet, Dr. Tillotson, Dr. Burnet, Sir Robert Pointz, Charles I., of England, and lastly Dr. Hudson, the chaplain of Charles, who told his royal master that he looked upon the calamities he then laboured under, to be the hand of God upon him, for not having given God his due over conscience.

With regard to dissenters, their judgment has been sufficiently expressed in opposition to all persecuting laws, by their numerous addresses of thanks to the king, for his recent declaration in favour of liberty of conscience.

Hence it is inferred, that it is not only the duty of all parties as they value the character of Christians, to promote the repeal of the penal laws on account of religion; but that they have all, at one time or another, avowed the doctrine that conscience ought not to be compelled, nor religion imposed by worldly penalties.

In the third part, he advances the opinion that the repeal of those laws, was the interest of all parties, and especially of the church of England.

The reasons for that opinion are, that they have been an argument against the first reformers, and overthrow the principles upon which they separated from the church of Rome. Those laws have also been the great cause of contention from the time of their enactment. The operation of those laws is traced from Henry VIII. to his own time, and their bitter fruits briefly exposed.

Throughout this essay, we perceive a constant effort to lead the people of that day in the path which their religious duty as well as civil interest pointed out—to allay the jealousies which the conflict of parties had excited, and to compose the fears, which, as a selfish politician, regarding the progress of his own province, he might have found it his interest to increase. If King James and his advisers, had been governed by his prudent and Christian counsel, that monarch would probably have escaped the disasters which clouded the rest of his life.

A second tract on the repeal of the penal laws, entitled, "The great and popular objection against the repeal of the penal laws, briefly stated and considered," soon followed. This being of a temporary nature, is not contained in the printed works of our author.

William Penn had now been about three years absent from his American possessions. During this time he appears to have been chiefly employed in assiduous endeavours to procure the repeal of the persecuting laws. A royal proclamation, as we have seen, had been issued, suspending the execution of those laws. Yet as this suspension, and consequently the ease resulting from it, was founded upon the exercise of the royal prerogative, and had not been confirmed by the parliament, he was not satisfied to return to America, until he could see the religious liberties of his friends more fully secured; the Society possessed at that time, a large number of members eminently qualified for the religious service of their day, but the talents of William Penn, natural

and acquired, joined with his influence at court, rendered him a more efficient labourer in this particular field, than any of his brethren.

The affairs of Pennsylvania had suffered from his absence. Some unpleasant disputes had risen among the people there, which his influence and authority, if present, would probably have prevented. Of this the new settlers appear to have been conscious, and were therefore very solicitous for his return. Some disorders and immoralities were also permitted to grow up among them, which he was very desirous to suppress. In his letters and instructions to his friends and agents in Pennsylvania, he repeatedly urged them to employ their influence or authority, for the promotion of harmony, and the correction of vice and immorality, in that infant colony.

There is reason to apprehend that he had, by this time, begun to feel himself embarrassed in consequence of the heavy expenses he had incurred in the settlement of the province, and the slow returns received. In several of his letters in 1686, he noticed the tardiness of the returns for his labour and expense, asserting that his expenditures had exceeded his receipts, by not less than six thousand pounds, without taking any account of his labour, hazard of life and separation from his family and friends, at home. He expressed an ardent desire to return to Pennsylvania, but intimated that this could not be done until greater attention was paid by the inhabitants there, to his interest and income. In the course of 1687 a number of despatches to persons in public stations, and letters to his friends, were sent, in which the promotion of peace, the suppression of immorality, and the civil and religious advancement of the people were the burden of his theme. His desire to be with them, was still forcibly expressed; but the security of his friends, by the repeal of the penal laws, which were then suspended, was an object too near his heart to admit of his leaving England at that time.*

*A late historian, whose illiberal exposition of William Penn's motives, was noticed in a former chapter, imputes his continuance in England to the gratification which he found at the court of St. James. His labours to procure religious toleration are represented as being at an end when the proclamation for religious indulgence and the suspension of the penal laws was issued. But this author ought to have known, that William Penn wrote one of his most elaborate works, advocating the repeal of the penal laws after the proclamation for their suspension was issued; and that in his letter to J. Harrison, quoted by Proud, he spoke of being engaged in the business of the nation and Friends—that those in authority desired him to see the *establishment* of the liberty which he had been a small instrument to begin; and that the object expressly in view was to have the penal laws repealed which were then suspended.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1688-9. In the second month of this year, King James published anew his declaration in favour of liberty of conscience, inviting his subjects to accede to it, and to choose such members of parliament as might do their part, to finish what he had begun. This parliament, it was announced, would be convened in the ensuing November. To this declaration was annexed an order of council, requiring it to be read in all the churches and chapels; the bishops being enjoined to distribute it, for that purpose, throughout their respective dioceses.

From the disposition manifested by the clergy of the established church, during the preceding reign, it is reasonable to believe that the liberty thus granted to dissenters, was very disagreeable to them. They had however a reason for opposing this mandate which they could advance, without making any objection to its ostensible object. The archbishop of Canterbury and six bishops accordingly met and prepared an address to the king, beseeching him not to insist upon a compliance with this order of council; alleging that their aversion to reading the declaration did not arise from any want of duty and obedience to their sovereign, or of tenderness to dissenters; but because it was founded upon a dispensing power which had been repeatedly declared illegal by parliament.

Though this petition was delivered by the petitioners themselves, into the king's hands, without being previously divulged to any one, he resented it so highly, as to order them to be committed to the tower, on their refusal to give bail for their appearance before the court of king's bench, to answer for what was denominated a high misdemeanour, and afterwards prosecuted as a libel. This proceeding excited no little alarm among the people. As a counterpoise to this excitement, the petition was published by authority, accompanied with satirical remarks, stating that the bishops had exercised great cruelties towards dissenters, and had rigorously endeavoured to exalt the regal power above the law, so long as it was employed for the oppression of others; but now when exerted for their relief, as in 1672, they are desirous to limit it by law, in order that the persecuting laws may retain their wonted force. It may be added, that these bishops, were afterwards brought to trial at Westminster hall; and notwithstanding the judges held their seats during the pleasure of

the king, two of them had the firmness to declare against the dispensing power of the crown. The jury at length brought in a verdict of acquittal, which was received with applause by the nation.

These proceedings, together with the encouragement openly given to the Roman Catholic worship and the induction of many of its professors into stations of trust and power, rendered the government of James, at that time, exceedingly unpopular with Protestants of almost every denomination. The favour shown to dissenters, however acceptable and reasonable in itself, was viewed with distrust, as an expedient to remove the existing disabilites from the professors of the popish faith, and finally to re-establish popery in England upon the ruin of every denomination of protestants. The removal of tests, which the king appeared determined to effect, either by an act of parliament or by his own prerogative, was considered as a means of paving the way for the introduction of Roman Catholics, into all the departments of government. The motives which were believed to actuate the king, and for which indeed his measures gave too much reason, were by a natural association, attributed to his advisers, and William Penn from his intimacy at court became deeply involved in the odium attendant upon the proceedings of the king.

It came to be understood, that he had been engaged in a mission to the Hague, to procure the consent of the Prince of Orange to a repeal of the test law as well as those restraining the freedom of worship. He also became known as the writer of the "Good advice to the church of England," &c. which he had published anonymously. Though there was nothing in any part of this conduct inconsistent with his public and uniform profession, and his frequent visits to the king furnished no evidence that he was the adviser of any of his unconstitutional measures, the suspicion of popery and jesuitism was renewed with greater confidence than ever.

One of his particular friends, though not a member of his own religious Society, conscious of the purity and integrity of his principles, and anxious to rescue his character from the opprobrium which ignorance and prejudice had fastened upon it, wrote him the following letter.*

"*To the honourable William Penn, esq., proprietor and governor of Pennsylvania.*

"Honoured sir,

"Though the friendship with which you are pleased to honour me, doth afford me sufficient opportunities of discoursing with you upon any subject, I choose rather at this time to offer unto you in writing, some reflections which have occurred to my thoughts in a matter of no common importance. The importance of it doth primarily and directly respect yourself, and your own private concernments, but it also consequentially and effectually regards the king, his government, and even the peace and settlement of this whole nation. I entreat you therefore to bear with me, if I endeavour in this manner to give somewhat more weight unto my words than would be in a transient discourse, and leave them with you as a subject that requires your retired consideration.

"You are not ignorant that the part you have been supposed to have had of late years in public affairs, though without either the title, or honour, or profit of any public office, and that especially your avowed endeavours to introduce amongst us a general and inviolable liberty of conscience in matters of mere religion, have occasioned the mistakes of some men, provoked the malice of others, and in the end have raised against you a multitude of enemies, who have unworthily defamed you with such imputations as I am sure you abhor. This I know you have been sufficiently informed of, though I doubt you have not made sufficient reflection upon it; the consciousness of your own innocence seems to me to have given you too great a contempt of such unjust and ill-grounded slanders; for however glorious it is, and reasonable, for a truly virtuous mind, whose inward peace is founded upon that rock of innocence, to despise the empty noise of popular reproach, yet even that sublimity of spirit may sometimes swell to a reprovable excess. To be steady and immoveable in the prosecution of wise and honest resolutions, by all honest and prudent means, is indeed a duty that admits of no exception; but nevertheless it ought not to hinder that, at the same time, there be also a due care taken of preserving a fair reputation. A good name, says the wise man, is better than precious ointment. It is a perfume that recommends the person whom it accompanies, that procures him every where an easy acceptance, and that facilitates the success of all his enterprizes; and for that reason, though there were no other, I entreat you observe, that the care of a man's reputation is an essential part of that very same duty that engages him in the pursuit of any worthy design.

"But I must not entertain you with a declamation upon this general theme. My business is to represent to you, more particularly,

* The writer was secretary to the lords commission for trade and plantations.

those very imputations which are cast upon yourself, together with some of their evident consequences; that, if possible, I may thereby move you to labour after a remedy. The source of all arises from the ordinary access you have unto the king, the credit you are supposed to have with him, and the deep jealousy that some people have conceived of his intentions in reference to religion. Their jealousy is, that his aim has been to settle popery in this nation, not only in a fair and secure liberty, but even in a predominating superiority over all other professions: and from hence the inference follows, that whosoever has any part in the councils of this reign, must needs be popishly affected; but that to have so great a part in them as you are said to have had, can happen to none but an absolute papist. That is the direct charge; but that is not enough, your post is too considerable for a papist of an ordinary form, and therefore you must be a jesuit: nay, to confirm that suggestion it must be accompanied with all the circumstances that may best give it an air of probability—as that you have been bred at St. Omer's in the jesuit's college; that you have taken orders at Rome, and there obtained a dispensation to marry; and that you have since then frequently officiated as a priest in the celebration of the mass at Whitehall, St. James's and other places. And this being admitted, nothing can be too black to be cast upon you. Whatsoever is thought amiss either in church or state, though never so contrary to your advice, is boldly attributed to it, and if other proofs fail, the Scripture itself must be brought in to confirm, that whosoever offends in one point (in a point especially so essential as that of our too much affected uniformity) is guilty of the breach of all our laws. Thus the charge of popery, draws after it a tail like the *et cetera* oath, and by endless innuendoes, prejudicates you as guilty of whatsoever malice can invent or folly believe: but that charge therefore being removed, the inferences that are drawn from it will vanish, and your reputation will easily return to its former brightness.

"Now that I may the more effectully persuade you to apply some remedy to this disease, I beseech you, sir, suffer me to lay before you some of its pernicious consequences. It is not a trifling matter for a person raised as you are above the common level, to lie under the prejudice of so general a mistake, in so important a matter. The general and the long prevalency of any opinion gives it a strength, especially among the vulgar, that is not easily shaken. And as it happens that you have also enemies of an higher rank, who will be ready to improve such popular mistakes, by all sorts of malicious artifices, it must be taken for granted that those errors will be thereby still more confirmed, and the inconveniencies that may arise from thence no less increased. This, sir, I assure you, is a melancholy prospect to your friends; for we know you have such enemies. The design of so universal a liberty of conscience as your principles have led you to promote, has offended many of those whose interest is to cross it: I need not tell you how many and how powerful they are. Nor can I tell you, either how far, or by what ways and means they may endeavour to execute their revenge. But this however I must needs tell you, that in your present circumstances, there is sufficient ground for so much jealousy at least, as ought to excite you to use the precaution of some public vindication. This the tenderness of friendship prompts your friends to desire of you; and this the just sense of your honour, which true religion does not extinguish, requires you to execute.

"Pardon, I entreat you, sir, the earnestness of these expressions; nay, suffer me without offence to expostulate with you yet a little further. I am fearful lest these personal considerations should not have their due weight with you, and therefore I cannot omit to reflect also upon some more general consequences of your particular reproach. I have said it already, that the king, his honour, his government, and even the peace and settlement of this whole nation, either are, or have been concerned in this matter. Your reputation, as you are said to have meddled in public affairs, has been of public concernment. The promoting a general liberty of conscience having been your particular province; the aspersion of popery and jesuitism, that has been cast upon you, has reflected upon his majesty, for having made use, in that affair, of so disguised a personage as you are supposed to have been. It has weakened the force of all your endeavours, obstructed their effect, and contributed greatly to disappoint this poor nation of that inestimable happiness and secure establishment, which I am persuaded you designed, and which all good and wise men agree, that a just and inviolable liberty of conscience would infallibly produce. I heartily wish this consideration had been sooner laid to heart, and that some demonstrative evidence of your sincerity in the profession you make, had accompanied all your endeavours for liberty.

"But what do I say, or what do I wish for? I confess that I am now struck with astonishment at that abundant evidence which I know you have constantly given, of the opposition of your principles to those of the Romish

church, and at the little regard there has been paid to it. If an open profession of the directest opposition against popery, that has ever appeared in the world, since popery was first distinguished from common Christianity, would serve the turn; this cannot be denied to all those of that Society, with which you are joined in the duties of religious worship. If to have maintained the principles of that Society, by frequent and fervent discourses, by many elaborate writings, by suffering ignominy, imprisonment and other manifold disadvantages in defence thereof, can be admitted as any proof of your sincere adherence thereunto; this, it is evident to the world, you have done already. Nay further; if to have inquired as far as was possible for you, into the particular stories that have been framed against you, and to have sought all means of rectifying the mistakes upon which they were grounded, could in any measure avail to the settling a true character of you in men's judgments; this also I know you have done. For I have seen under the hand of a reverend dean* of our English church, a full acknowledgment of satisfaction received from you in a suspicion he had entertained upon one of those stories, and to which his report had procured too great credit. And though I know you are averse to the publishing of his letter without his express leave, and perhaps may not now think fit to ask it; yet I am so thoroughly assured of his sincerity and candour, that I cannot doubt but he has already vindicated you in that matter, and will, according to his promise, be still ready to do it upon all occasions. Nay, I have seen also your justification from another calumny of common fame, about your having kidnapped one who had been formerly a monk, out of your American province, to deliver him here into the hands of his enemies; I say, I have seen your justification from that story under that person's own hand. And his return to Pennsylvania, where he now resides, may be an irrefragable confutation of it, to any that will take the pains to inquire thereinto.

"Really it afflicts me very much to consider that all this does not suffice. If I had not that particular respect for you which I sincerely profess; yet I could not but be much affected, that any man who had deservedly acquired so fair a reputation as you have formerly had, whose integrity and veracity had always been reputed spotless, and whose charity had been continually exercised in serving others, at the dear expense of his time, his strength and his estate, without any other recompense than what results from the consciousness of doing good; I say, I could not but be much affected, to see any such person fall innocently and undeservedly under such unjust reproaches as you have done. It is an hard case, and I think no man that has any bowels of humanity, can reflect upon it without great relentings.

"Since, therefore, it is so, and that something remains yet to be done, something more express, and especially more public, than has yet been done for your vindication, I beg of you, dear sir, by all the tender efficacy that friendship, either mine, or that of your friends and relations together, can have upon you; by the due regard which humanity and even Christianity obliges you to have to your reputation; by the duty you owe unto the king; by your love to the land of your nativity; and by the cause of universal religion and eternal truth, let not the scandal of insincerity, that I have hinted at, lie any longer upon you; but let the sense of all these obligations persuade you to gratify your friends and relations, and to serve your king, your country and your religion, by such a public vindication of your honour, as your own prudence upon these suggestions, will now show you to be most necessary and most expedient. I am, with unfeigned and most respectful affection,

"Honoured sir,

"Your most humble and most

"Obedient servant.

"London, October the 20th, 1688."

This letter drew from William Penn the following reply:

"Worthy friend,

"It is now above twenty years, I thank God, that I have not been very solicitous what the world thought of me. For since I have had the knowledge of religion from a principle in myself, the first and main point with me has been, to approve myself in the sight of God, through patience and well-doing. So that the world has not had weight enough with me, to suffer its good opinion to raise me, or its ill opinion to deject me. And if that had been the only motive or consideration, and not the desire of a good friend in the name of many others, I had been as silent to thy letter, as I use to be to the idle and malicious shams of the times. But as the laws of friendship are sacred, with those that value that relation, so I confess this to be a principal one with me, not to deny a friend the satisfaction he desires, when it may be done without offence to a good conscience.

"The business chiefly insisted upon, is my popery, and endeavours to promote it. I do say then, and that with all sincerity, That I

* Dr. Tillotson.

am not only no jesuit, but no papist. And which is more, I never had any temptation upon me to be it, either from doubts in my own mind about the way I profess, or from the discourses or writings of any of that religion. And in the presence of Almighty God, I do declare, that the king did never once, directly or indirectly, attack me, or tempt me upon that subject, the many years that I have had the advantage of a free access to him; so unjust, as well as sordidly false, are all those stories of the town.

"The only reason that I can apprehend, they have to repute me a Roman Catholic, is, my frequent going to Whitehall, a place no more forbid to me than to the rest of the world, who yet, it seems, find much fairer quarter. I have almost continually had one business or other there for our Freinds, whom I ever served with a steady solicitation, through all times, since I was of their communion. I had also a great many personal good offices to do, upon a principle of charity for people of all persuasions, thinking it a duty to improve the little interest I had for the good of those that needed it, especially the poor. I might add something of my own affairs too, though I must own, if I may without vanity, that they have ever had the least share of my thoughts or pains, or else they would not have still depended as they yet do.

"But because some people are so unjust, as to render instances of my popery, or rather hypocrisy, for so it would be in me, it is fit I contradict them as particularly as they accuse me. I say then solemnly, that I am so far from having been bred at St. Omer's, and having received orders at Rome, that I never was at either place, nor do I know any body there; nor had I ever a correspondence with any body in those places, which is another story invented against me. And as for my officiating in the king's chapel, or any other, it is so ridiculous, as well as untrue, that besides that nobody can do it but a priest, and that I have been married to a woman of some condition above sixteen years, which no priest can be, by any dispensation whatever; I have not so much as looked into any chapel of the Roman religion and consequently not the king's, though a common curiosity warrants it daily to people of all persuasions.

"And once for all, I do say, That I am a Protestant dissenter, and to that degree such, that I challenge the most celebrated Protestant of the English church or any other, on that head, be he layman or clergyman, in public or in private. For I would have such people know, it is not impossible for a true Protestant dissenter to be dutiful, thankful and serviceable to the king, though he be of the Roman Catholic communion. We hold not our property or protection from him by our persuasion, and therefore his persuasion should not be the measure of our allegiance. I am sorry to see so many who seem fond of the reformed religion, by their disaffection to him, recommend it so illy. Whatever practices of Roman Catholics we might reasonably object against, and no doubt but such there are, yet he has disclaimed and reprehended those ill things by his declared opinion against persecution; by the ease in which he actually indulges all dissenters, and by the confirmation he offers in parliament, for the security of the Protestant religion and liberty of conscience. And in his honour, as well as in my own defence, I am obliged in conscience to say, that he has ever declared to me, it was his opinion, and on all occasions, when duke, he never refused me the repeated proofs of it, as often as I had any poor sufferers for conscience-sake to solicit his help for.

"But some may be apt to say, Why not any body else as well as I? Why must I have the preferable access to other dissenters, if not a papist? I answer, I know not that it is so. But this I know, that I have made it my province and business; I have followed and prest it, I took it for my calling and station, and have kept it above these sixteen years; and which is more, if I may say it without vanity or reproach, wholly at my own charges too. To this let me add the relation my father had to this king's service, his particular favour in getting me released out of the tower of London in '69, my father's humble request to him upon his death-bed, to protect me from the inconveniences and troubles my persuasion might expose me to, and his friendly promise to do it, and exact performance of it, from the moment I addressed myself to him. I say, when all this is considered, any body that has the least pretence to good nature, gratitude or generosity, must needs know how to interpret my access to the king. Perhaps some will be ready to say, This is not all, nor is this yet a fault, but that I have been an adviser in other matters disgustful to the kingdom, and which tend to the overthrow of the Protestant religion and the liberties of the people. A likely thing indeed, that a Protestant dissenter, who from fifteen years old has been, at times, a sufferer in his father's family, in the university, and by the government, for being so, should design the destruction of the Protestant religion. This is just as probable as it is true that I died a jesuit six years ago in America. Will men still suffer such stuff to pass upon them? Is any

thing more foolish as well as false, than that because I am often at Whitehall, therefore I must be the author of all that is done there, that does not please abroad. But supposing some such things to have been done, pray tell me, if I am bound to oppose any thing that I am not called to do? I never was a member of council, cabinet or committee, where the affairs of the kingdom are transacted. I have had no office or trust, and consequently, nothing can be said to be done by me, nor for that reason, could I lie under any test or obligation to discover my opinion of public acts of state, and therefore neither can any such acts, nor my silence about them, in justice, be made my crime. Volunteers are blanks and cyphers in all governments. And unless calling at Whitehall once a day, upon many occasions, or my not being turned out of nothing, for that no office is, be the evidence of my compliance in disagreeable things, I know not what else can with any truth, be alleged against me. However, one thing I know, that I have every where most religiously observed, and endeavoured in conversation with persons of all ranks and opinions, to allay heats and moderate extremities, even in the politics. It is below me to be more particular, but I am sure it has been my endeavour, that if we could not all meet upon a religious bottom, at least we might upon a civil one, the good of England; which is the common interest of king and people. That he might be great by justice, and we free by obedience; distinguishing rightly on the one hand, between duty and slavery; and on the other, between liberty and licentiousness.

"But, alas! I am not without my apprehensions of the cause of this behaviour towards me, and in this I perceive we agree; I mean my constant zeal for an impartial liberty of conscience. But if that be it, the cause is too good to be in pain about. I ever understood that to be the natural right of all men; and that he that had a religion without it, his religion was none of his own. For what is not the religion of a man's choice, is the religion of him that imposes it. So that liberty of conscience is the first step to have a religion. This is no new opinion with me. I have written many apologies within the last twenty years to defend it, and that impartially. Yet I have as constantly declared, that bounds ought to be set to this freedom, and that morality was the best; and that as often as that was violated, under a pretence of conscience, it was fit the civil power should take place. Nor did I ever once think of promoting any sort of civil liberty of conscience for any body, which did not preserve the common Protestancy of the kingdom and the ancient rights of the government. For to say truth, the one cannot be maintained without the other.

"Upon the whole matter, I must say, I love England; I ever did so; and that I am not in her debt. I never valued time, money nor kindred, to serve her and do her good. No party could ever bias me to her prejudice, nor any personal interest oblige me in her wrong. For I always abhorred discounting private favours at the public cost.

"Would I have made my market of the fears and jealousies of people, when this king came to the crown, I had put twenty thousand pounds into my pocket, and an hundred thousand into my province. For mighty numbers of people were then upon the wing. But I waved it all, hoped for better times; expected the effects of the king's word for liberty of conscience, and happiness by it. And till I saw my friends, with the kingdom, delivered from the legal bondage, which penal laws for religion had subjected them to, I could with no satisfaction think of leaving England; though much to my prejudice beyond sea, and at my great expense here; having in all this time, never had either office or pension; and always refusing the rewards or gratuities of those I have been able to oblige.

"If therefore an universal charity, if the asserting an impartial liberty of conscience, if doing to others as one would be done by, and an open avowing and steady practising of these things, in all times, to all parties, will justly lay a man under the reflection of being a jesuit or papist, of any rank, I must not only submit to the character but embrace it too; and I care not who knows, that I can wear it with more pleasure, than it is possible for them with any justice to give it me. For these are corner-stones and principles with me; and I am scandalized at all buildings that have them not for their foundation. For religion itself is an empty name without them, a whited wall, a painted sepulchre, no life or virtue to the soul; no good or example to one's neighbour. Let us not flatter ourselves; we can never be the better for our religion, if our neighbour be the worse for it. Our fault is, we are apt to be mighty hot upon speculative errors, and break all bounds in our resentments; but we let practical ones pass without remark, if not without repentance. As if a mistake about an obscure proposition of faith, were a greater evil than the breach of an undoubted precept. Such a religion the devils themselves are not without; for they have both faith and knowledge, but their faith doth not work by love, nor their knowledge by obedience. And if this be their

judgment, can it be our blessing? Let us not then think religion a litigious thing; or that Christ came only to make us good disputants, but that he came also to make us good livers. Sincerity goes further than capacity. It is charity that deservedly excels in the Christian religion; and happy would it be, if where unity ends, charity did begin, instead of envy and railing, that almost ever follow. It appears to me to be the way that God has found out and appointed to moderate our differences, and make them at least harmless to society; and therefore I confess, I dare not aggravate them to wrath and blood. Our disagreement lies in our apprehension or belief of things; and if the common enemy of mankind had not the governing of our affections and passions, that disagreement would not prove such a canker as it is, to love and peace, in civil societies.

"He that suffers his difference with his neighbour about the other world, to carry him beyond the line of moderation in this, is the worse for his opinion, even though it be true. It is too little considered by Christians, that men may hold the truth in unrighteousness; that they may be orthodox, and not know what spirit they are of; so were the apostles of our Lord; they believed in him, yet let a false zeal do violence to their judgment, and their unwarrantable heat contradict the great end of their Saviour's coming, love.

"Men may be angry for God's sake, and kill people too. Christ said it, and too many have practised it. But what sort of Christians must they be, I pray, that can hate in his name, who bids us, love; and kill for his sake, that forbids killing; and commands love, even to enemies?

"Let not men or parties think to shift it off from themselves. It is not this principle, or that form, to which so great a defection is owing, but a degeneracy of mind from God. Christianity is not at heart, no fear of God in the inward parts. No awe of his Divine omnipresence. Self prevails and breaks out more or less, through all forms, but too plainly, (pride, wrath, lust, avarice) so that though people say to God, Thy will be done, they do their own; which shows them to be true heathens, under a mask of Christianity, that believe without works, and repent without forsaking, busy for forms and the temporal benefits of them, while true religion, which is to visit the fatherless and the widow, and to keep ourselves unspotted from the world, goes barefoot, and like Lazarus is despised. Yet this was the definition the Holy Ghost gave of religion before synods and councils had the meddling with it and modelling of it. In those days bowels were a good part of religion, and that to the fatherless and widow at large. We can hardly now extend them to those of our own way. It was said by him that could not say amiss; Because iniquity abounds, the love of many waxeth cold. Whatsoever divides man's heart from God, separates it from his neighbour; and he that loves self more than God, can never love his neighbour as himself. For, as the apostle said, if we do not love him whom we have seen, how can we love God whom we have not seen?

"O that we could see some men as eager to turn people to God, as they are to blow them up, and set them against one another. But indeed those only can have that pure and pious zeal, who are themselves turned to God, and have tasted the sweetness of that conversion, which is to power, not form; to godliness, not gain. Such as those bend their thoughts and pains to appease, not increase heats and animosities, to exhort people to look at home, sweep their own houses, and weed their own gardens. And in no age or time was there more need to set men at work in their own hearts, than this we live in, when so busy, wandering, licentious a spirit prevails. For whatever some men may think, the disease of this kingdom is sin, impiety against God, and want of charity to men. And while this guilt is at our door, judgment cannot be far off.

"Now this being the disease, I will briefly offer two things for the cure of it. The first is, David's clean heart and right spirit, which he asked and had of God. Without this we must be a chaos still; for the distemper is within; and our Lord said, All evil comes from thence. Set the inward man right, and the outward man cannot be wrong. That is the helm that governs the human vessel. And this nothing can do but an inward principle, the light and grace that came by Christ, who the Scriptures tell us, enlightens every one, and hath appeared to all men. It is preposterous to think, that he who made the world, should show least care of the best part of it, our souls; no, he that gave us an outward luminary for our bodies, hath given us an inward one for our minds to act by. We have it; and it is our condemnation that we do not love it and bring our deeds to it. It is by this we see our sins, are made sensible of them, sorry for them, and finally forsake them. And he that thinks to go to heaven a nearer way, will, I fear, belate his soul, and be irreparably mistaken. There are but goats and sheep at last, whatever shapes we wear here. Let us not therefore, dear friend, deceive ourselves. Our souls are at stake, God will not be mocked, what we sow we must

expect to reap. There is no repentance in the grave; which shows, that if none there, then no where else. To sum up this divinity of mine; it is the light of Jesus in our souls, that gives us a true sight of ourselves, and that sight that leads us to repentance, which repentance begets humility, and humility that true charity, that covers a multitude of faults, which I call God's expedient against man's infirmity. The second remedy to our present distemper is this; since all of all parties profess to believe in God, Christ, the Spirit and Scripture, that the soul is immortal, that there are eternal rewards and punishments, and that the virtuous shall receive the one, and the wicked suffer the other; I say, since this is the common faith of Christendom, let us all resolve in the strength of God to live up to what we agree in, before we fall out so miserably about the rest in which we differ. I am persuaded, the change and comfort which that pious course would bring us to, would go very far to dispose our natures to compound easily for all the rest, and we might hope yet to see happy days in poor England; for there I would have so good a work begun. And how it is possible for the eminent men of every religious persuasion, epecially the present ministers of the parishes of England, to think of giving an account to God at the last day, without using the utmost of their endeavours to moderate the members of their respective communions, towards those that differ from them, is a mystery to me. But this I know and must lay it at their doors, I charge also my own soul with it, God requires moderation and humility from us; for he is at hand, who will not spare to judge our impatience, if we have no patience for one another. The eternal God rebuke, I beseech him, the wrath of man, and humble all under the sense of the evil of this day: and yet, unworthy as we are, give us peace, for his holy name's sake.

"It is now time to end this letter, and I will do it without saying any more than this. Thou seest my defence against popular calumny; thou seest what my thoughts are of our condition and the way to better it, and thou seest my hearty and humble prayer to Almighty God, to incline us to be wise, if it were but for our own sakes. I shall only add, that I am extremely sensible of the kindness and justice intended me by my friends on this occasion, and that I am for that and many more reasons,

"Thy obliged and affectionate friend,

"WILLIAM PENN.

"Teddington, October the 24th, 1688."

It must be admitted, that a more full, clear and manly defence of his conduct and principles, than this letter contains, could not have been written. Whether it was then published, or retained among the friends of the receiver, does not appear. Nor do I find any account how far the suspicion of popery was allayed by this unequivocal denial of it. Certain it is, however, that his intimacy at court, and acknowledged friendship for James, subjected him to great inconvenience in the ensuing reign, and that some writers of established reputation have given to posterity an unfavourable representation of his conduct. It will appear in the sequel that none of those charges were supported by substantial or even probable evidence.

A few days after the date of William Penn's letter, the Prince of Orange landed at Torbay, and being joined by most of the leading men in the nation, King James fled into France, and thus left the way open for the accession of the Prince and Princess of Orange. A convention being called, they were declared King and Queen of England.

The effect of this change in the government was soon felt by William Penn; for on the 10th of the tenth month, as he was walking in Whitehall, he was sent for by the lords of the council, who were then sitting, when he underwent an examination. We have no account what charge, if any, was exhibited against him.* In reply to some questions which were put to him, he assured them that he had done nothing but what he could answer before God, and all the princes in the world; that he loved his country and the Protestant religion above his life, and had never acted against either; that all he ever aimed at, in his public endeavours, was no other than what the prince had declared for; that King James was always his friend and his father's friend, and in gratitude he was the king's friend; and did always, as much as in him lay, influence him to his true interest. Notwithstanding this manly and open declaration, and that nothing appeared against him, he was required to give security for his appearance on the first day of next term, which he did. Upon his appearance in court he was continued on the same security to the Easter term following. On the last day of that term his case was brought before the court; when,

* From what Clarkson has told us on the subject, I should infer that this examination was based upon a suspicion that he was a papist, or perhaps a jesuit, and had aided King James in his attempt to establish popery and arbitrary power. But it is not clearly stated.

no charge of any kind appearing against him, he was publicly discharged.

The convention which placed William and Mary upon the throne of Great Britain, having in the year 1689 been converted into a parliament, proceeded to enact such laws as were judged requisite to secure the objects of the revolution. A bill abolishing the test act was passed by the commons, thus preparing the way for the admission of dissenting Protestants into the offices of government. But this bill was rejected by the house of lords.

The next measure in favour of dissenters was more successful. A bill was introduced and passed into a law, usually styled the act of toleration. By this act all dissenters were exempted from certain penalties, provided they would take the oaths to government—and as Friends could not conscientiously take an oath, they were allowed the benefit of the act upon subscribing a declaration of a prescribed form. Dissenters were allowed to hold their meetings without molestation, provided the doors were not bolted during the time.

From the works which William Penn had produced in defence of toleration, and the clearness and force of his arguments, we may safely consider him as one of the agents in the production of this great event. The repeal of the penal laws will no doubt be attributed, by many, to the growing liberality of the age. But that liberality itself may be justly ascribed to the labours and sufferings of those enlightened men whom that and the preceding ages produced; among whom he and his friends held a conspicuous place.

During the time that William Penn was employed as we have seen in England, the want of his presence in Pennsylvania was felt and lamented by the inhabitants there. The burden of government had rested principally upon Thomas Lloyd, a valuable member and minister of the Society of Friends; but as he was desirous of being released from the care and responsibility of his public station, William Penn reluctantly granted his request, and nominated John Blackwell, who was not a Friend, as his deputy. Among the instructions, accompanying the commission sent to this officer, I find the following: "That the widow, orphan, and absent may be particularly regarded in their rights; for their cry will be loudest in all ears; but by absent, I mean such as are so of necessity." "To have a special care that sheriffs and clerks of the peace impose not upon the people; and that the magistrates live peaceably and soberly; for I could not endure one loose or litigious person in authority. Let them be men having some fear of God, and hating covetousness, whatever be their persuasion: to employ others is to profane an ordinance of God." "Rule the meek meekly; and those that will not be ruled, rule with authority; and God Almighty prosper all honest and prudent endeavours."

The appointment of Deputy-governor Blackwell did not answer the expectations of the proprietary. He did not harmonize with the inhabitants there; and William Penn was induced in a short time to revoke his commission. Although he expressed an apprehension that Friends were not altogether free from blame in the controversies which arose between them and his deputy, his letters were still expressive of his tender attachment to them, and fervent desires for their temporal and spiritual welfare. The inhabitants of the province being exempt from the commotions which then agitated their native land, were making rapid advances in the accumulation of estates; and the watchful eye of William Penn did not fail to discover the danger attendant upon the sudden increase of wealth. In one of his letters written about this time, he seriously admonished his friends in Pennsylvania to beware lest the things of the world should occupy too much place in their minds; "For," says he "it is a blessed state to enjoy and use the world, in the dominion of his life and power, who has quickened us by his light and spirit. In this stands all our peace and blessedness, that God be eyed in the first place; that we set him continually before our eyes; and that our eye be directed toward him in all things; as the eye of a handmaid to her mistress; that we may be able to say in truth and righteousness, that we have none in heaven but him; nor on the earth besides him."

The year 1689 gave rise to Friends' public school in Philadelphia; which was incorporated in 1697 by a charter from William Penn's deputy. This was subsequently confirmed, by a fresh charter from William Penn himself in 1701, and a second in 1708. By this charter the corporation was "for ever thereafter to consist of fifteen discreet and religious persons, of the people called Quakers, by the name of the Overseers of the Public School, founded in Philadelphia, at the request, cost and charges of the people called Quakers." A third and final one was granted in 1711, confirming the preceding charters, and extending the privileges of the corporation. Fifteen individuals were named in this charter, several of whom are known to have been eminent for literary and scientific attainments, as well as for religious worth. Vacancies occurring in this body, are supplied by their own election. By this charter the corporate title was changed to "The Overseers of the Public School founded by charter in the town and county of Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania."

The design of this institution was not only to afford the means of education in the common branches of learning, in which the poor were taught gratuitously, but to furnish an opportunity of instruction in the higher departments of science and literature.

An extract from the preamble to this charter will show the design of its founders:—

"Whereas, the prosperity and welfare of any people depend, in great measure, upon the good education of youth, and their early instruction in the principles of true religion and virtue, and qualifying them to serve their country and themselves, by breeding them in reading, writing and learning of languages, and useful arts and sciences, suitable to their sex, age and degree; which cannot be effected in any manner, so well as by erecting public schools for the purposes aforesaid; therefore," &c.

The first teacher of that seminary was George Keith, who afterwards rendered himself so conspicuous by his opposition to Friends. He was engaged upon terms, which at that time must have been deemed liberal, yet he retained his station there only about a year. The seminary thus commenced in the infancy of the colony, has been maintained to the present time; the corporation have now under their superintendence a number of flourishing schools.*

This early attention to the establishment of seminaries of learning, is an ample refutation of the charge so frequently brought against the Society of Friends, that they are opposed to the literary instruction of their youth. The imputation itself, when it is seriously entertained, arises from ignorance both of the conduct and opinions of Friends. The instruction of youth in science and literature, to qualify them for usefulness in civil and religious society, has always been promoted in the Society. George Fox encouraged the education of youth "in whatsoever things were useful and civil." It is to the assumption of human literature as a qualification for the ministry, that Friends object, not when confined to its legitimate objects. The establishment of a printing press in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, within four years after the landing of William Penn, may also be adduced as evidence that the new settlers, a large part of whom were Friends, were not averse to the encouragement of literature.

* Though this public school was instituted in 1689, it is not to be inferred that the business of education was neglected until then. On the contrary, it appears by a minute of council dated in 1683, that a teacher was then engaged to instruct the youth in reading, writing and accounts.

CHAPTER XXV.

1690.—As William Penn had been in the practice of writing letters to the Duke of Buckingham, who died in 1687; a friend of his being apprehensive that these letters might contain matter, which, in the existing state of things, and the prejudice under which he laboured, would be construed to his disadvantage, had applied himself to the collection of them, in order to prevent their falling into improper hands. This coming to the knowledge of their author, he addressed to him the following communication:

"Though nothing of an interest of my own was the reason of the ancient esteem I have had for thee, yet that only is the motive at this time to this freedom; for being informed by Jer. Grimshaw, that some of my letters to the late Duke of Buckingham are in thy hands, and that thy wonted kindness to all of our communion had shown itself in my regard by collecting them apart, to prevent their falling under any improper notice, I thought myself obliged both to return my acknowledgments for that friendly caution, and to desire thee to let them follow him they were written to, who can be no more known to the living. I need not trust another hand than that, which was unwilling any other should be trusted with them but my own. I know not what the circumstances of that time might draw from me; but my only business with him ever was to make his superior quality and sense useful to this kingdom, that he might not die under the guilt of mispending the greatest talents that were among the nobility of any country. However, in the rubbish of those times, and the late extraordinary revolution, let them lie, and let us all think of this only way to the peace and happiness we pretend to seek, namely, to give God his due out of us, and then we shall have our dues out of one another; and without it let us not wonder at the nimble turns of the world, nor reflect upon the mischiefs that attend them. They are the natural effects of our breach of duty to God, and will ever follow it. We, like the Jews, are full of jealousy, humour, and complaint, and seek for our deliverance in the wrong place. When we grow a better people, we shall know better days; and when we have cast off satan's yoke, no other can hold longer upon us. Things do not change. Causes and effects are ever the same; and they that seek to over-rule the eternal order, fight with the winds, and overthrow themselves. But what is this to my subject? I close with the true sense of all thy tenderness to our poor folks, and regards to myself, be-

seeching God, that more than the reward of him that gives a cup of cold water in the name of a disciple may be thy portion, when this very trifling world may be no more.

"I am thy affectionate, true friend,

"WILLIAM PENN."

One of the principal objects of his continuance in England being in great measure attained, his attention was turned towards his American possessions. But before he had prepared for his voyage, he was arrested, and brought before the lords of the council. He was charged with holding a traitorous correspondence with the exiled monarch, who was then in France. The charge was founded upon a letter from James to him, which had been intercepted by the government. He desired to appeal to King William himself, which was granted; and a conference with the king and council ensued, and continued nearly two hours. The intercepted letter was produced, but it required much less sagacity than William Penn's to show that he was not answerable for any thing which James might choose to write to him. Being questioned respecting the meaning of some expressions contained in the letter, he frankly told them he supposed they meant that he should endeavour to promote his restoration. He confessed that he had loved King James, and as he loved him in his prosperity, he could not hate him in his adversity. He acknowledged that the had received many favours from him, which he was willing to repay by any private service in his power; but he must inviolably observe that duty to the state which belonged to all the subjects of it. He had therefore never had the wickedness even to think of attempting his restoration to the crown which had fallen from his head. It was consequently evident that nothing contained in that letter, could criminate him. This meager outline is all that remains of the examination. The defence of William Penn, however, appeared so clear and satisfactory, that King William inclined to discharge him, but some of the council interfering, he, to please them, required him to give bail for his appearance at the next Trinity term. During the interval between this examination and the time assigned for his trial, he employed himself in preparations for his intended voyage to America. He appeared in court, at the time appointed, when, as no evidence was produced against him, he was honourably discharged.

It was not long after this event, before he was again interrupted in his preparations for returning to Pennsylvania. The nation was in great commotion, from apprehensions of an invasion from France, for the purpose of restoring the exiled king. James had many adherents in Ireland, who had taken up arms in his cause; and King William was engaged in the reduction of that island. To prevent the partisans of James from taking advantage of William's absence, the queen, in addition to other precautionary measures, issued a proclamation, dated 12th of July, requiring the arrest of a number of individuals, principally noblemen, including William Penn, upon a charge or suspicion of adhering to the enemies of the reigning monarch. The case coming before the court of king's bench on the last day of Michaelmas term, and no proof appearing against him, he was again discharged.

Being thus liberated, with a character untarnished, and fully aware of the loss to his American interest, arising from continued absence, he renewed his preparations for a voyage to Pennsylvania. Proposals for a fresh settlement there being issued, a number of colonists were preparing to embark for that country. The preparations were nearly completed, and a heavy expense incurred, when his proceedings were arrested by a fresh accusation. King William going to the Congress at the Hague, some of the disaffected party took that opportunity of forming a new conspiracy against his government. In order to accomplish their design, it was concluded that Lord Preston and one Ashton, should concert with King James, in person, the measures to be adopted. But their plot being discovered, they were seized in the hold of a vessel which they had engaged to carry them to France, together with the letters and papers which they were carrying over. Ashton was executed; but Preston, in order to save his own life, informed against several of the nobility who had been active in promoting the revolution, as well as against a number of the partisans of James. Among those who were thus accused William Penn was one; and the accusation being seconded by the oath of one William Fuller,* a warrant was granted for his apprehension.

Just as this storm was gathering over him, George Fox was removed from works to rewards. A little before his death he sent for some of his particular friends, to whom he gave his instructions respecting the circulation of religious books. Of this number William Penn was probably one, for I find he was with

* This Fuller soon afterwards was prosecuted and convicted in the court of king's bench as an impostor, and, for publishing certain libels, condemned to stand in the pillory. His testimony of course could attach no odium to the character of such a man as William Penn.

him at his close. He also attended his funeral, and was largely engaged in the ministry to a company estimated at two thousand persons. A messenger was sent there, to arrest him on the warrant above mentioned, but mistaking the hour, he escaped his hands.

William Penn had hitherto defended himself before the king and council, and established his innocence to general satisfaction. But the prosecution which now awaited him seems to have assumed a more threatening aspect than any preceding one. His biographers have not given a very clear account of the specific charge which was preferred against him. It appears to have been a participation with others in a conspiracy for the restoration of James. One of his accusers was Lord Preston, who being engaged in the conspiracy himself, could not be expected to be very scrupulous with regard to the testimony he should give in relation to the conduct of others; and from the character of Fuller, there was no reason to hope that he would hesitate to advance any charge which interest or malice might suggest. This plot was principally charged upon the Roman Catholics; and William Penn was, in the idle rumours of the day, ranked with the adherents to the popish faith. There was therefore reason to apprehend that the general odium resting upon the professors of that religion, would be brought to bear upon this prosecution. The trials and executions upon the pretended disclosures of Oates and Bedloe must have been fresh in his memory. Under these circumstances, William Penn judged it most prudent, instead of exposing himself to the hazard of a public trial, to remain for a time in retirement. He accordingly appeared but little in public for two or three years.

A letter written a few months after this event, to his friend Thomas Lloyd, shows the pious resignation with which this trial was endured.

"By this time thou wilt have heard of the renewal of my troubles, the only let of my return; being in the midst of my preparations, with a great company of adventurers, when they fell upon me. The jealousies of some, and unworthy dealing of others have made way for them; but under and over it all, the ancient Rock has been my shelter and comfort; and I hope yet to see your faces, with our ancient satisfaction. The Lord grant, if it be for his glory, whose I desire to be in all conditions; for this world passeth away, and the form and beauty of it fadeth; but there are eternal habitations for the faithful; among whom I pray that my lot may be, rather than among the princes of the earth.

"I hope I need not urge my circumstances, to excite thy love, care and concern for me and my suffering interest, in that country. I know thou hast better learned Christ and Cato, if I may so say, and wilt embrace such an opportunity to choose to express thy friendship and sincerity; nor is uncertainty and changeableness thy fault; wherefore I will say no more, but desire that my afflictions may cease, if not cure your animosities, or discontents, within yourselves, if yet they have continued; and that thou wilt both in government, and to my commissioners of property, yield thy assistance all thou canst. By all this God may prepare me to be fitter for future service, even to you there. I ask the people forgiveness for my long stay; but when I consider how much it has been my great loss, and for an ungrateful generation, it is punishment!—It has been 20,000 pounds to my damage, in the country, and above 10,000 pounds here, and to the province 500 families; but the wise God, that can do what he pleases, as well as see what is in man's heart, is able to requite all; and I am persuaded, all shall yet work together for good, in this very thing, if we can overlook all that stands in the way of our views Godward, in public matters. See that all be done prudently and humbly; and keep down irreverence and looseness, and cherish industry and sobriety. The Lord God Almighty be with you, and amongst you, to his praise and your peace."

William Penn did not permit the time of his seclusion to pass unemployed, but produced several valuable tracts.

In the first place that his friends, the members of his own religious Society, might not be left under any unfavourable impression on account of his retirement, he addressed the following epistle to the Yearly Meeting of London:

"The 30th of the Third month, 1691.

"My beloved, dear and honoured brethren,

"My unchangeable love salutes you; and though I am absent from you, yet I feel the sweet and lowly life of your heavenly fellowship, by which I am with you, and a partaker amongst you, whom I have loved above my chiefest joy. Receive no evil surmisings, neither suffer hard thoughts, through the insinuations of any, to enter your minds against me your afflicted, but not forsaken friend and brother. My enemies are yours, and in the ground mine for your sakes; and that God seeth in secret, and will one day reward openly. My privacy is not because men have sworn truly, but falsely against me; for wick-

ed men have laid in wait for me, and false witnesses have laid to my charge things that I knew not; who have never sought myself, but the good of all, through great exercises, and have done some good, and would have done more, and hurt to no man, but always desired that truth and righteousness, mercy and peace might take place amongst us. Feel me near you, and lay me near you, my dear and beloved brethren, and leave me not, neither forsake, but wrestle with Him that is able to prevail against the cruel desires of some, that we may yet meet in the congregations of his people, as in days past to our mutual comfort. The everlasting God of his chosen in all generations, be in the midst of you, and crown your most solemn assemblies with his blessed presence, that his tender, meek, lowly, and heavenly love and life may flow among you; and that he would please to make it a seasoning and fruitful opportunity to you, that, edified and comforted, you may return home to his glorious high praise, who is worthy for ever. To whom I commit you, desiring to be remembered of you before him, in the nearest and freshest accesses, who cannot forget you in the nearest relation.

"Your faithful friend and brother,

"William Penn."

Robert Barclay, the Apologist, having died in the eighth month, 1690, in the prime of life, being only in his forty-second year, his works were collected and published in folio in 1692. William Penn furnished an excellent preface to this volume, containing a concise explanation and defence of the principles which his author had so successfully espoused, together with a brief account of the contents of the various tracts contained in the works of that admirable writer.

John Burnyeat of Dublin, a valuable minister, who had travelled extensively in the work of the Gospel, was also removed from the militant church in the course of the same year. His writings being collected and published soon after his death, William Penn wrote a preface to that volume also.

Another product of his retirement, was a small tract, entitled, "Just measures, in an Epistle of peace and love to such professors of Truth, as are under any dissatisfaction about the present order practised in the church of Christ."

A number of years had then elapsed since meetings for discipline were first established in the Society. The opposition to those meetings, which arose on their institution, had very much subsided; yet a difference of opinion existed at this time, upon some points connected with them, particularly the maintenance of women's meetings distinct from those of the men. The object of this epistle was to show the benefit and importance of these meetings, and to allay the jealousy which had grown up in some parts of the Society in regard to them.

A work, rather larger, soon followed. It happened about this time, that persons of some other persuasions renewed their attack upon the religious principles and doctrines of Friends. This was done by giving to the world their own misrepresentations, as an exhibition of the doctrines of the Society. William Penn having collected these perversions, wrote an essay for the purpose of enabling others to distinguish the doctrines and principles of Friends from the misrepresentations of their adversaries.

This work was so well received, that within about thirty years after its publication, it passed through twelve editions. Being concise, and containing much valuable matter respecting the Christian doctrines and testimonies of the Society, it is inserted at length, viz.:

A Key, opening the way to every capacity, how to distinguish the religion professed by the people called Quakers, from the perversions and misrepresentations of their adversaries. With a brief exhortation to all sorts of people to examine their ways and their hearts, and turn speedily to the Lord.

INTRODUCTION.

Reader,

Observing the prevailing power of prejudice, and the too great easiness of mankind to be imposed upon by designing persons, and especially on the side of uncharitableness, so depraved is the nature of man, and considering also what mischievous effects that evil hath produced among all sorts of people, to the hurt of civil as well as religious society, by the coldness, jealousy, uncharitableness and animosity, even to hatred and persecution, the very contraries of the true Christian religion, that have thereby abounded, we have the less wondered at the hard treatment which we, as a people, have suffered from other persuasions; almost all of them having in their turn, some, I hope, ignorantly, others, I fear, wilfully, misrepresented our principles, misgiven our plain meanings, and called their own strained interpretations and downright perversions, our faith and religion. Thus dressing us in the bear's skin, the credulous have been excited to look upon and treat us as heretics, seducers, blasphemers and what not, while, blessed be God, our aim and bent

have been the very power and work of religion upon our souls, that we might be God's workmanship through Christ Jesus, his blessed Son and heavenly agent; taking this to be the very life and soul of true religion; the effect and fruit of the Divine nature, which makes us Christians indeed here, and fits us for glory hereafter. And because we have chosen retirement, moderation and self-denial, which to be sure are the solids and inwards, the spirit and substance of religion, and have therefore sequestered ourselves from more outward and pompous communions, offence has been taken at us, and we have been disingenuously represented to the world. On which account I have published this little treatise, for the sake of others, as well as in our own vindication, but theirs especially, that are under prejudices from vulgar abuses. I would entreat such to consider, that if it be an evil to judge rashly or untruly of any single man, how much greater sin it is to condemn a whole people. And if the matter about which the judgment is made, renders it more or less evil, certainly to condemn the religion of a whole people in the lump, which comprehends their faith, worship and morals also, must be, if false or mistaken, as great an injustice as can well be committed, and the Almighty will not hold them guiltless who have been so uncharitable and injurious to their neighbours. This we have frequently lamented as our great unhappiness, above all that our enemies have been able argumentatively to urge against us, that we are yet unknown of those that stick not to condemn us. But they must certainly be inexcusable with just minds, who will take our belief at the hands of our enemies rather than at our own, who best ought to know what we believe. It will be the business of this little key to explain the pretended obscurity, and show the difference between our principles and the vulgar account and apprehensions, and thereby open a way to so clear and plain an understanding of our true principles, distinguished from our enemies' perversions, that we hope, with God's blessing, all impartial inquirers will be satisfied of our holy and Christian profession. This we also earnestly desire for their good, that as we have been called of God, out of the evil of the world, to be a people to his praise, through his grace, so none may stumble or be offended at the truth we testify of; but seeing the excellency of it, by the peace and purity it leads into, they may embrace it and walk in it; which is the best way to end controversy and obtain the great and true end of religion, the salvation of the soul.

SECTION I. *Of the Light within, what it is, and the virtue and benefit of it to man.*

Perversion 1. The Quakers hold, That the natural light in the conscience of every man in the world, is sufficient to save all that follow it; and so they overthrow salvation by Christ.

A mighty error indeed, if it were true.

Principle. But it is at best a great mistake. For their belief and assertion is, That Christ, who is the Word that was with God, and was God, and is so for ever, hath enlightened every man that cometh into the world, with his own light, as he is that true light, or such a light, as there is no other to be compared with him; which is the meaning of the emphasis true in the text, John i. 9. And that such as follow the reproofs, convictions and leadings of that light, with which he enlightens the understandings and consciences of men, shall not walk in darkness, that is, in evil and ignorance of God, but shall have the light of life; that is, be in a holy and living state or condition towards God; a state of acceptance and salvation, which is from sin here, as well as from wrath hereafter, for which end Christ was given of God. So that they assert the light of Christ, to be sufficient to save, that is, to convince of sin, lead out of it and quicken the soul in the ways of holiness, and not to be a natural light; but as all men, born into the world, have a measure of Christ's light, so it may, in a sense, be said to be natural to all men, because all men who come into the world have it. This light is something else than the bare understanding man hath as a rational creature; since, as such, man cannot be a light to himself; but has only a capacity of seeing, by means of the light with which Christ, the Word, enlighteneth him. For we can no more be a mental or intellectual light to ourselves, than we are an external and corporeal light to ourselves. But as the sun in the firmament is the light of our bodies, so the light of the Divine Word is the sun of our souls; the glorious luminary of the intellectual world, and they that walk in it, will by it be led to blessedness.

Pervers. 2. The Quakers hold, That the light within them is God, Christ and the holy Spirit; so that every Quaker has whole God, Christ and holy Spirit in him, which is gross blasphemy.

Princ. This is also a mistake of their belief. They never said that every Divine illumination or manifestation of Christ, in the hearts of men, was whole God, Christ or the Spirit, which might render them guilty of that

gross and blasphemous absurdity some would fasten upon them. But that God, who is light, or the Word Christ, who is light, styled the second Adam, the Lord from heaven, and the quickening Spirit, who is God over all, blessed for ever, hath enlightened mankind with a measure of saving light; who said, I am the Light of the world, and they that follow me, shall not abide in darkness, but have the light of life. So that the illumination is from God, or Christ, the Divine Word; but not therefore that whole God or Christ is in every man, any more than the whole sun or air is in every house or chamber. There are no such harsh and unscriptural words in their writings. It is only a frightful perversion by some of their enemies, to bring an odium upon their holy faith.

Yet in a sense the Scriptures say it, and that is their sense, in which only, they say the same thing. I will walk in them and dwell in them. He that dwelleth with you, shall be in you: I will not leave you comfortless, I will come to you: I in them and they in me: Christ in us, the hope of glory. Unless Christ be in you, ye are reprobates. Little children, of whom I travail again in birth, until Christ be formed in you. Now if they who denied his coming in the flesh, though highly professing Jews, were to be accounted anti-christs, because enemies to that appearance and dispensation of God to men; what must they be reputed, who as stiffly disown his inward, nearer and more spiritual coming, formation and dominion in the soul; which is, to be sure, the higher and nobler knowledge of Christ? Yea, the mystery hid from ages and now revealed to God's people; the riches of the glory of the mystery which God reserved to be made known to the Gentiles, of whose stock we are. Certainly, though they are called Christians, they must be no whit less anti-christs than those obstinate Jews of old, who opposed his more visible and bodily appearance.

Pervers. 3. By the Quakers' doctrine every man must be saved, for every man, they say, is savingly enlightened.

Princ. Not so either: for though the light or grace of God hath and doth more or less appear to all men, and brings salvation to as many as are taught by it to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, and righteously, and godly in this present world, as the Scripture teacheth; yet it no way follows that men must obey and learn so to do, whether they will or not. God tenders saving light or grace to all, and by it calls all, and strives and pleads with all, according to the measure and manifestation of it; but if they will not hearken to it, he is clear of their blood. His light is saving that lighteth them, but it cannot be said to save them, while they rebel against it. In short, though men are enlightened or visited with a saving light or grace, yet the Quakers never concluded, nor can it rightly be concluded from their testimony, that such men must necessarily and absolutely be saved, whether they obey or rebel.

Pervers. 4. By the Quakers' Light or Spirit, they may be moved to murder, treason, theft or any such like wickedness, because they say that such as are so led, have the light within them.

Princ. This never was their doctrine, nor is it consequent of it. For though they hold that all have light, they never said that all obeyed it, or that evil men, as such, or in such things, were led by it. Much less could the light be chargeable with the sins of those who refused to be led by it. For herein they know the spirit of God and the motions of it, from the spirit of this world and its fruits, that the spirit of God condemns all ungodliness, and moves and inclines to purity, mercy, and righteousness, which are of God.

They deny and abominate that loose and ranting mind, which would charge the spirit of God with their unholy liberty. God's spirit makes people free from sin, and not to commit sin. Neither do they distinguish, as such loose people wickedly do, between the act and the evil of it. Wherefore they say, that as the tree is known and denominated by its fruits, so spirits are by their influences, motions and inclinations; and the spirit of God never did incline any one to evil. For that cause they renounce this construction of the Ranters, that evil is no evil when they are led to it by God's spirit; for that grossly implies, as if the spirit of God led man at any time to that which is evil in itself, or that it were possible to be sinless in the commission of sin, as murder, theft, revenge, &c. For that never was or can be the way and method of God's spirit, which is pure and holy for ever; and brings all who regard the convictions and motions of it, into a sense and sorrow for sin, and so leads them into a state of reformation, without which, all profession of religion is mere formality, and hypocrisy. So that man's sin and destruction are of himself, but his help is in God alone, through Jesus Christ, our blessed sacrifice and sanctifier.

Section II. *Of Infallibility and Perfection.*

Pervers. 5. The Quakers must all be infallible and perfect, if they have such an infallible Light in them.

Princ. No such matter: this is also a great abuse of their true meaning. They say,

the spirit of Truth is pure, perfect, unerrable in itself, or else it were very unfit to lead men out of error and impurity. But they never did assert themselves such, merely because it was within them: by no means. But that all who are led by it, and live according to its manifestation, are so far perfect, and so far infallible in the right way, as they are led by it, and not a jot farther. For it is not opinion, or speculation, or notions of what is true; or assent to, or the subscription of articles, or propositions, though never so soundly worded, which, according to their sense, makes a man a true believer, or a true Christian. But it is a conformity of mind and practice to the will of God, in all holiness of conversation, according to the dictates of this holy Spirit of light and life in the soul, which denotes a person truly a child of God. For the children of God are led by the spirit of God, but if any man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his. And let it be noted, that though this spirit be in man, yet it is not of man, but of God, through Jesus Christ. Who can lay down a more independent doctrine upon self, and a more depending one upon the grace or gift of God? Let us not, I pray, be mistaken, nor suffer for such misapprehensions, nor be made to hold what we do not, on purpose to disrepute us with sober people, or to support the mistaken charges of our enemies. Yet to show that a state of perfection from sin (though not in fulness of wisdom and glory) is attainable in this life, they, among others, refer to these Scriptures, which for brevity's sake, are not set down at large, but the reader is desired to turn to them:

Gen. xvii. 1. Deut. xviii. 13. Job i. 1, 8.; ii. iii., &c.; viii. 20. Psal. xviii. 32; xxxvii. 37; cxix. 1. Prov. ii. 21. Matt. v. 48. Luke vi. 40. 1 Cor. ii. 6. 2 Cor. xiii. 9, 11. Eph. iv. 13. 1 Thes. iii. 10. 2 Tim. iii. 17. Jam. i. 4. 1 Pet. 5. 10. Heb. vi. 1. 1 John i. 6, 7, 8, 9.; ii. 20. 27.; iii. 5, 6, 7, 8.; iv. 17.

SECTION III. *Of the Scriptures, their truth, authority, and service.*

Pervers. 6. The Quakers deny the Scriptures, for they deny them to be the Word of God.

Princ. They own and style the Scriptures, as they own and style themselves; viz., a declaration of those things most truly believed, given forth in former ages, by the inspiration of the holy Spirit; consequently that they are profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works. They are the form of sound words. We profess to believe them, and read them; and say it is the work we have to do in this world, and the earnest desire of our souls to Almighty God, that we may feel and witness the fulfilling of them in and upon ourselves; that so God's will may be done in earth, as it is in heaven. But to call them the Word of God, the ground of the charge, which they never call themselves, but by which they peculiarly denominate and call Christ; in reverence to Christ, and in no slight to them, (which we believe to be of Divine authority, and embrace as the best of books, and allow to be as much the word of God, as a book can be,) they do, as in duty and reason bound, attribute that title to Christ only.

And yet as the word of God may, in some sense, signify the command of God, referring to the thing or matter commanded, as the mind of God, it may be called the word of the Lord, or word of God: as, on particular occasions, the prophets had the word of the Lord to persons and places; that is to say, the mind or will of God, or that which was commanded them of the Lord to declare or do. So Christ uses it, when he tells the Pharisees, that they had made the word (or command) of God of none effect, by their traditions. But because people are so apt to think, if they have the Scriptures they have all, (for that they account them the only word of God, and so look no farther; that is, to no other Word, from whence those good words came) therefore this people have been constrained, and they believe, by God's good spirit, once and again to point them to the great Word of words, Christ Jesus, in whom is life, and that life the light of men; that they might feel something nearer to them than the Scriptures, to wit, the Word in the heart, from whence all holy Scripture came, which is Christ within them, the hope of their glory. And to be sure he is the only right expounder as well as the author of holy Scripture, without whose light, spirit, or grace, they cannot be savingly read by those that read them.

Pervers. 7. They deny them to be any means whereby to resist temptation.

Princ. This is a very uncharitable aspersion. True it is, that they deny the Scriptures merely, or of themselves, to be sufficient to resist temptations; for then all that have them and read them, would be sure to be preserved by them against temptations. But that they should deny them to be any means or instrument in God's hand, is either great ignorance or injustice in their adversaries. God hath made use of the Scriptures, and daily doth and will make use of them, for instruction, reproof, comfort and edification,

through the Spirit, to those that read them as they ought to do. Thus they say they have felt them, and so they have been and are made unto them, through the good Spirit of God, coming in upon their spirits, in the reading and considering of them; and wish heartily they were more in request with the professors of Christianity.

SECTION IV. *Of the holy Spirit of God, and its office, with respect to man, and of ministry, &c.*

Pervers. 8. The Quakers assert the Spirit of God to be the immediate teacher, and that there is no other means now to be used, as ministry, ordinances, &c.

Princ. They never spoke such language, and their daily practice confutes the reflection. But herein we perceive the great subtilty of satan, as well as in other things, to darken the appearance of the Truth, and prepossess people's minds against it. For since he cannot hinder the exaltation of the Spirit above all visible instruments, nor the necessity of its manifestations, convictions, motions and operations, to be known in the hearts of men, and the great suitableness thereof to the Gospel administration, he would spoil all by overdoing the matter, and carrying our assertions beyond bounds. They never denied the use of means, but to this day, from the beginning, they have been in the practice of them. But then they are such means as are used in the life and power of God, and not in and from man's mere wit, will, or carnal invention or imitation; the only thing they strike at. For instance, they cannot own that to be a Gospel ministry, that is without a Gospel Spirit, or that such can be sent of God who are not taught of God, or that they are fit to teach others what regeneration and the way to heaven are, who have never been born again themselves; or that such can bring souls to God, who are themselves strangers (like those in the Acts xix. 21.) to the baptism of fire and the Holy Ghost; never having been circumcised with the circumcision of the heart in the Spirit, Rom. ii. 29.: which is so absolutely necessary to make a true Jew, or a real Christian, and consequently the requisite qualification of a Gospel ministry.

This unexperienced and lifeless ministry, is the only ministry, and such the only ministers, that the people called Quakers cannot own and receive, and therefore cannot maintain. For the ministry and the ministers that are according to Scripture, they both own, respect, and delight in, and are ready to assist and support in their service for God.

It is strange, because they deny all false means, or means not sanctified, or used in the openings and leadings of God's power and Spirit, that therefore they must deny all means, however rightly used or employed. This is an injustice to their profession and practice. Wherefore all are desired to take notice, that evangelical means and order they love and desire to keep: for they diligently assemble themselves together to wait upon God, to enable them to worship him; where they both pray and prophesy, one by one, as prepared and moved in their hearts by his Spirit, and as any thing is revealed to them, according to primitive practice; otherwise they are silent before the Lord. Nor are they without spiritual songs, making melody in their hearts to God their Redeemer, by the same Holy Ghost, as often as they are comforted and moved by it, as was the primitive practice.

SECTION V. *Of the Holy Three, or Scripture Trinity.*

Pervers. 9. The Quakers deny the Trinity.

Princ. Nothing less: they believe in the holy three, or Trinity of Father, Word and Spirit, according to Scripture. And that these three are truly and properly one; of one nature as well as will. But they are very tender of quitting Scripture terms and phrases, for schoolmen's, such as distinct and separate persons and subsistences, &c., are; from whence people are apt to entertain gross ideas and notions of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. And they judge, that a curious inquiry into those high and Divine revelations, or into speculative subjects, though never so great truths in themselves, tend little to godliness, and less to peace; which should be the chief aim of true Christians. Therefore they cannot gratify that curiosity in themselves, or others: speculative truths are, in their judgment, to be sparingly and tenderly declared, and never to be made the measure and condition of Christian communion. For besides that Christ Jesus hath taught them other things, the sad consequence, in all times, of superfining upon Scripture texts, do sufficiently caution and forbid them. Men are too apt to let their heads outrun their hearts, and their notion exceed their obedience, and their passion support their conceits; instead of a daily cross, a constant watch, and an holy practice. The despised Quakers desire this may be their care, and the text their creed in this, as in all other points; preferring self-denial to opinion, and charity to knowledge, according to that great Christian doctrine, 1 Cor. xiii.

SECTION VI. *Of the Divinity of Christ.*

Pervers. 10. The Quakers deny Christ to be God.

Princ. A most untrue and unreasonable censure: for their great and characteristic principle being this, that Christ, as the Divine Word, lighteth the souls of all men that come into the world, with a spiritual and saving light, according to John i. 9., viii. 12., which nothing but the Creator of souls can do, it sufficiently shows that they believe him to be God, for they truly and expressly own him to be so, according to Scripture; viz., In him was Life, and that Life the light of men; and he is God over all, blessed for ever.

SECTION VII. *Of the Manhood of Christ.*

Pervers. 11. The Quakers deny the human nature of Christ.

Princ. We never taught, said, or held so gross a thing, if by human nature be understood the manhood of Christ Jesus. For as we believe him to be God over all, blessed for ever, so we do as truly believe him to be of the seed of Abraham and David after the flesh, and therefore truly and properly man, like us in all things, and once subject to all things for our sakes, sin only excepted.

SECTION VIII. *Of Christ Jesus, his Death and Sufferings.*

Pervers. 12. The Quakers expect to be justified and saved by the Light within them, and not by the death and sufferings of Christ.

Princ. This is both unfairly and untruly stated and charged upon us. But the various senses of the word justification, oblige me here to distinguish the use of it; for in the natural and proper sense, it plainly implies, making men just, who were unjust; godly, that were ungodly; upright, that were depraved; as the Apostle expresseth himself, 1 Cor. vi. 11.; And such were some of you, but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of our Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God. In the other use of the word, which some call a law-sense, it refers to Christ, as a sacrifice and propitiation for sin, as in Rom. v. 9., Much more then, being now justified by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath through him: and 1 John ii. 1, 2., If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; and he is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world. Which, though a great truth and most firmly believed by us, yet no man can be entitled to the benefit thereof, but as he comes to believe and repent of the evil of his ways; and then it may be truly said, that God justifieth even the ungodly, and looks upon them through Christ, as if they had never sinned; because their sins are forgiven them for his beloved Son's sake.

Not that God looks on people to be in Christ, who are not in Christ; that is, who are not in the faith, obedience and self-denial of Christ; nor sanctified, nor led by his Spirit, but rebel against it; and instead of dying to sin, through a true and unfeigned repentance, live and indulge themselves daily in it; for they that are in Christ, become new creatures; old things are passed away, and all things, with them, become new. Wherefore we say, that whatever Christ then did, both living and dying, was of great benefit to the salvation of all who have believed, and now do, and who hereafter shall believe in him unto justification and acceptance with God: but the way to come to that faith, is to receive and obey the manifestation of his Divine light and grace in their consciences, which leads men to believe and value, and not to disown or undervalue Christ, as the common sacrifice and mediator. For we do affirm, that to follow this holy Light in the conscience, and to turn our minds, and bring all our deeds and thoughts to it, is the readiest, nay, the only right way to have true living and sanctifying faith in Christ, as he appeared in the flesh, and to discern the Lord's body, coming and sufferings aright, and to receive any real benefit by him, as their only sacrifice and mediator: according to the beloved disciple's emphatical passages, If we walk in the light, as (God) is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin. And because this people say, that Christ's outward coming and sufferings profit not to their salvation who live in sin and rebel against this Divine light, some have untruly and uncharitably concluded, that they deny the virtue and benefit of Christ's coming and sufferings in the flesh, as a sacrifice for sin. Whereas we only deny and oppose a false and dangerous application of them in and to a disobedient state. For we believe Christ came not to save men in their sins, but from their sins; and that those that open the door of their hearts at his inward and spiritual knocks, [to wit, the reproofs and convictions of his light and grace] have their consciences sprinkled with his blood (that is, discharged from the guilt of them) from dead works, to serve the living God. And so far only as men come by faith, repentance and amendment, to be Christ's, Christ is theirs, and as he has an interest in their hearts, they have an interest in his love and salvation: that is, so far as they are obedient to his grace, and take up his cross, and follow him in the ways of meekness, holiness and self-denial, so far they have an interest in Christ, and no farther. And here there is no condemnation to them that are in Christ

Jesus, because such walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit; for we have seen a shoal or sand here, upon which we fear many thousands have split, and which we desire to avoid, and are earnest that others may beware of it also; viz., that because Christ died a sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, by which he put mankind into a capacity of salvation, and has given every one a talent of grace to work it out by; they presume upon that sacrifice, and sin on, without a thorough repentance, reformation and conversion to God, not dying with Christ to the world, but living in it, according to the lusts and spirit of it. Such as these may be assured, that where Christ is gone they shall never come; for says the blessed Apostle, God sent his Son to bless us, by turning every one of us from the evil of our way. So that the contrite, humble, meek, and self-denying people, are those that have the true and full benefit of Christ's coming, sufferings and mediation, and of all those holy ends for which God his Father anointed and gave Him to the world, viz., to be the Way, Truth and Life, Light, Leader and Saviour, to be a King, Priest, Prophet, Sacrifice, Sanctifier and Mediator; being sensibly felt of all such to reign over their hearts, to teach them God's royal law, to give them saving knowledge, and to mediate, atone for, sanctify and justify them in the sight of God his Father, for ever.

By all which it is evident to any moderate inquirer, that we acknowledge Christ in his double appearance; as in the flesh, of the seed of Abraham, so in the Spirit, as he is God over all, blessed for ever. Wherein is a full confession to him, both as a blessed person, and as a Divine Spirit of light and life in the soul; the want of which necessary and evident distinction occasions our adversaries frequent mistakes about our belief and application of the Scriptures of Truth concerning Christ, in that two-fold capacity.

For it is not another than that eternal Word, Light, Power, Wisdom and Righteousness, which then took flesh, and appeared in that holy Body, by whom they have received, or can receive, any true spiritual benefit. They holding, that Light is only from him, forgiveness only through him, and sanctification only by him. So that their ascribing salvation from sin and death eternal to him, who now appears by his holy Spirit to their souls, as before expressed, cannot render him no Saviour in that age, or make void the end and benefit of his blessed appearance in the flesh on earth, or his mediation now in glory, for those that believe in him in this age. Whose doctrine pierced, whose life preached, whose miracles astonished, whose blood atoned, and whose death, resurrection and ascension, confirmed that blessed manifestation to be no less than the Word God (the life and light of men) manifested in the flesh, according to the Apostle Paul, for the salvation of the world: and therefore properly and truly He was the Son of Man on earth, and is now as truly the Son of Man in glory, as the head of our manhood, which shall also be glorified, if we now receive him into our hearts, as the true Light, that leads in the way of life eternal, and continue in well-doing to the end.

Section IX. *Of Good Works.*

Pervers. 13. Thus it is the Quakers set up works, and meriting by works, like the papists; whereby justification by faith in Christ is laid aside.

Princ. By no means: but they say with the Apostle James, ch. ii., that true faith in Christ cannot be without works, any more than a body can live without a spirit; and that where there is life, there is motion, and where there is no Divine life and motion, there can be no true faith; believing being a fruit of Divine life. Nay, by the comparison, if they were separable, works being compared to the Spirit, they would have the better. The very believing is an act of the mind, concurring with God's working in or upon the mind, and therefore a godly work. And no sooner is true faith begotten in a soul, but it falls to working; which is both the nature, and in some respects, the end of it.

Nor yet do we say, that our very best works, proceeding from the true faith itself, can merit; no, nor faith joined with them, because eternal life is the gift of God. All that man is capable of believing or performing can never properly be said to merit everlasting blessedness, because there can be no proportion (as there must be in case of merit) between the best works that can be performed in the life of man, and an eternal felicity. Wherefore all that man can do, even with the assistance of the holy Spirit, can never be said strictly to merit, as a debt due to the creature. But on the other hand, that right faith, and good works, which arise out of it, or will follow it, may and do obtain the blessed immortality, which it pleaseth Almighty God to give, and to privilege the sons of men with, who perform that necessary condition, is a Gospel and necessary truth. And this the Quakers ground upon, and therefore boldly affirm to the world.

So that they deny all merit from the best of works, especially by such as some papists may conceive to be meritorious. But as they on the one hand, deny the meritoriousness of works, so on the other hand, neither can they

join with that lazy faith which works not out the salvation of the soul with fear and trembling. Pray let not good works make men papists, because they make men Christians. I am sure believing and not working, and imagining a salvation from wrath, where there is no salvation or cleansing from sin, which is the cause of it, is no whit less unscriptural, and abundantly more pernicious to the soul. Blessed is he that hears Christ's words and does them. The doer is only accepted. Wherefore it shall be said at the last day, not well professed, but well done good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord. Thou holy, humble, patient and meek liver; thou that lovedst me above all, and thy neighbour as thyself; enter thou. For thee and such as thou art, was it prepared from the foundation of the world. Which recompense of his faithfulness, is the infinite love of God, revealed and given to man, through Christ. For though death be the wages of sin, yet the gift of God is eternal life to such. So that as the people called Quakers do not hold that their good works merit, neither believe they that their good works justify them; for though none are justified that are not in measure sanctified, yet all that man does, is duty, and therefore cannot blot out old scores; for that is mere grace and favour, upon repentance, through Christ the sacrifice and mediator, our great scapegoat. So that men are not justified, because they are sanctified, but for his sake that sanctifies them, and works all their good works in them and for them, and presents them blameless, to wit, Christ Jesus, who is made unto them, as he was to the saints of old, wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption; that he that glorieth, might glory in the Lord.

SECTION X. *Of Water-Baptism and the Supper.*

Pervers. 14. The Quakers deny the two great sacraments or ordinances of the Gospel, baptism and the supper.

Princ. Whatever is truly and properly a Gospel ordinance, they desire to own and practise: but they observe no such language in the Scripture as in the reflection. They do confess the practice of John's baptism and the supper is to be found there; but practice only, is no institution, nor a sufficient reason of continuation. That they were then proper, they believe, it being a time of great infancy, and when the mysteries of truth lay yet couched and folded up in figures and shadows, as is acknowledged by Protestants. But it is their belief, that no figures or signs are perpetual, or of institution, under the Gospel administration, when Christ, who is the substance of them, is come: though their use might have been indulged to young converts in primitive times, because of the condescension of former practices.

It were to overthrow the whole Gospel dispensation, and to make the coming of Christ of none effect, to render signs and figures of the nature of the Gospel, which is inward and spiritual. If it be said, but they were used after the coming of Christ, and his ascension too; they answer, so were many Jewish ceremonies, not easily abolished, as circumcision, &c. It is sufficient to them, that water baptism was John's, and not Christ's, see Matt. iii. 11., Acts i. 5.; that Jesus never used it, John iv. 2.; that it was no part of Paul's commission, which if it were evangelical, and of duration, it certainly would have been, 1 Cor. iv. 15, 16, 17.; that there is but one baptism, as well as one faith, and one Lord, Eph. v. 4; and that baptism ought to be of the same nature with the kingdom of which it is an ordinance, and that is spiritual. The same holds also as to the supper, both alluding to old Jewish practices, and used as a signification of a near and accomplishing work, viz., the substance they represented.

If any say, but Christ commanded that one of them should continue in remembrance of him; which the Apostle to the church of Corinth explains thus; that thereby they do show forth the Lord's death till he comes; we alledge, that he that said so, told his disciples also, that he would come to them again; that some should not taste death till they saw him coming in the kingdom; and that he that dwelleth with them, should be in them; and that he would drink no more of this fruit of the vine, till he should drink it new with them in the kingdom of God. Which is the new wine that was to be put into the new bottles, and is the wine of the kingdom; as he expresseth it in the same place: which kingdom is within, as may be read in Luke. He was the heavenly Bread that they had not yet known, nor his flesh and blood, as they were to know them; as may be seen, John vi. So that though Christ came to end all signs, yet, till he was known to be the Substance to the soul, as the great Bread of life from heaven, signs had their service with them, to show forth, and hold in hand, and in remembrance of Christ: especially to the people of that day, whose religion was attended with a multitude of the like types, shadows and signs of the one good thing and substance of all, Christ manifested in his people. And that great Apostle Paul says expressly of the Jewish observations, that they were shadows of the good things to come, but the substance was of Christ. Hence it is, that the people called Quakers cannot be said to deny them;

that is too hard a word: but they, truly feeling in themselves the very thing which outward water, bread and wine do signify, or point forth, [to say nothing here of their abuse, and what in that case may be argued, from the instance of Hezekiah's taking away the brazen serpent by God's command] they leave them off, as fulfilled in Christ, who is in them the hope of their glory: and henceforth they have but one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one bread, and one cup of blessings; and that is the new wine of the kingdom of God, which is within.

SECTION XI. *Of the Resurrection, and Everlasting Recompense.*

Pervers. 15. They acknowledge no resurrection of the dead, nor rewards to come.

Princ. In this also we are greatly abused. We deny not, but believe the resurrection according to the Scripture, not only from sin, but also from death and the grave: but are conscientiously cautious in expressing the manner of the resurrection intended in the charge, because it is left a secret by the holy Ghost in the Scripture. Should people be angry with us for not expressing or asserting what is hidden, and which is more curious than necessary to be known, and in which the objectors themselves cannot be positive? Thou fool, is to the curious inquirer, as says the Apostle: which makes the Quakers contented with that body, which God shall please to give them hereafter: being assured that their corruptible shall put on incorruption, and their mortal shall put on immortality, but in such a manner as pleaseth God. And in the mean time they esteem it their duty, as well as wisdom, to acquiesce in his holy will. It is enough they believe a resurrection, and that with a glorious and incorruptible body, without farther niceties; for to that was the ancient hope.

Now as to future rewards, they not only believe them, but as the Apostle says of old, above all people, have the greatest reason so to do; for otherwise, who is so miserable? Do they inherit the reproach and suffering of all that have separated from time to time from national churches; that is to say, are the outcries that have been against the Protestants by the Papists, and those of the Church of England against the Puritans, Brownists, and Separatists, fallen so thick upon them, and shall they hold principles inconsistent with an everlasting recompense of reward? By no means. It is their faith, their hope, their interest, and what they wait and have suffered for, and press, as an encouragement to faithfulness, upon one another: and the contrary therefore must be both an unjust, and an improbable suggestion of their adversaries.

SECTION XII. *Of Civil Honour and Respect.*

Pervers. 16. The Quakers deny all civil honour and respect, but what is relative or equal between men.

Princ. We honour all men in the Lord, but not in the spirit and fashion of this world that passeth away. And though we do not pull off our hats, or make courtesyings, or give flattering titles, or use compliments, because we believe there is no true honour, but flattery and sin, in the using of them; yet we treat all men with seriousness and gentleness, though it be with plainness, and our superiors with a modest and respectful distance; and are ready to do them any reasonable benefit or service, in which we think real honour consisteth. Whereas those that thus reproach us, are often proud, peevish, snappish, abusive and oppressive one to another; though at the same time they can give one another the cap and knee, with smooth words, which too generally they never mean: which is far from true civility, or honouring all men in the sense that they are exhorted to by the Apostle.

As for expressing our respect to our superiors in all countries, we think it best done by obeying just laws under their government, according to the saying of the centurion unto Christ, and which Christ so much approved of, viz., when he said to one, come, and he came, to another, go, and he went, to a third, do this, and he did it. Reasonable commands, and ready obedience. This is honouring government and governors, and not empty titles, and servile and fantastic gestures, and drinking of their healths till they drink away their own; the vain and evil customs of the world, taken from the heathens' practices, and adopted by loose Christians in their conversation, and so become the fashion of the times. If to dissent from these things, be to be vile, we are contented to be accounted more vile, having Christ's commands, primitive example, and our own convictions on our side.

SECTION XIII. *Of Civil Government.*

Pervers. 17. The Quakers are enemies to all government. First, in that every one acteth according to his own conceit. Secondly, because they will not support civil government. Thirdly, because they refuse to give evidence upon oath, as the law requires.

Princ. That this is a calumny, their lives and conversations sufficiently show; for no people give the magistrates less trouble, or cause the burden to sit lighter upon their shoulders than these people do. And for their

principle, they believe magistracy to be an ordinance of God, and that he that ruleth well, is worthy of double honour, and deserves to be much valued and esteemed: as such certainly do, who are a terror to evil doers, and a praise to them that do well. And farther, to show that they are a people that love order and good government, they carefully practise it among themselves: for if there be twenty meetings for worship in a county, they, peradventure, make three or four Monthly Meetings of business, and these monthly meetings are resolved into a Quarterly Meeting for the county, by such members as they severally appoint to constitute it. And all the Quarterly Meetings in the nation, by chosen men out of themselves, do constitute one general Yearly Meeting; unto which, the meetings of those people, in all parts of the world, have their recourse, by chosen messengers, or by epistles. The business of which meetings, in their several degrees, is to promote virtue and charity, peace and unity.

Pervers. 18. The Quakers will not support civil government, and so are useless, if not dangerous to government.

Princ. This also is untrue, upon experience: for what people is more industrious under government, or pay their taxes better to it than they do? And, tribute from the people, and justice from the rulers, are the support of government in all countries. It is true indeed, that they cannot kill or slay their own kind, and so are not fit for warriors with carnal weapons of destruction, because they believe their blessed Lord forbade the use of them to his followers, when he said, They that take the sword, shall perish with the sword; and that the use of the sword in war, was one of those things that God suffered for the hardness of men's hearts, and that from the beginning it was not so. In fine, that it came in with the fall, and must go out with it also. And as Christ the repairer of breaches and restorer of paths to dwell in, comes to be known to rule in the heart, love will take place of wrath, and forgiveness overcome injury and revenge. So the lamb will be preferred before the lion, and the lion resign to and lie down with the lamb, and destruction come to a perpetual end. For which cause, the weapons of this people's warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God, to the pulling down the strong holds of sin and satan, according to the apostle's doctrine. Which is the holy war indeed, styled by the holy Ghost, The saints' warfare. And since so holy, lamb-like and peaceable a state, is both prophesied of and promised, as the happiness of the latter times; and that it and they take their beginning in Christ, the beginning and the end of all true Christians; let not this people be thought useless or inconsistent with government, for introducing that harmless, glorious way to this distracted world, for some body must begin it, but rather adore the providence, embrace the principle and cherish and follow the example: believing with them, that Christ, the blessed Shepherd of his flock, will ever preserve the faithful followers of his meekness and the disciples of his peaceable and forgiving doctrine.

Pervers. 19. The Quakers refuse to give evidence, &c.

Princ. It cannot be their fault, which is so much their desire, viz., To be able to give evidence upon all occasions. Nor, with justice, can it be reputed their stubbornness, but their tenderness, since they cannot swear at all, and that the law requires an oath in evidence. Now Christ having commanded his followers not to swear at all, and that instead of an oath, or in cases where oaths are allowed under the law, their yea, yea, and nay, nay, should serve instead of swearing; and for this reason, because what is more than yea, yea, and nay, nay, cometh of evil; and for that Christians are commanded to avoid the very appearance of evil, much more that which cometh of evil; upon these accounts they dare not swear at all. So that it is for Christ's sake, and the tender respect they bear to his evangelical, positive and general precept, that they cannot swear, who is the Truth, and has taught them to speak the truth without an oath.

Now if this would be admitted, [and often they have prayed that it might be, and for want of it, are not only less serviceable to their neighbours than otherwise they could be, but are great sufferers in their persons and estates,] and the government would be pleased to accept their yea, yea, and nay, nay, instead of an oath, as other countries do in the like cases, they would be ready to submit to the same punishment in case of untruth, as is due by law to perjury, and upon all occasions would be glad to help and serve their neighbours with all their hearts. Wherefore let not that be made their fault, which is so much against their will, and their unhappiness and affliction.

Thus, sober reader, thou hast a brief account of this people, their principles and practice, and therefore thou mayest see, if thou pleasest, with how little reason they are despised by some and abused by others; which hath been their lot, in a large measure, ever since they have been a people. Though the whole bent of their spirits and testimony, since God, by his grace, hath distinguished them, has been to promote the experimental

and saving knowledge of Christ Jesus in the world, by turning the minds of people from the darkness that is in them, to the light of Christ which is in them, as the great, singular and necessary agent and spirit, by which only man is enlightened and enabled to see and do the will of God. For, till men receive and are quickened by the holy Spirit, they are hypocrites and not Christians; bastards and not sons.

Neither can they have true and living faith, whatsoever they profess; nor can they truly and acceptably worship God, whatsoever they perform. O then, let the poor Quakers, and their abused principles have better entertainment with thee, reader. And do not conclude because they direct people to the Light of Christ in them, that therefore it is a mere natural and not a Divine light; or because they assert Christ to be the Word of God, and that he is revealed in the heart, according to the Scripture, and that the Scripture, in that excellent sense, is not so; that therefore they deny the Divine authority of the Scriptures, and that the mind and truth thereof, as declared by them, is not in any sense the word of the Lord to men. Or because they do not receive the schoolmen's trinity, that therefore they deny the Scripture-trinity of Father, Word and Spirit. Or that therefore they deny the Divinity of Christ the Word. Or that they deny Christ without them, who was the Son of Man, in a suffering state on earth, and is now the Son of Man in glory, because they exalt and press an experimental knowledge of Christ within, as the truth, substance, and excellency of the hope of the glory that hereafter shall be revealed, as being the riches of the glory of the mystery revealed, and to be revealed in these latter days, according to the Scriptures of truth. Neither do thou say, they hope to be saved by their own works, because they press the necessity of well-doing toward acceptance with God; since they maintain, that no works that are not wrought by the Spirit of God are acceptable with him; or that they hold even such works to be meritorious, because they say, good works are necessary and rewardable. Or that they are forgiven for what they do, and not for what Christ did. Or that they deny the use of means, because they reject ungospel ones. Or that they deny baptism and the supper, because they say, they are but signs of the spiritual grace, and that they served but for a time, and that they experience their accomplishment. Neither say that they are uncivil, and honour no man, because they forbear such titles and ceremonies, in which true honour and civility do not consist. Or that they are against government, because they cannot out of tenderness, and not obstinacy, conform to it in matters relating to religion and conscience; in which Christ only is Lord and King. Since, reader, thou plainly seest, that they believe the Light to be Divine, and the Scriptures to be of Divine authority. That they own the Scripture-trinity, or Holy three, of Father, Word and Spirit, to be truly and properly one. That Christ is God, and that Christ is man. That he came in the flesh, died, rose again, ascended, and sits on God's right hand, the only sacrifice and mediator, for man's happiness. That truly Gospel-means and ordinances are requisite, and to be reverently practised. That good works are necessary and rewardable. That all men are to be honoured in the Lord, according to their degrees. And that government in church and state is God's ordinance, and both requisite and very beneficial.

Now reader, that which remains, is to recommend thee to this holy Spirit of light and life, which they make the root and spring of all true sense of God and religion in man. Even the light within which they began with, and which comes from Christ, and indeed is Christ the eternal Word, and which brings all that follow the convictions and leadings of it, to Christ; that is, to his nature, which is meek, patient, loving, humble, harmless, self-denying and holy; and hereby to know him in themselves according to Scripture, to be the hope of their eternal glory. Who, as he is of Abraham after the flesh, so is he God over all blessed for ever; the true light, who lighteth all, in order to life and blessedness. Unto the manifestation of whose most holy and blessed Light within, thou, reader, art earnestly exhorted. Bring thy deeds to it, and love it, and walk in it, and thou wilt assuredly have the light of life; and thy fellowship shall be with God, and with his Son and saints, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son shall cleanse thee from all sin. And whatsoever things are true, whatsoever thing are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things. Which reader, is, I know, most earnestly desired on thy behalf, by this despised and most abused people called Quakers. So be it. Amen.

POSTSCRIPT.

Being an exhortation to all people, to turn speedily to the Lord, and seek him while he may be found, whatever persuasion they are of, or forms they are under, before the dreadful day of God's vengeance overtake them.

O ye inhabitants of the world, but more especially you that know this people, and

among whom the testimony which they bear, hath been held forth; hear, and be entreated for your soul's sake! O that ye knew your Creator to be also your Redeemer! who does as certainly visit you by the spirit of the second Adam as ever he created you in the nature of the first Adam. That as in one you fell, so in the other you may arise out of your fallen and foul estate, and become a reformed, regenerate and chosen people to God. This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him, said God the Father. And what says Christ, the Son? Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For, out of Christ; out of his spirit and nature, verily we cannot have peace. No peace to the wicked, no peace to the proud and ungodly, saith the Lord. Friends, you must take up your cross daily and follow him, or ye cannot be his disciples, his followers, his people, his friends; those in whom he is well pleased. Whose doctrine is not so much the good words you read in creeds and catechisms, as it is the living teaching of his Spirit in your own hearts; and whose religion is not opinion, but experience; not notion, but enjoyment. Life from death, and conversion, and regeneration: in short, undefiledness, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord.

Here is the faith of Jesus. A faith that overcomes the world, and works by love, not violence. Where zeal and charity are companions, and knowledge doth not puff up but lives and works by obedience, this is the faith and religion of Jesus: all others are the faith and religion of hypocrites and devils; which they may have, and be hypocrites and devils still. For though they believe, their faith works not by love; and though they know the truth, they obey it not.

Wherefore friends, it behooves you much to see what faith and religion you have; and not flatter yourselves on to perdition. If it be the true, the pure, the undefiled, according to the apostle James i. 27. then you will have light hearts, and easy consciences, and a hope that will not make you ashamed. Else, believe it, heaviness, anguish and tribulation will (whatever be your profession) overwhelm you in the day that God shall enter into judgment with you. For which cause, my dear country folks and people, be entreated while it is to day, to turn unto the Lord with all your hearts, and hearken to his voice, in your own consciences, that calls you to holiness, and harden not your hearts against his reproof, for the reproof of instruction is the way to life, endless life. Did you but feel that God sees you every where and in every thing, and that continually, it would abundantly alter the case with you. Then would you say as one of old, The Lord was here and I knew it not. Fear, a holy fear would take hold of you, an awe of the Omnipotent Majesty would seize you, and you would not do that before God, which you would be ashamed men should see you do. For no place is secret to him; the light and darkness are alike. His witness is with you as much alone, as in company, and may perhaps be better heard by you.

Sin not then in the face of God, in contempt of his witness, in despite of his Spirit that is in you; but hear it, receive it, and love it, and you will be born of it, and become the children of him whose eye penetrates the darkest coverts, and findeth out the most secret corners; even he that searches the heart and tries the reins of man, and sets his sins in order before him, and telleth unto him his most inward thoughts.

This being the case, what manner of persons ought you to be, ye children of men! Do not satisfy yourselves with out-sides, with a name, a profession, a church-membership, &c. For it is not what you say, but what you do. But turn in, and examine your own hearts, see how they stand affected towards God and his law and truth in your inward parts. Be strict and true in the search, as you would save your souls. If your minds be set on heavenly things, and holiness and charity be the zealous bent thereof, well will it be with you for ever: to live then will be Christ, and to die will be your everlasting gain. For blessed is that people and nation whose God is the Lord. But if the love and spirit of the world prevail; if pride, covetousness and luxury, envy, bitterness and vain-glory, that are so very opposite to the will and nature of God and his holy Lamb; if these things have power over you, flatter not yourselves, you cannot be true Christians, not in favour with God, for you take his name in vain. And your very prayers and oblations are an abomination to the Lord, in that state. God calls for the heart: My son, give me thy heart. He has given man the rest; but that, God will have for himself, if man will have him for his God and friend. Deceive not yourselves therefore, O ye sons and daughters of Adam! for believe it, such as you sow, such you must reap, and there is no repentance in the grave. And a short but great work will God do in the earth; and great judgments, of divers kinds, will begin it, and they are at the door. Yea, they are begun, if ye could but see them.

Awake then, awake out of the sleep of this world! Behold the Judge is at hand, and the midnight cry is coming upon you as a thief

in the night. Prepare, prepare, or you are excluded for ever! And remember, salvation is from sin, or it will never be from wrath; so said the angel, Thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins. For it is the pure in heart that see God, and nothing unlike him can please him, and less live with him for ever.

The eternal God reach unto you by his powerful Spirit, break your peace in the broad way, touch you deeply with a sense of your disobedience to him, give you true contrition and repentance, and create in you a clean heart, and renew a right spirit within you. To conclude, make you holy, make you zealous, and make you charitable; that you may do, as well as say, and not only profess, but possess the truth of the living God in your inward parts; that pearl of price, that hidden and eternal treasure. So shall you know that the times of refreshing are come from the presence of the Lord, and that the kingdom is again restored unto Israel! Israel, the Prince of peace, who hath prevailed with God for man; whose sceptre is a sceptre of righteousness, and of whose dominion there shall be no end. So come Lord Jesus; come quickly. Amen.

Written in behalf of the said people, for the information and good of all, by

WILLIAM PENN.

A periodical work published at this time in London, called the Athenian Mercury, made an attack upon the Society of Friends. In three of the numbers, objections were raised to their practice and doctrines. In the first they were charged with being persecutors, on account of the exercise of their discipline; and silly enthusiasts, because they refused to swear. In the second they were charged with speaking contemptibly of the Bible; turning the Scriptures into jejune allegories. In the third a number of doctrines are noted, on which Friends are, by these writers, supposed to hold erroneous opinions.

To these several charges, William Penn returned an answer, in a small work entitled "The New Athenians, no noble Bereans." In this tract he sufficiently exposed the unsoundness of the charges, and vindicated the doctrine and practice of Friends.

Another valuable treatise written during this period of seclusion, was entitled "Some fruits of solitude, in reflections and maxims relating to the conduct of human life."

Of this work I shall not attempt an analysis. It is too dense to be abridged;—and too valuable to be mutilated. The serious reader will find every part of it worthy of a careful perusal.

During this retirement, it probably was, that he produced a small work, bearing the appearance of a political character, but essentially a philanthropic and religious essay. It was published, I apprehend, anonymously. The date as given in the margin of this tract in his printed works, is 1695, but is referred by his original biographer to this period.

The nations of Europe were, at that time, very generally engaged in a sanguinary war. William Penn commiserating the sufferings inevitably attendant on these extensive hostilities, made an effort to draw the attention of his cotemporaries to a more rational method of adjusting the controversies of nations. In pursuance of this design, he wrote "An Essay toward the present and future peace of Europe, by the establishment of an European diet, parliament or estates." In this he first lays down the advantages of peace, and the evils, the dangers, the expenses and desolations of war. He then explains the ostensible object of war to be the establishment of justice, but that a lawless ambition is a more common stimulant. That justice in a government preserves the internal peace of a country, but violence on the part of those in power, seldom fails to excite discontent and insurrections among the people. Domestic peace is maintained by justice, which is a fruit of government, as government is from society, and society from consent.

In the third section he shows that the object of government is the preservation of peace among its members. That as by the restraint which government imposes upon the passions of individuals, the prevention and redress of injuries, are entrusted to impartial hands, each individual receives the protection of society, and thereby gains more than he loses, by giving up the privilege of being judge and executioner in his own cause.

He then suggests the expediency of applying the same principles to the disputes of nations, which are applied to those of individuals; by forming a general congress among the princes of Europe, by which a code of laws for the regulation of their mutual intercourse, should be established, and to which they should all be required to submit.

He next shows that the usual causes of war would be in great measure removed by the establishment of such a tribunal, without the necessity of exercising its compulsive power.

A number of objections which may be offered to the plan, are afterwards stated and answered.

In the last section, the various advantages which would result from the adoption of the plan are enumerated.

First, The effusion of blood, and the tears

of the numerous widows and orphans, consequent upon war, would be spared.

Second, The reputation of Christianity, which has been greatly impaired in the view of unbelieving nations, by the prosecution of war, would be restored. The Author of Christianity is emphatically styled the Prince of peace. In his kingdom the lion is to lie down with the lamb; not the lamb with the lion.

Third, The enormous expenditures of war would be saved; and the resources of nations might therefore be applied to objects directly conducive to general prosperity.

Fourth, The desolation of towns and countries, of which various parts of Europe had recently furnished such terrible examples, would be saved.

Fifth, The convenience and safety of commerce and travelling would be greatly promoted. The perplexities and delays to which travellers are subjected from the jealousy of the various governments of Europe, would be avoided; and the advantages of an universal government without its evils be attained.

Other advantages are noticed, particularly the facility which this plan would afford to a personal intercourse, and consequent friendship, among the princes of Europe. By which means they would be enabled to choose their wives themselves, instead of performing it by proxy. Marriages might thus be founded upon personal attachment, and not upon mere considerations of interest, as they too generally are amongst that class of people. Hence more harmony, and a more virtuous education of their children, might be expected to exist in the families of princes.

Finally, In the conclusion, he shows that a plan, nearly analogous to his, had been actually adopted to a limited extent, in some provinces of the Netherlands; and that Henry IV., one of the greatest monarchs who ever reigned in France, had it in contemplation to compel the princes to adopt one of a similar character, when he was suddenly cut off by the hand of an assassin. He adds, "this great king's example tells us it is fit to be done; Sir William Temple's history shows us by a surpassing instance, that it may be done; and Europe by her incomparable miseries, makes it now necessary to be done."

The following letter written in the autumn of 1693, while he remained in retirement, shows the warmth of his friendship, and the state of piety in which his mind was preserved:

"Dear Friend,

"I was surprised last night, when I was told of thy great illness and weakness, and desire to see me. Surely had I ever heard it I should have broken through all my exercises to have seen thee; and I cannot express my trouble that my landlord should not have told it me, though ordered by Joseph B. seventh-day week; and truly I wonder Joseph never hinted it himself. I now despatch my kinsman this morning to hear of the state of thy health, desiring of the Lord his merciful loving-kindness towards thee and thine in thy preservation. And I pray God sanctify this visitation to thee on thy better part's account, that Truth in the inward parts may get ground, and the testimony and cross of Jesus may prevail to thy prosperity every way. I have been thinking to see you sometimes; then interrupted by sorrowful occasions; then of writing to thy dear wife, whom I love and esteem above most I know, and with my letter of sending her a few books: but I know not how I have been prevented. The all-wise God give us faith to believe all shall work together for the best! So, with our true love and concern for thee and thine, I rest thy most assured friend,

"William Penn."

William Penn had now been about three years, in great measure, secluded from the world, and from the public service of society. It is probable that many who were acquainted with the rumours of the day, gave credit to the charges against him. Yet there were a number of men conspicuous for their talents and standing in the world, who had formed a more just estimate of his character. Among these was the celebrated John Locke, who had returned to England in the same fleet with the princess of Orange. Finding in what manner William Penn was persecuted, he used his interest with the king, to procure a pardon for his supposed offences. But William Penn had too much regard for his own character, and was too confident that his innocence would be eventually proved, to accept of enlargement upon conditions which implied that he had been guilty of an offence. Several noblemen, conscious of his worth, and fully convinced that the charges against him were unfounded, interested themselves in his favour. Three of them, Ranelagh, Rochester and Sidney, went together, and represented the hardship of his case to the king. They stated that there was nothing against him but what was advanced by impostors, or such as had fled their country; or by men, who, when pardoned for their crimes, had refused to verify their charges. They had themselves long known William Penn, some of them not less than thirty years, and had never known him do an ill action, but many good ones; and that it was because he was unwilling to incur

the suspicion of leaving the country in defiance of government, that he had continued in it. King William told them that William Penn was his old acquaintance, as well as theirs, and that he might follow his business as freely as ever, for he had nothing to say against him. At their request, Lord Sidney was authorized to communicate the king's declaration to Sir John Trenchard, the principal secretary of state. The secretary upon receiving this information, was well pleased, and acknowledged that he was under personal obligations to William Penn. He afterwards received a direct command of similar import, from the king, in consequence of which, he informed William Penn, in the presence of the Marquis of Winchester, that he was as free as ever, and assured him that he should not be molested nor injured in any of his affairs as long as he held the post he did. It however, appears probable, that William Penn was desirous his innocence should be more openly acknowledged, for we find that he appeared before the king and council, where he so successfully pleaded his cause as to obtain a full acquittal.

Though the cloud which had so long hung over him was now dissipated, and his innocency clearly established, yet another heavy trial, and one that affected the tenderest sensibilities of his heart, was at hand. In about a month after his discharge his wife was removed by death.

Of the character of this amiable woman we have a portrait, beside that given by her husband, drawn by an able hand, from an intimate knowledge of her accomplishments and worth. Thomas Ellwood, in his account of his own life, frequently mentions her, and always in terms which give a favourable impression of her character. It may be remembered that a short time previous to her birth, her mother became a widow, and was afterwards married to Isaac Pennington. Before Thomas had espoused the principles of Friends, he accompanied his father on a visit to that family. He was then a sprightly young man, and having known Gulielma in her childhood, he took care to cast himself in her way, as she was gathering flowers in the garden, accompanied by her maid. He addressed her in his customary way, with a view of engaging her in familiar discourse. She treated him courteously, yet young as she was, being then only about fifteen, the gravity of her look and behaviour struck such an awe upon him, that he found himself unable to make any further attempt at conversation with her. He therefore asked pardon for having intruded into her private walks and withdrew.

When she arrived at a marriageable age, as her person was comely, her mental endowments in every respect extraordinary, and her estate considerable, she was much sought after, by men of various conditions and character; but she conducted herself with singular prudence and propriety; giving encouragement to none, until he came whom she accepted, and yet affording no just cause of offence to any.

A number of years after her marriage, and while her husband was in America, we meet with an instance in which her worth was attested by men, who do not appear to have been prejudiced in favour of the Society.

Soon after the discovery of the Ryehouse plot, Thomas Ellwood was summoned to appear before two justices of the peace, who lived in the neighbourhood where William Penn had resided for some years after his marriage. The charge against him was founded upon a book which he had recently published, and although that book had no connection with the plot, the Earl of Bridgewater directed that the author should be arrested. It so happened, that shortly after this citation was received, a message came to him from Gulielma Penn, informing him that she was dangerously ill, and was very desirous of seeing him. To attend to this request without neglecting the summons, he immediately called on the justices and informed them of the case. They both expressed their regard for Madam Penn, as they called her, manifesting a strong desire to leave him at liberty to attend to her request; and although they seemed to consider his case as a serious one, they eventually set him at liberty upon his giving them a verbal assurance that he would, if at liberty, appear before them whenever they might require it; and notwithstanding the orders under which those justices were then acting, they gave him no further trouble on the subject. He, in that case, attributed his escape, under providential disposal, from a troublesome prosecution, to the well-merited esteem which those justices entertained for the virtues of Gulielma Maria Penn.

But the best account of her character and end, is given by her husband, which containing several edifying passages, is here inserted.

"My dear wife, after eight months illness (though she never perfectly recovered her weakness the year before, which held her about six months) departed this life the 23d of the twelfth month, 1693–4, about half an hour past two in the afternoon, being the sixth day of the week, and the fiftieth year of her age, and was sensible to the very last.

"During her illness she uttered many living and weighty expressions, upon divers occa-

sions, both before and near her end. Some of which I took down for mine and her dear children's consolation.

"At one of the many meetings held in her chamber, we and our children and one of our servants only being present, in a tendering and living power she broke out as she sat in her chair, 'Let us all prepare, not knowing what hour or watch the Lord cometh. O, I am full of matter! shall we receive good, and shall we not receive evil things at the hand of the Lord? I have cast my care upon the Lord; he is the physician of value; my expectation is wholly from him. He can raise up and he can cast down.' A while after she said, Oh what shall be done to the unprofitable servant? At another meeting, before which much heaviness seemed to lie upon her natural spirits, she said, This has been a precious opportunity to me; I am finely relieved and comforted, blessed be the Lord. At another time, as I was speaking to her of the Lord's love and the witness of his Spirit that was with her, to give her the peace of well doing, she returned to me, looking up, she said, I never did, to my knowledge a wicked thing in all my life.

"To a friend aged seventy-five years that came to see her, she said, thou and I to all appearance are near our ends. And to another about sixty-five years old, who came also to see her, she said, how much older has the Lord made me by this weakness, than thou art! but I am contented, I do not murmur; I submit to his holy will.

"In the strength of her disease she said, it is the great goodness of the Lord, that I should be able to lie thus still. He is the physician of value to me, can I say; let my tongue set forth his praise, and my spirit magnify him whilst I have breath. O, I am ready to be transported beyond my strength. God was not in the thunder, nor in the lightning, but he was heard in the still voice. She did at several times pray very sweetly, and in all her weakness manifested the most equal, undaunted and resigned spirit, as well as in all other respects. She was an excellent example both as a child, wife, mother, mistress, friend and neighbour.

"She called the children one day when weak, and said, Be not affrighted children, I do not call you to take my leave of you, but to see you, and I would have you walk in the fear of the Lord, and with his people in his holy Truth, or to that effect.

"Speaking at another time solemnly to the children, she said, I never desired any great things for you, but that you may fear the Lord and walk in his Truth, among his people, to the end of your days, &c.

"She would not suffer me to neglect any public meeting, after I had my liberty, upon her account, saying often, O go my dearest! do not hinder any good for me. I desire thee go: I have cast my care upon the Lord: I shall see thee again.

"About three hours before her end, a relation taking leave of her, she said again, I have cast my care upon the Lord. My dear love to all Friends, and (lifting up her dying hands and eyes) prayed the Lord to preserve them and bless them. About an hour after, causing all to withdraw, we were half an hour together, in which we took our last leave, saying all that was fit upon that solemn occasion. She continued sensible, and did eat something about an hour before her departure; at which time our children, and most of the family were present. She quietly expired in my arms, her head upon my bosom, with a sensible and devout resignation of her soul to Almighty God. I hope I may say, she was a public as well as private loss. For she was not only an excellent wife and mother, but an entire and constant friend, of more than common capacity, and great modesty and humility; yet most equal and undaunted in danger. Religious as well as ingenuous, without affectation. An easy mistress, and good neighbour, especially to the poor. Neither lavish, nor penurious, but an example of industry, as well as of other virtues. Therefore our great loss is her own eternal gain."

Before passing from the events of 1693, it may be proper to take a transient notice of the charges against William Penn, which stand uncontradicted in the pages of some respectable historians. Bishop Burnet, in relating the circumstance of the capture of Lord Preston, and his companions, and the discovery of the efforts which they were making for the restoration of James, expressly asserts that he was one of those by whom the plan was laid. He afterwards relates, that when Preston and Ashton were tried and convicted, the Earl of Clarendon was seized and committed to the tower, but the Bishop of Ely, Graham, and Penn absconded. And this account is followed by Smollet. Hence, we should infer that the participation of William Penn in this conspiracy, was an unquestionable fact; and that he had either fled his country or concealed his person so as to elude the search of the officers of justice. If the fidelity of history required the relation that William Penn was accused of taking part in this treasonable proceeding, it would have been nothing more than fair to state also, that among the letters found in possession of Ashton none were writ-

ten by him, nor was he mentioned in them; and that so far was he from absconding in the usual acceptation of the term, he remained in London, and eventually established his innocence to the satisfaction of the king and council. The historian who has transmitted to posterity these unqualified and unmitigated charges upon the character of William Penn, could hardly have been ignorant that he sustained soon after these reputed treasons, a public character, both in his own Society and in the world; that he openly travelled through his native country as a minister of the Gospel—that he held the highly conspicuous station of Proprietary and Governor of Pennsylvania—and that he was neither an unfrequent nor unwelcome visitor at the court of queen Ann.

William Penn is also charged, about the same time by an historian of less celebrity than Bishop Burnet, with holding a treasonable correspondence with the emissaries of the exiled king. In the original papers published by Macpherson, he is represented as giving his advice to Williamson who had been sent over to England as a spy, to collect information conducive to the restoration of James.

The information received through the medium of spies and conspirators, ought unquestionably to be admitted, if admitted at all, with the utmost caution; and never credited when it is improbable in itself and unsupported by circumstantial evidence. But the part which William Penn is represented, in the narrative of Williamson, to have taken, is totally inconsistent with the whole tenor of his life, and supported by no testimony except the declaration of the informer; and may therefore, be safely considered as a sheer fabrication. But to stamp the proper stigma upon such accusations, we find him near twenty years afterwards, represented upon the authority of an Irish spy, as plotting in favour of the pretender, at a time when it is well known that his memory and understanding were so far impaired by disease, that he was incapable of transacting the ordinary affairs of life.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1694.—As William Penn had been honourably acquitted of those charges which prevented his return to America, it might naturally be supposed that he would immediately prepare for a voyage thither. But there were several reasons for delay. The decease of his wife had left a charge upon him which he could not conscientiously neglect. His wife left two sons and one daughter, all minors; whose education of course demanded a father's care. This of itself would probably have been enough to detain him for a time in England. His heavy expenditures in Pennsylvania, the very small returns from that quarter, and the losses sustained in Ireland, in consequence of the commotions there, had subjected him to considerable pecuniary difficulty. The events which had occurred in relation to the government of Pennsylvania, as will be related in a subsequent chapter, left a task to be accomplished at home, previous to his return thither.

In the year 1694, he wrote a preface to the Journal of George Fox, who died as already mentioned, in 1690. This journal was transcribed and prepared for the press by Thomas Ellwood. The preface, by William Penn, is a treatise of itself, and has been frequently published separately from the work to which it was originally prefixed, under the title of

A brief account of the rise and progress of the people called Quakers.

AN EPISTLE TO THE READER.

This account of the people called Quakers, &c., was written in the fear and love of God: First, As a standing testimony to that ever blessed Truth, in the inward parts, with which God in my youthful time, visited my soul, and for the sense and love of which I was made willing, in no ordinary way, to relinquish the honours and interests of the world.

Secondly, As a testimony for that despised people, whom God in his great mercy, has gathered and united by his own blessed spirit in the holy profession of it; whose fellowship I value above all worldly greatness.

Thirdly, In love and honour to the memory of that worthy servant of God, George Fox, the first instrument thereof, and therefore styled by me the great and blessed apostle of our day. As this gave birth to what is here presented to thy view, in the first edition of it, by way of preface to George Fox's excellent journal; so the consideration of the present usefulness of the following account of the people called Quakers, by reason of the unjust reflections of some adversaries who once walked under the profession of Friends, and the exhortations that conclude it, prevailed with me to consent that it should be republished in a smaller volume; knowing also full well, that great books, especially in these days, grow burthensome, both to the pockets and minds of many; and that there are not a few that desire, so it be at an easy rate, to be informed about this people, who have been so much everywhere spoken against. But, blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, it is upon no worse grounds

than it was said of old time of the primitive Christians; as I hope will appear to every sober and considerate reader. Our business, after all the ill-usage we have met with, being the realities of religion; an effectual change before our last and great change; that all may come to an inward, sensible and experimental knowledge of God, through the convictions and operations of the light and spirit of Christ in themselves, the sufficient and blessed means given to all, that thereby all may come savingly to know the only true God and Jesus Christ, whom he hath sent to enlighten and redeem the world: which knowledge is, indeed, eternal life. And that thou, reader, mayest obtain it, is the earnest desire of him that is ever

Thine in so good a work,

William Penn.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT, &c.

SECTION I.

Containing a brief account of divers dispensations of God in the world, to the time he was pleased to raise this despised people called Quakers.

Divers have been the dispensations of God, since the creation of the world to the sons of men; but the great end of all of them has been the renown of his own excellent name in the creation and restoration of man—man, the emblem of himself, as a god on earth, and the glory of all his works. The world began with innocency: all was then good that the good God had made: and as he blessed the works of his hands, so their natures and harmony magnified him their Creator. Then the morning stars sang together for joy, and all parts of his works said Amen to his law. There was not a jar in the whole frame; but man in paradise, the beasts in the field, the fowl in the air, the fish in the sea, the lights in the heavens, the fruits of the earth; yea, the air, the earth, the water and fire, worshipped, praised and exalted his power, wisdom and goodness. O holy sabbath, O holy day to the Lord!

But this happy state lasted not long: for man, the crown and glory of the whole, being tempted to aspire above his place, unhappily yielded, against command and duty, as well as interest and felicity, and so fell below it, lost the Divine image, the wisdom, power and purity in which he was made. Thus being no longer fit for paradise, he was expelled that garden of God, his proper dwelling and residence, and was driven out, as a poor vagabond, from the presence of the Lord, to wander in the earth, the habitation of beasts.

Yet God who made him had pity on him; for he, seeing man was deceived, and that it was not of malice, or an original presumption in him, but through the subtilty of the serpent, who had first fallen from his own state, and by the mediation of the woman, man's own nature and companion, whom the serpent had first deluded, in his infinite goodness and wisdom provided a way to repair the breach, recover the loss, and restore fallen man again, by a nobler and more excellent Adam, promised to be born of a woman; that as, by means of a woman the evil one had prevailed upon man, by a woman also He should come into the world, who would prevail against him and bruise his head, and deliver man from his power: and which, in a signal manner, by the dispensation of the Son of God in the flesh, in the fulness of time, was personally and fully accomplished by him, and in him, as man's Saviour and Redeemer.

But his power was not limited, in the manifestation of it, to that time; for both before and since his blessed manifestation in the flesh, he has been the light and life, the rock and strength of all that ever feared God. He was present with them in their temptations, followed them in their travels and afflictions, and supported and carried them through and over the difficulties that attended them in their earthly pilgrimage. By Him Abel's heart excelled Cain's; Seth obtained the pre-eminence, and Enoch walked with God. It was he that strove with the old world, and whom they rebelled against, and who sanctified and instructed Noah to salvation.

But the outward dispensation that followed the benighted state of man after his fall, especially among the patriarchs, was generally that of angels, as the Scriptures of the Old Testament in many places express, as to Abraham, Jacob, &c. The next was that of the law by Moses, which was also delivered by angels, as the apostle tells us. This dispensation was much outward, and suited to a low and servile state; called therefore by the apostle Paul, that of a schoolmaster, which was to point out and prepare that people to look and long for the Messiah, who would deliver them from the servitude of a ceremonious and imperfect dispensation, by knowing in themselves the realities of those mysterious representations. In this time the law was written on stone, and the temple was built with hands, attended with an outward priesthood and external rights and ceremonies, that were shadows of the good things which were to come, and were only to serve till the Seed

came, or the more excellent and general manifestation of Jesus Christ, to whom was the promise, and to all men only in him, in whom it was yea and amen, even life from death, immortality and eternal life.

The prophets foresaw the coming of Christ, and comforted the believing Jews in the certainty of it. That was the top of the Mosaical dispensation, which ended in John's ministry, who was the forerunner of the Messiah, and John's was finished in Jesus Christ, who is the fulness of all. Then God, who at sundry times, and in divers manners, had spoken to the fathers by his servants the prophets, spoke to men by his Son Christ Jesus, who is heir of all things. This is the Gospel-day, the dispensation of Sonship; bringing in thereby a nearer testament and a better hope; even the beginning of the glory of the latter days, and of the restitution of all things; yea, the restoration of the kingdom unto Israel.

Now the spirit, that was more sparingly communicated in former dispensations, began to be poured forth upon all flesh, according to the prophet Joel; and the light that shined in darkness, or but dimly before, the most gracious God caused to shine out of darkness, and the day-star began to arise in the hearts of believers, giving them the knowledge of God in the face, or appearance, of his Son Christ Jesus.

The poor in spirit, the meek, the true mourners, the hungry and thirsty after righteousness, the peace-makers, the pure in heart, the merciful and persecuted, came more especially into remembrance before the Lord, and were sought out and blessed by Israel's true Shepherd. Old Jerusalem with her children grew out of date, and the New Jerusalem into request, the mother of the sons of the Gospel day. Wherefore no more at old Jerusalem, nor at the mountain of Samaria, will God be worshipped above other places; for behold, he is, by his own Son, declared and preached to be a Spirit, and that he will be known as such, and worshipped in the spirit and in the truth! He will now come nearer than of old time, "and he will write his law in the heart, and put his fear and Spirit in the inward parts," according to his promise. Then signs, types and shadows flew away, the day having discovered their insufficiency in not reaching to the "inside of the cup, to the cleansing of the conscience;" and all elementary services were ended in and by Him who is the substance of all.

To this great and blessed end of the dispensation of the Son of God, did the apostles testify, whom he had chosen and anointed by his Spirit, to turn the Jews from their prejudice and superstition, and the Gentiles from their vanity and idolatry, to Christ's light and Spirit that shined in them; that they might be quickened from the sins and trespasses in which they were dead, to serve the living God, in the newness of the Spirit of life, and walk as children of the light, and of the day, even the day of holiness. For such put on Christ, the light of the world, and make no more provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof. So that the light, spirit and grace, that comes by Christ, and appears in man, is that Spirit of Truth from which the apostles ministered and turned peoples' minds unto, and in which they gathered and built up the churches of Christ in their day. For this cause they advise the believers not to quench the Spirit, but to wait for the Spirit, and speak by the Spirit, and pray by the Spirit, and walk in the Spirit too, as that which approved them the truly begotten children of God, born not of flesh and blood, nor of the will of man, but of the will of God, by doing his will and denying their own; by drinking of Christ's cup, and being baptized with his baptism of self-denial, the way and path which all the heirs of life have ever trodden to blessedness. But alas! even in the apostles' days (those bright stars of the first magnitude of the Gospel light) some clouds, foretelling an eclipse of this primitive glory, began to appear, and several of them gave early caution of it to the Christians of their time, that even then there was, and yet would be more and more, a falling away from the power of godliness, and the purity of that spiritual dispensation, by such as sought to make a fair show in the flesh, but with whom the offence of the cross ceased; yet with this comfortable conclusion, that they saw, beyond it, a more glorious time than ever to the true church. Their sight was true, and what they foretold to the churches, gathered by them in the name and power of Jesus, came to pass. For Christians degenerated apace into outsides, as days and meats, and divers other ceremonies. And, which was worse, they fell into strife and contention about them; separating one from another, then envying, and, as they had power, persecuting one another to the shame and scandal of their common Christianity, and to the grievous stumbling and offence of the heathen, among whom the Lord had so long and so marvellously preserved them. And having got at last the worldly power into their hands, by kings and emperors embracing the Christian profession, they changed as far as they could, the kingdom of Christ, which is not of this world, into a worldly kingdom; or at least styled the worldly kingdom, that was in their hands, the kingdom of Christ, and so they became worldly, and not true Christians. Then hu-

man inventions and novelties, both in doctrine and worship, crowded fast into the church; a door being opened thereunto, by the grossness and carnality which appeared among the generality of Christians, who had left the guidance of God's meek and heavenly Spirit, and given themselves up to superstition, will-worship, and voluntary humility. And as superstition is blind, so it is heady and furious; for all must stoop to its blind and boundless zeal, or perish by it: in the name of the Spirit, persecuting the very appearance of the Spirit of God in others, and opposing that in others which they resisted in themselves, viz: the light, grace and Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ; but always under the notion of innovation, heresy, schism, or some such plausible name. But Christianity allows of no name or pretence whatever for persecuting any man for matters of mere religion, being in its very nature, meek, gentle and forbearing; and consists of faith, hope and charity, which no persecutor can have, whilst he remains a persecutor. A man cannot believe well or hope well, nor have a charitable or tender regard to another, whilst he would violate his mind, or persecute his body, for matters of faith or worship towards his God.

Thus the false church sprang up, and mounted the chair: but though she lost her nature, she would needs keep her good name of the Lamb's bride, the true church and mother of the faithful: constraining all to receive her mark, either in their forehead or right hand; that is, publicly or privately. But in deed and in truth she was mystery Babylon, the mother of harlots, mother of those, who with all their show and outside of religion, were gone from the Spirit, nature and life of Christ, and grown vain, worldly, ambitious, covetous, cruel, &c., which are the fruits of the flesh, and not of the Spirit.

Now it was, that the true church fled into the wilderness, that is, from superstition and violence, to a retired, solitary, and lonely state; hidden, and as it were, out of sight of men, though not out of the world. Which shows that her wonted visibility was not essential to the being of a true church in the judgment of the Holy Ghost; she being as true a church in the wilderness, though not as visible and lustrous, as when she was in her former splendour of profession. In this state she made many attempts to return, but the waters were yet too high, and her way blocked up, and many of her excellent children, in several nations and centuries, fell by the cruelty of superstition, because they would not fall from their faithfulness to the Truth.

The last age took some steps towards it, both as to doctrine, worship, and practice. But practice quickly failed: for wickedness flowed in a little time, as well among the professors of the reformation, as those they reformed from; so that by the fruits of conversation they were not to be distinguished. And the children of the reformers, if not the reformers themselves, betook themselves very early, to earthly policy and power, to uphold and carry on their reformation that had been begun with spiritual weapons; which, I have often thought, has been one of the greatest reasons why the reformation made no better progress, as to the life and soul of religion. For whilst the reformers were lowly and spiritually minded, and trusted in God, and looked to him, and lived in his fear, and consulted not with flesh and blood, nor sought deliverance in their own way, there were daily added to the church such, as one might reasonably say, should be saved: for they were not so careful to be safe from persecution, as to be faithful and inoffensive under it; being more concerned to spread the truth by their faith and patience in tribulation, than to get the worldly power out of their hands who inflicted those sufferings upon them. It will be well if the Lord suffer them not to fall, by the very same way which they took to stand.

In doctrine they were in some things short; in other things, to avoid one extreme, they ran into another; and for worship, there was, for the generality, more of man in it than of God. They owned the Spirit, inspiration and revelation, indeed, and grounded their separation and reformation upon the sense and understanding they received from it, in the reading of the Scriptures of Truth. And this was their plea, the Scripture is the text, the Spirit the interpreter, and that to every one for himself. But yet there was too much of human invention, tradition and art, remained both in praying and preaching; and of worldly authority and worldly greatness in their ministers; especially in this kingdom, Sweden, Denmark, and some parts of Germany. God was therefore pleased in England to shift us from vessel to vessel: and the next remove humbled the ministry, so that they were more strict in preaching, devout in praying, and zealous for keeping the first-day of the week, and catechising of children and servants, and repeating at home in their families, what they had heard in public. But even as these grew into power, they were not only for whipping some out, but others into the temple: and they appeared rigid in their spirits, rather than severe in their lives, and more for a party than for piety, which brought forth another people, that were yet more retired and select.

They would not communicate at large, or in common with others; but formed churches

among themselves of such as could give some account of their conversion, at least of very promising experiences of the work of God's grace upon their hearts; and under mutual agreements and covenants of fellowship, they kept together. These people were somewhat of a softer temper, and seemed to recommend religion by the charms of its love, mercy and goodness, rather than by the terrors of its judgments and punishments; by which the former party would have awed people into religion.

They also allowed greater liberty to prophecy than those before them; for they admitted any member to speak or pray, as well as their pastor, whom they always chose, and not the civil magistrate. If such found any thing pressing upon them to either duty, even without the distinction of clergy or laity, persons of any trade, be it ever so low and mechanical, had the liberty. But alas! even these people suffered great loss: for tasting of worldly empire, and the favour of princes, and the gain that ensued, they degenerated. Though they had cried down national churches and ministry, and maintenance too, some of them, when it was their own turn to be tried, fell under the weight of worldly honour and advantage, got into profitable parsonages, and outlived and contradicted their own principles: and, which was yet worse, some of them turned absolute persecutors of other men for God's sake, who but so lately came themselves out of the furnace. This drove many a step farther, and that was into the water; into another baptism, believing they were not Scripturally baptized; and hoping to find that presence and power of God, in submitting to this watery ordinance, which they desired and wanted.

These people also made profession of neglecting, if not renouncing and censuring, not only the necessity, but use of all human learning, as to the ministry, and all other qualifications to it, besides the helps and gifts of the Spirit of God, and those natural and common to men. And for a time they seemed, like John of old, a burning and a shining light to other societies.

They were very diligent, plain and serious; strong in Scripture and bold in profession; bearing much reproach and contradiction. But that which others fell by, proved their snare. Worldly power spoiled them too, who had enough of it to try what they would do if they had more: and they rested also too much upon their watery dispensation, instead of passing on more fully to that of the fire and Holy Ghost, which was His baptism, who came with a fan in his hand, that he might thoroughly (and not in part only) purge his floor, and take away the dross and the tin of his people, and make a man finer than gold. Withal they grew high, rough and self-righteous, opposing farther attainment: too much forgetting the day of their infancy and littleness, which gave them something of a real beauty; insomuch that many left them, and all other visible churches and societies, and wandered up and down, as sheep without a shepherd, and as doves without their mates; seeking their beloved, but could not find him, as their souls desired to know him, whom they loved above their chiefest joy.

These people were called Seekers by some, and the Family of love by others; because, as they came to the knowledge of one another, they sometimes met together, not formally to pray or preach at appointed times or places, in their own wills, as in times past they were accustomed to do, but waited together in silence; and as any thing rose in any one of their minds that they thought savoured of a Divine spring, they sometimes spoke. But so it was, that some of them not keeping in humility, and in the fear of God, after the abundance of revelation, were exalted above measure; and for want of staying their minds in an humble dependence upon Him who opened their understandings, to see great things in his law, they ran out in their own imaginations, and mixing them with those Divine openings, brought forth a monstrous birth, to the scandal of those who feared God and waited daily in the temple not made with hands, for the consolation of Israel; the Jews inward, and circumcision in spirit.

This people obtained the name of Ranters, from their extravagant discourses and practices. They interpreted Christ's fulfilling the law for us, to be a discharging of us from any obligation and duty the law required, instead of the condemnation of the law for sins past, upon faith and repentance: and that now it was no sin to do that which before it was a sin to commit: the slavish fear of the law being taken off by Christ, and all things good that man did, if he did but do them with the mind and persuasion that it was so. Hence many of them fell into gross and enormous practices; pretending, in excuse thereof, that they could, without evil, commit the same act which was sin in another to do; thereby distinguishing between the action and the evil of it, by the direction of the mind and intention in the doing of it. This was to make sin superabound by the aboundings of grace, and to turn from the grace of God into wantonness, a securer way of sinning than before; as if Christ came not to save us from our sins, but in our sins; not to take away sin, but that

we might sin more freely at his cost, and with less danger to ourselves. I say, this ensnared many, and brought them to an utter and lamentable loss as to their eternal state; and they grew very troublesome to the better sort of people, and furnished the looser with an occasion to profane.

SECTION II.

Of the rise of the people called Quakers, their fundamental principle, doctrine and practice, in twelve points resulting from it; their progress and sufferings: an expostulation with England thereupon.

It was about that very time, as you may see in George Fox's Annals, that the eternal, wise and good God, was pleased, in his infinite love, to honour and visit this benighted and bewildered nation with his glorious day-spring from on high; yea, with a most sure and certain sound of the word of light and life, through the testimony of a chosen vessel, to an effectual and blessed purpose, can many thousands say; glory be to the name of the Lord for ever.

For as it reached the conscience and broke the heart, and brought many to a sense and search, so that which people had been vainly seeking without, with much pains and cost, they by this ministry found within, where it was they wanted what they sought for, viz: The right way to peace with God. They were directed to the light of Jesus Christ within them, as the seed and leaven of the kingdom of God; near all, because in all, and God's talent to all: a faithful and true witness, and just monitor in every bosom; the gift and grace of God, to life and salvation, which appears to all, though few regard it. This the traditional Christian, conceited of himself, and strong in his own will and righteousness, overcome with blind zeal and passion, either despised as a low and common thing or opposed as a novelty under many hard names and opprobrious terms, denying, in his ignorant and angry mind, any fresh manifestations of God's power and Spirit in man in these days, though never more needed to make true Christians. Not unlike those Jews of old who rejected the Son of God, at the very same time that they blindly professed to wait for the Messiah to come; because, alas! he appeared not among them according to their carnal mind and expectation.

This brought forth many abusive books, which filled the greater sort with envy, and the lesser with rage; and made the way and progress of this blessed testimony straight and narrow indeed to those who received it. However, God owned his own work, and this testimony did effectually reach, gather, comfort and establish the weary and heavy laden, the hungry and thirsty, the poor and needy, the mournful and sick of many maladies, who had spent all upon physicians of no value, and waited for relief from heaven, help only from above. Upon a serious trial of all things they saw that nothing else would do but Christ himself; the light of his countenance, a touch of his garment, and help from his hand, who cured the poor woman's issue, raised the centurion's servant, the widow's son, the ruler's daughter, and Peter's mother; and like her, they no sooner felt his power and efficacy upon their souls, but they gave up to obey him in a testimony to his power; and that with resigned wills and faithful hearts, through all mockings, contradictions, confiscations, beatings, prisons, and many other jeopardies that attended them for his blessed name's sake.

And truly these were very many, and very great; so that in all human probability they must have been swallowed up quickly of the proud and boisterous waves that swelled and beat against them, but that the God of all their tender mercies was with them in his glorious authority; so that the hills often fled, and the mountains melted before the power that filled them; working mightily for them, as well as in them, one ever following the other. By which they saw plainly, to their exceeding great confirmation and comfort, that all things were possible with Him with whom they had to do; and that the more that which God required seemed to cross man's wisdom, and expose them to man's wrath, the more God appeared to help and carry them through all to his glory.

If ever any people could say in truth, thou art our sun and our shield, our rock and sanctuary, and by thee we have leaped over a wall, and by thee we have run through a troop, and by thee we have put the armies of the aliens to flight, these people had a right to say it. And as God had delivered their souls from the wearisome burdens of sin and vanity, and enriched their poverty of spirit, and satisfied their great hunger and thirst after everlasting righteousness, and filled them with the good things of his own house, and made them stewards of his manifold gifts; so they went forth to all quarters of these nations, to declare to the inhabitants thereof what God had done for them; what they had found, and where and how they had found it, viz: The way to peace with God; inviting all to come, and see, and taste for themselves, the truth of what they declared unto them.

And as their testimony was to the Spirit of

God in man, the precious pearl and leaven of the kingdom, as the only blessed means appointed of God to quicken, convince and sanctify man, so they opened to them what it was in itself, and what it was given to them for: how they might know it from their own spirit, and that of the subtle appearance of the evil one: and what it would do for all those whose minds should be turned from the vanity of the world, and its lifeless ways and teachers, and adhere to this blessed light in themselves, which discovers and condemns sin in all its appearances, and shows how to overcome it, if minded and obeyed in its holy manifestations and convictions. It gives power to such to avoid and resist those things that do not please God, and to grow strong in love, faith and good works; that so man, whom sin hath made as a wilderness over-run with briars and thorns, might become as the garden of God, cultivated by his divine power, and replenished with the most virtuous and beautiful plants of God's own planting, to his eternal praise.

But these experimental preachers of the glad tidings of God's truth and kingdom, could not run when they listed, nor pray or preach when they pleased, but as Christ their Redeemer prepared and moved them by his own blessed spirit, for which they waited in their services and meetings, and spoke as that gave them utterance; which was as those having authority, and not like the dreaming, dry and formal pharisees. And so it plainly appeared to the serious minded, whose spiritual eye the Lord Jesus had in any measure opened; so that to one was given the word of exhortation, to another the word of reproof, to another the word of consolation, and all by the same Spirit and in the good order thereof, to the convincing and edifying of many.

And truly they waxed strong and bold through faithfulness, and by the power and spirit of the Lord Jesus became very fruitful, thousands in a short time being turned to the truth in the inward parts through their testimony, in ministry and sufferings; insomuch that in most counties and many of the considerable towns of England, meetings were settled, and daily there were added such as should be saved. They were diligent to plant and to water, and the Lord blessed their labours with an exceeding great increase, notwithstanding all the opposition made to their progress by false rumours, calumnies and bitter persecutions; not only from the powers of the earth, but from every one that listed to injure and abuse them. They seemed indeed to be as poor sheep appointed to the slaughter, and as a people killed all the day long.

It were fitter for a volume than a preface, to set forth the extent of their cruel sufferings from professors as well as from profane, and from magistrates as well as the rabble. It may be said of this abused and despised people, they went forth weeping and sowed in tears, bearing testimony to the precious Seed, even the Seed of the kingdom, which stands not in words, (the finest, the highest that man's wit can use) but in the power of Christ Jesus, to whom God the Father hath given all power in heaven and in earth, that he might rule angels above, and men below. Who empowered them, as their work witnesseth, by the many that were turned, through their ministry, from darkness to the light, and out of the broad into the narrow way of life and peace; bringing people to a weighty, serious, and Godlike conversation; the practice of that doctrine which they taught.

And, as without this secret Divine power there is no quickening and regenerating of dead souls, so the want of this regenerating and begetting power and life, is the cause of the little fruit that the many ministries, that have been and are in the world, bring forth. O that both ministers and people were sensible of this! my soul is often troubled for them, and sorrow and mourning compass me about for their sakes. O that they were wise! O that they would consider, and lay to heart the things that truly and substantially make for their lasting peace!

Two things are to be considered, the doctrine they taught, and the example they led among all people. I have already touched upon their fundamental principle, which is as the corner-stone of their fabric; and indeed, to speak eminently and properly, their characteristic, or main distinguishing point or principle, viz: The light of Christ within, as God's gift for man's salvation. This, I say, is as the root of the goodly tree of doctrines that grew and branched out from it, which I shall now mention in their natural and experimental order.

First, Repentance from dead works to serve the living God. Which comprehends three operations. First, a sight of sin. Secondly, a sense and godly sorrow for sin. Thirdly, an amendment for the time to come. This was the repentance they preached and pressed, and a natural result from the Spirit of Truth, they turned all people unto. For of light came sight; and of sight came sense and sorrow; and of sense and sorrow came amendment of life; which doctrine of repentance leads to justification; that is, forgiveness of the sins that are past, through Christ the alone propitiation, and the sanctification or purgation of the soul, from the defiling nature and habits of sin present, by the Spirit of

Christ in the soul; which is justification in the complete sense of that word; comprehending both justification from the guilt of the sins that are past, as if they had never been committed, through the love and mercy of God in Christ Jesus; and the creature's being made inwardly just through the cleansing and sanctifying power and spirit of Christ revealed in the soul; which is commonly called sanctification. But that none can come to know Christ to be their sacrifice that reject him as their sanctifier; the end of his coming being to save his people from the nature and defilement, as well as guilt of sin: and that therefore those who resist his light and spirit, make his coming and offering of none effect to them.

From hence sprang a second doctrine they were led to declare, as the mark of the prize of the high calling to all true Christians, viz., Perfection from sin, according to the Scriptures of truth; which testify it to be the end of Christ's coming, and the nature of his kingdom, and for which his Spirit was and is given, viz. To be perfect as our heavenly Father is perfect, and holy, because God is holy. And this the apostles laboured for, that the Christians should be sanctified throughout in body, soul and spirit; but they never held a perfection in wisdom and glory in this life, or from natural infirmities or death, as some have, with a weak or ill mind, imagined and insinuated against them.

This they called a redeemed state, regeneration, or the new birth: teaching every where according to their foundation, that unless this work was known, there was no inheriting the kingdom of God.

Thirdly, This leads to an acknowledgment of eternal rewards and punishments, as they have good reason; for else, of all people, certainly they must be the most miserable, who, for above forty years, have been exceedingly great sufferers for their profession, and in some cases treated worse than the worst of men; yea, as the refuse and off-scouring of all things.

This was the purport of their doctrine and ministry; which, for the most part, is what other professors of Christianity pretend to hold in words and forms, but not in the power of godliness; which, generally speaking, has been long lost by men's departing from that holy Spirit and Seed of life that is in man, and which man has not regarded, but lost the sense of: and in and by which only he can be quickened in his mind to serve the living God in newness of life. For as the life of religion was lost, and the generality lived and worshipped God after their own wills, and not after the will of God, nor the mind of Christ, which stood in the works and fruits of the holy Spirit; so that which they pressed was not notion, but experience; not formality, but godliness; as being sensible in themselves, through the work of God's righteous judgments, that without holiness no man shall ever see the Lord with comfort.

Besides these general doctrines, as the larger branches, there sprang forth several particular doctrines, that did exemplify and further explain the truth and efficacy of the general doctrine before observed, in their lives and examples. As,

I. Communion and loving one another. This is a noted mark in the mouth of all sorts of people concerning them, They will meet, they will help and stick one to another. Whence it is common to hear some say, Look how the Quakers love and take care of one another. Others, less moderate, will say, The Quakers love none but themselves: and if loving one another, and having an intimate communion in religion, and constant care to meet to worship God and help one another, be any mark of primitive Christianity, they had it, blessed be the Lord, in an ample manner.

II. To love enemies. This they both taught and practised. For they did not only refuse to be revenged for injuries done them, and condemned it as of an unchristian spirit, but they did freely forgive, yea, help and relieve those that had been cruel to them, when it was in their power to have been even with them: of which many and singular instances might be given; endeavouring, through faith and patience, to overcome all injustice and oppression, and preaching this doctrine as Christian, for others to follow.

III. Another was, The sufficiency of truth-speaking, according to Christ's own form of sound words, of yea, yea, and nay, nay, among Christians, without swearing; both from Christ's express prohibition to swear at all, Matt. v., and for that they being under the tie and bond of truth in themselves, there was no necessity for an oath; and it would be a reproach to their Christian veracity to assure their truth by such an extraordinary way of speaking; simple and uncompounded answers, as yea and nay, without asseveration, attestation, or supernatural vouchers, being most suitable to evangelical righteousness. But offering at the same time to be punished to the full, for false speaking, as others are for perjury, if ever guilty of it. And hereby they exclude, with all true, all false and profane swearing; for which the land did and doth mourn, and the great God was, and is not a little offended with it.

IV. Not fighting, but suffering, is another

testimony peculiar to this people; they affirm that Christianity teacheth people to beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks, and to learn war no more; that so the wolf may lie down with the lamb, and the lion with the calf, and nothing that destroys be entertained in the hearts of the people; exhorting them to employ their zeal against sin, and turn their anger against satan, and no longer war one against another; because all wars and fightings come of men's own hearts' lusts, according to the apostle James, and not of the meek spirit of Christ Jesus, who is captain of another warfare, and which is carried on with other weapons. Thus, as truth-speaking succeeded swearing, so faith and patience succeeded fighting, in the doctrine and practice of this people. Nor ought they for this to be obnoxious to civil government, since if they cannot fight for it, neither can they fight against it; which is no mean security to any state. Nor is it reasonable that people should be blamed for not doing more for others than they can do for themselves. And Christianity set aside, if the costs and fruits of war were well considered, peace, with all its inconveniences, is always preferable. But though they were not for fighting, they were for submitting to government; and that, not only for fear, but for conscience-sake, where government doth not interfere with conscience; believing it to be an ordinance of God, and where it is justly administered, a great benefit to mankind. Though it has been their lot, through blind zeal in some, and interest in others, to have felt the strokes of it with greater weight and rigour than any other persuasion in this age; whilst they, of all others, religion set aside, have given the civil magistrate the least occasion of trouble in the discharge of his office.

V. Another part of the character of this people was and is, they refuse to pay tithes or maintenance to a national ministry; and that for two reasons: the one is, they believe all compelled maintenance, even to Gospel-ministers, to be unlawful, because expressly contrary to Christ's command, who said, Freely you have received, freely give. At least, that the maintenance of Gospel-ministers should be free and not forced. The other reason of their refusal is, because those ministers are not Gospel ones, in that the holy Ghost is not their foundation, but human arts and parts. So that it is not matter of humour nor sullenness, but pure conscience towards God, that they cannot help to support national ministries where they dwell, which have but too much and too visibly become ways of worldly advantage and preferment.

VI. Not to respect persons, was and is another of their doctrines and practices, for which they were often buffeted and abused. They affirmed it to be sinful to give flattering titles, or to use vain gestures and compliments of respect. Though to virtue and authority they ever made a difference; but after their plain and homely manner, yet sincere and substantial way; well remembering the examples of Mordecai and Elihu, but more especially the command of their Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, who forbade his followers to call man Rabbi, which implies lord or master; also the fashionable greetings and salutations of those times; that so self-love and honour, to which the proud mind of man is incident in his fallen estate, might not be indulged but rebuked. And though this rendered their conversation disagreeable, yet they that will remember what Christ said to the Jews, "How can ye believe, which receive honour one of another," will abate of their resentment, if his doctrine has any credit with them.

VII. They also used the plain language of thee and thou to a single person, whatever was his degree among men: and indeed, the wisdom of God was much seen, in bringing forth this people in so plain an appearance; for it was a close and distinguishing test upon the spirits of those they came among; showing their insides, and what predominated, notwithstanding their high and great profession of religion. This, among the rest, sounded so harsh to many of them, and they took it so ill, that they would say, Thou me, thou my dog! If thou thou'st me, I'll thou thy teeth down thy throat; forgetting the language they use to God in their own prayers, and the common style of the Scriptures, and that it is an absolute and essential propriety of speech. And what good, alas! had their religion done them, who were so sensibly touched with indignation for the use of this plain, honest and true speech?

VIII. They recommend silence by their example, having very few words upon all occasions. They were at a word in dealing: nor could their customers, with many words, tempt them from it, having more regard to truth than custom, to example than gain. They sought solitude; but when in company, they would neither use, nor willingly hear unnecessary or unlawful discourses: whereby they preserved their minds pure and undisturbed from unprofitable thoughts and diversions. Nor could they humour the custom of Good night, Good morrow, God speed; for they knew the night was good, and the day was good, without the wishing of either; and that in the other expression, the holy name of

God was too lightly and unthankfully used, and therefore taken in vain. Besides, they were words and wishes of course, and are usually as little meant, as are love and service in the custom of cap and knee; and superfluity in those, as well as in other things, was burthensome to them; and therefore they did not only decline to use them, but found themselves often pressed to reprove the practice.

IX. For the same reason they forbore drinking to people, or pledging of them, as the manner of the world is: a practice that is not only unnecessary, but they thought, evil in the tendencies of it, being a provocation to drink more than did people good, as well as that it was in itself vain and heathenish.

X. Their way of marriage is peculiar to them, and shows a distinguishing care above other societies professing Christianity. They say that marriage is an ordinance of God, and that God only can rightly join man and woman in marriage: therefore they use neither priest nor magistrate; but the man and woman concerned, take each other as husband and wife, in the presence of credible witnesses, promising to each other, with God's assistance, to be loving and faithful in that relation, till death shall separate them. But antecedent to this, they first present themselves to the Monthly Meeting for the affairs of the church, where they reside; there declaring their intentions to take one another as husband and wife, if the said meeting have nothing material to object against it. They are constantly asked the necessary questions, as in case of parents and guardians, if they have acquainted them with their intention, and have their consent, &c. The method of the meeting is, to take a minute thereof, and to appoint proper persons to inquire of their conversation and clearness from all others, and whether they have discharged their duty to their parents or guardians; and to make report thereof to the next Monthly Meeting, where the same parties are desired to give their attendance. In case it appears they have proceeded orderly, the meeting passes their proposal, and so records it in the meeting-book. And in case the woman be a widow, and hath children, due care is there taken, that provision also be made by her for the orphans, before the meeting passes the proposals of marriage: advising the parties concerned, to appoint a convenient time and place, and to give fitting notice to their relations, and such friends and neighbours, as they desire should be the witnesses of their marriage: where they take one another by the hand, and by name promise reciprocally, love and fidelity, after the manner before expressed. Of all which proceedings, a narrative, in way of certificate is made, to which the said parties first set their hands, thereby confirming it as their act and deed; and then relations, spectators and auditors, set their names, as witnesses of what they said and signed. And this certificate is afterwards registered in the record belonging to the meeting where the marriage is solemnized. Which regular method has been, as it deserves, adjudged in courts of law, a good marriage, where it has been by cross and ill people disputed and contested, for want of the accustomed formalities of priest and ring, &c. ceremonies they have refused, not out of humour, but conscience reasonably grounded; inasmuch as no Scripture example tells us, that the priest had any other part, of old time, than that of a witness among the rest, before whom the Jews used to take one another; and therefore this people look upon it as an imposition to advance the power and profits of the clergy: and for the use of the ring, it is enough to say, that it was an heathenish and vain custom, and never in practice among the people of God, Jews or primitive Christians: the words of the usual form, as with my body I thee worship, &c., are hardly defensible. In short, they are more careful, exact and regular, than any other form now used; and it is free from the inconveniences, with which other methods are attended: their care and checks being so many, and such, as that no clandestine marriages can be performed among them.

XI. It may not be unfit to say something here of their births and burials, which make up so much of the pomp of too many called Christians. For births, the parents name their own children: which is usually some days after they are born, in the presence of the midwife, if she can be there, and those that were at the birth; who afterwards sign a certificate for that purpose prepared, of the birth and name of the child or children: which is recorded in a proper book, in the Monthly Meeting to which the parents belong; avoiding the accustomed ceremonies and festivals.

XII. Their burials are performed with the same simplicity. If the body of the deceased be near any public meeting-place, it is usually carried thither for the more convenient reception of those who accompany it to the burying ground. And it so falls out sometimes, that while the meeting is gathering for the burial, some one or other has a word of exhortation, for the sake of the people there met together: after which the body is borne away by young men, or else those that are of the

neighbourhood, or those that were most of the intimacy of the deceased party: the corpse being in a plain coffin, without any covering or furniture upon it. At the ground, they pause some time before they put the body into its grave, that if any there should have any thing upon them to exhort the people, they may not be disappointed: and that the relations may the more retiredly and solemnly take their last leave of the body of their departed kindred, and the spectators have a sense of mortality, by the occasion then given them to reflect upon their own latter end. Otherwise, they have no set rites or ceremonies on those occasions. Neither do the kindred of the deceased ever wear mourning; they looking upon it as a worldly ceremony and piece of pomp; and that what mourning is fit for a Christian to have at the departure of a beloved relation or friend, should be worn in the mind, which is only sensible of the loss: and the love they had to them, and remembrance of them, to be outwardly expressed by a respect to their advice, and care of those they have left behind them, and their love of what they loved. Which conduct of theirs, though unmodish or unfashionable, leaves nothing of the substance of things neglected or undone: and as they aim at no more, so that simplicity of life is what they observe with great satisfaction; though it sometimes happens not to be without the mockeries of the vain world they live in.

These things, to be sure, gave them a rough and disagreeable appearance with the generality; who thought them turners of the world upside down, as indeed, in some sense they were: but in no other than that wherein Paul was so charged, viz: "To bring things back into their primitive and right order again." For these and such like practices of theirs were not the result of humour, or for civil distinction, as some have fancied, but a fruit of the inward sense which God through his holy fear had begotten in them. They did not consider how to contradict the world, or distinguish themselves as a party from others; it being none of their business, as it was not their interest: no, it was not the result of consultation or a framed design, by which to declare or recommend schism or novelty. But God having given them a sight of themselves, they saw the whole world in the same glass of truth; and sensibly discerned the affections and passions of men, and the rise and tendency of things; what it was that gratified the "lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life, which are not of the Father, but of the world." And from thence sprang, in the night of darkness and apostacy which hath been over people through their degradation from the light and Spirit of God, these and many other vain customs, which are seen by the heavenly day of Christ, that dawns in the soul, to be either wrong in their original, or by time and abuse, hurtful in their practice. And though these things seemed trivial to some, and rendered these people stingy and conceited in such persons' opinion, there was and is more in them, than they were, or are aware of.

It was not very easy to our primitive friends to make themselves sights and spectacles, and the scorn and derision of the world, which they easily foresaw must be the consequence of so unfashionable a conversation in it: but the wisdom of God was seen in the foolishness of these things: First, That they discovered the satisfaction and concern which people had in and for the fashions of this world, notwithstanding their high pretences to another; in that any disappointment about them came so very near them, as that the greatest honesty, virtue, wisdom and ability, were unwelcome without them. Secondly, It seasonably and profitably divided conversation; for this making their society uneasy to their relations and acquaintance, it gave them the opportunity of more retirement and solitude; wherein they met with better company, even the Lord God their Redeemer; and grew strong in his love, power and wisdom, and were thereby better qualified for his service. And their success abundantly showed it: blessed be the name of the Lord.

And though they were not great and learned in the esteem of this world, (for then they had not wanted followers upon their own credit and authority) yet they were generally of the most sober of the several persuasions they were in, and of the most repute for religion; and many of them of good capacity, substance and account among men.

And also some among them wanted not for parts, learning or estate: though then, as of old, not many wise or noble, &c. were called, or at least received the heavenly call, because of the cross that attended the profession of it in sincerity. But neither do parts nor learning make men the better Christians, though the better orators and disputants; and it is the ignorance of people about the Divine gift which causes that vulgar and mischievous mistake. Theory and practice, speculation and enjoyment, words and life, are two things. It is the penitent, the reformed, the lowly, the watchful, the self-denying and holy soul, that is the Christian! And that frame is the fruit and work of the Spirit, which is the life of Jesus: whose life, though hid in the fulness of it in God the Father, is shed abroad in the hearts of them who truly believe, according

to their capacity. O that people did but know this to cleanse them, to circumcise them, to quicken them and to make them new creatures indeed! Re-created or regenerated after Christ Jesus unto good works, that they might live to God, and not to themselves, and offer up living prayers and living praises to the living God, through his own living Spirit, in which he is only to be worshipped in this Gospel day.

O that they who read me could but feel me! for my heart is affected with this merciful visitation of the Father of lights and spirits to this poor nation and the whole world, through the same testimony. Why should the inhabitants thereof reject it? Why should they lose the blessed benefit of it? Why should they not turn to the Lord with all their hearts, and say from the heart, Speak, Lord, for now thy poor servants hear! O that thy will may be done, thy great, thy good and holy will, in earth as it is in heaven! Do it in us, do it upon us, do what thou wilt with us; for we are thine, and desire to glorify thee our Creator, both for that and because thou art our Redeemer; for thou art redeeming us from the earth, from the vanities and pollutions of it, to be a peculiar people unto thee. This were a brave day for England, if so she could say in truth. But alas! the case is otherwise; for which some of thine inhabitants, O land of my nativity! have mourned over thee with bitter wailing and lamentation. Their heads have been indeed as waters, and their eyes as fountains of tears, because of thy transgression and stiffneckedness; because thou wilt not hear and fear, and return to the Rock, even thy Rock, O England! from whence thou art hewn. But be thou warned, O land of great profession, to receive Him into thy heart. Behold at that door it is he hath stood so long knocking; but thou wilt yet have none of him. O be thou awakened, lest Jerusalem's judgments do swiftly overtake thee, because of Jerusalem's sins that abound in thee. For she abounded in formality, but made void the weighty things of God's law, as thou daily dost.

She withstood the Son of God in the flesh, and thou resistest the Son of God in the Spirit. He would have gathered her as an hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and she would not; so would he have gathered thee out of thy lifeless profession, and have brought thee to inherit substance; to have known his power and kingdom: for which he often knocked within, by his grace and Spirit, and without, by his servants and witnesses; but on the contrary, as Jerusalem of old persecuted the manifestation of the Son of God in the flesh, and crucified him, and whipt and and imprisoned his servants; so hast thou, O land! crucified to thyself afresh the Lord of life and glory, and done despite to his Spirit of grace; slighting the fatherly visitation, and persecuting the blessed dispensers of it by thy laws and magistrates: though they have early and late pleaded with thee in the power and Spirit of the Lord; in love and meekness, that thou mightest know the Lord, and serve him, and become the glory of all lands.

But thou hast evilly entreated and requited them, thou hast set at naught all their counsel, and wouldst have none of their reproof, as thou shouldst have had. Their appearance was too strait, and their qualifications were too mean, for thee to receive them; like the Jews of old, that cried, Is not this the carpenter's son, and are not his brethren among us? Which of the scribes, of the learned, the orthodox, believe in him? prophesying their fall in a year or two, and making and executing severe laws to bring it to pass: endeavouring to terrify them out of their holy way, or destroy them for abiding faithful to it. But thou hast seen how many governments that rose against them, and determined their downfall, have been overturned and extinguished, and that they are still preserved, and become a great and considerable people, among the middle sort of thy numerous inhabitants. And notwithstanding the many difficulties without and within, which they have laboured under, since the Lord God Eternal first gathered them, they are an increasing people; the Lord still adding unto them, in divers parts, such as shall be saved, if they persevere to the end. And to thee, O England! they were, and are lifted up as a standard, and as a city set upon an hill, and to the nations round about thee, that in their light thou mayst come to see light, even in Christ Jesus, the light of the world, and therefore thy light and life too, if thou wouldst but turn from thy many evil ways and receive and obey it. For in the light of the Lamb must the nations of them that are saved walk, as the Scripture testifies.

Remember, O nation of great profession! how the Lord has waited upon thee since the dawning of reformation, and the many mercies and judgments by which he has pleaded with thee; and awake and arise out of thy deep sleep, and yet hear his word in thy heart, that thou mayst live.

Let not this thy day of visitation pass over thy head, nor neglect thou so great salvation as is this which is come to thy house, O England! for why shouldst thou die, O land that God desires to bless? be assured it is he that has been in the midst of this people, in the

midst of thee, and not a delusion, as thy mistaken teachers have made thee believe. And this thou shalt find by their marks and fruits, if thou wilt consider them in the spirit of moderation.

SECTION III.

Of the qualifications of their Ministry. Eleven marks that it is Christian.

I. They were changed men themselves before they went about to change others. Their hearts were rent as well as their garments changed; and they knew the power and work of God upon them. And this was seen by the great alteration it made, and their stricter course of life and more godly conversation that immediately followed upon it.

II. They went not forth, nor preached in their own time or will, but in the will of God: and spoke not their own studied matter, but as they were opened and moved of his Spirit, with which they were well acquainted in their own conversion: which cannot be expressed to carnal men, so as to give them any intelligible account; for to such it is, as Christ said, like the blowing of the wind, which no man knows whence it cometh, nor whither it goeth; yet this proof and seal went along with their ministry, that many were turned from their lifeless professions, and the evil of their ways, to an inward and experimental knowledge of God, and an holy life, as thousands can witness. And as they freely received what they had to say from the Lord, so they freely administered it to others.

III. The bent and stress of their ministry was conversion to God; regeneration and holiness. Not schemes of doctrines and verbal creeds, nor new forms of worship; but a leaving off in religion, the superfluous, and reducing the ceremonious and formal part, and pressing earnestly the substantial, the necessary and profitable part to the soul; as all, upon a serious reflection, must and do acknowledge.

IV. They directed people to the Spirit of Truth in themselves, though not of themselves, by which all that they asserted, preached and exhorted others to, might be wrought in them, and known to them, through experience, to be true; which is an high and distinguishing mark of the truth of their ministry, both that they knew what they said, and were not afraid of coming to the test. For as they were bold from certainty, so they required conformity upon no human authority, but upon conviction, and the conviction of this spirit, which they asserted was in them that they preached unto; and unto that they directed them, that they might examine and prove the reality of those things which they affirmed of it, as to its manifestation and work in man. And this is more than the many ministers in the world pretend to. They declare of religion, say many things true in words, of God, Christ, and the Spirit; of holiness and heaven; that all men should repent and amend their lives, or they will go to hell, &c., but which of them all pretend to speak of their own knowledge and experience? or ever directed to the Holy Divine Spirit, or agent, placed of God in man, to help him; and how to know it, and wait to feel its power to work that good and acceptable will of God in them.

Some of them indeed have spoken of the Spirit, and the operations of it to sanctification, and the performance of worship to God; but where and how to find it, and wait in it to perform our duty to God, was yet as a mystery to be declared by this further degree of reformation. So that this people did not only in words, more than equally press repentance, conversion and holiness, but did it knowingly and experimentally; and directed those to whom they preached, to a sufficient Spirit; and told them where it was, and by what tokens they might know it, and which way they might experience the power and efficacy of it to their souls' happiness; which is more than theory and speculation, upon which most other ministers depend; for here is certainty; a bottom upon which man may boldly appear before God in the great day of account.

V. They reached to the inward state and condition of people, which is an evidence of the virtue of the Spirit of Truth, and of their ministering from it, and not from their own imaginations, glosses, or comments upon Scripture. For nothing reaches the heart, but what is from the heart, or pierces the conscience, but what comes from a living conscience: insomuch that it hath often happened, where people have, under secrecy, revealed their state or condition to some choice friends for advice or ease, they have been so particularly directed in the ministry of this people, that they have challenged their friends with discovering their secrets, and telling their preachers their cases, to whom a word had not been spoken. Yea, the very thoughts and purposes of the hearts of many have been so plainly detected, that they have like Nathaniel cried out of this inward appearance of Christ, Thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel. And those who have embraced this holy Spirit have found this mark of its truth and Divinity, which the woman of Samaria did of Christ when in the flesh, to be the Messiah, viz., It told them all that ever they had done; showed them their insides, the most inward

secrets of their hearts, and laid judgment to the line, and righteousness to the plummet; of which thousands can at this day give in their witness. So that nothing has been affirmed by this people, of the power and virtue of this heavenly Spirit, that such as have turned to it have not found true, and more; and that one-half had not been told them of what they have seen of the power, purity, wisdom and goodness of God therein.

VI. The accomplishments with which this Spirit fitted even some of the meanest of this people, for their work and service: furnishing them with an extraordinary understanding in divine things, and an admirable fluency and a taking way of expression, which gave occasion to some to wonder, saying of them, as of their Master, Is not this such a mechanic's son, how came he by this learning? as from thence others took occasion to suspect and insinuate they were Jesuits in disguise (who had the reputation of learned men for an age past) though there was not the least ground of truth for any such reflection; in that their ministers are known, the places of their abode, their kindred and education.

VII. That they came forth low, despised and hated, as the primitive Christians did, and not by the help of worldly wisdom or power, as former reformations, in part have done. But in all things, it may be said, this people were brought forth in the cross; in a contradiction to the ways, worships, fashions and customs of this world; yea, against wind and tide, that so no flesh might glory before God.

VIII. They could have no design to themselves in this work, thus to expose themselves to scorn and abuse; to spend and be spent: leaving wife and children, house and land, and all that can be accounted dear to men, with their lives in their hands, being daily in jeopardy, to declare this primitive message, revived in their spirits, by the good Spirit and power of God, viz.:

That God is light and in him is no darkness at all; and that he has sent his Son a light into the world, to enlighten all men in order to salvation; and that they that say they have fellowship with God and are his children and people, and yet walk in darkness (viz., in disobedience to the light in their consciences) and after the vanity of this world, they lie and do not the truth. But that all such as love the light and bring their deeds to it, and walk in the light, as God is light, the blood of Jesus Christ his Son should cleanse them from all sin. Thus John i. 4, 19. Chap. iii. 20, 21. 1 John i. 5, 6, 7.

IX. Their known great constancy and patience in suffering for their testimony, in all the branches of it; and that sometimes unto death, by beatings, bruisings, long and crowded imprisonments and noisome dungeons: four of them in New-England dying by the hands of the executioner, purely for preaching amongst that people: besides banishments and excessive plunders and sequestrations of their goods and estates, almost in all parts, not easily to be expressed, and less to have been endured, but by those who have the support of a good and glorious cause; refusing deliverance by any indirect ways or means, as often as it was offered to them.

X. That they not only showed no disposition to revenge, when it was at any time in their power, but forgave their cruel enemies; showing mercy to those who had none for them.

XI. Their plainness with those in authority, like the ancient prophets, not fearing to tell them to their faces, of their private and public sins; and their prophecies to them of their afflictions and downfall, when in the top of their glory: also of some national judgments, as of the plague and fire of London, in express terms, and likewise particular ones to divers persecutors, which accordingly overtook them, and were very remarkable in the places where they dwelt, which in time may be made public for the glory of God.

Thus, reader, thou seest this people in their rise, principles, ministry and progress, both their general and particular testimony; by which thou mayest be informed how, and upon what foot, they sprang and became so considerable a people. It remains next, that I show also their care, conduct and discipline, as a Christian and reformed Society, that they might be found living up to their own principles and profession. And this, the rather, because they have hardly suffered more in their character from the unjust charge of error, than by the false imputation of disorder; which calumny indeed has not failed to follow all the true steps that were ever made to reformation, and under which reproach none suffered more than the primitive Christians themselves, who were the honour of Christianity, and the great lights and examples of their own and succeeding ages.

SECTION IV.

Of the discipline and practice of this people, as a religious Society. The church power they own and exercise, and that which they reject and condemn; with the method of their proceedings against erring and disorderly persons.

This people increasing daily both in town and country, an holy care fell upon some of the elders among them, for the benefit and

service of the church. The first business in their view, after the example of the primitive saints, was the exercise of charity; to supply the necessities of the poor, and answer the like occasions. Wherefore collections were early and liberally made for that and other services in the church, and entrusted with faithful men, fearing God and of good report, who were not weary in well-doing; adding often of their own in large proportions, which they never brought to account or desired should be known, much less restored to them, that none might want, nor any service be retarded or disappointed.

They were also very careful that every one who belonged to them answered their profession in their behaviour among men, upon all occasions; that they lived peaceably and were in all things good examples. They found themselves engaged to record their sufferings and services; and in the case of marriage, which they could not perform in the usual methods of the nation, but among themselves, they took care that all things were clear between the parties and all others; and it was then rare that any one entertained an inclination to a person on that account, until he or she had communicated it secretly to some very weighty and eminent Friends among them, that they might have a sense of the matter; looking to the counsel and unity of their brethren as of great moment to them. But because the charge of the poor, the number of orphans, marriages, sufferings and other matters multiplied, and that it was good that the churches were in some way and method of proceeding in such affairs among them, to the end they might the better correspond upon occasion, where a member of one meeting might have to do with one of another; it pleased the Lord in his wisdom and goodness, to open the understanding of the first instrument of this dispensation of life, about a good and orderly way of proceeding; who felt an holy concern to visit the churches in person throughout this nation, to begin and establish it among them; and by his epistles the like was done in other nations and provinces abroad, which he also afterwards visited and helped in that service, which shall be observed when I come to speak of him.

Now the care, conduct and discipline, I have been speaking of, and which are now practised among this people, are as followeth:

This godly elder, [George Fox,] in every county where he travelled, exhorted them, that some out of every meeting for worship, should meet together once in the month, to confer about the wants and occasions of the church. And as the case required, so those Monthly Meetings were fewer or more in number in every respective county: four or six meetings for worship, usually making one Monthly Meeting for business. And accordingly the brethren met him from place to place, and began the said meetings, viz., For the poor, orphans, orderly walking, integrity to their profession, births, marriages, burials, sufferings, &c. And that these Monthly Meetings should, in each county, make up one Quarterly Meeting, where the most zealous and eminent Friends of the county should assemble to communicate, advise and help one another, especially when any business seemed difficult, or a Monthly Meeting was tender of determining a matter.

Also that these several Quarterly Meetings should digest the reports of their Monthly Meetings, and prepare one for each respective county against the Yearly Meeting, into which all Quarterly Meetings resolve; which is held in London, where the churches in this nation, and other nations and provinces, meet by chosen members of their respective counties, both mutually to communicate their church-affairs, and to advise and be advised, in any depending case, to edification. Also to provide a requisite stock for the discharge of general expenses for general services in the church, not needful to be here particularized.

At these meetings any of the members of the churches may come, if they please, and speak their minds freely, in the fear of God, to any matter; but the mind of each Quarterly Meeting, therein represented, is chiefly understood, as to particular cases, in the sense delivered by the persons deputed or chosen for that service by the said meeting.

During the Yearly Meeting, to which the other meetings refer in their order, and naturally resolve themselves, care is taken by a select number for that service, chosen by the general assembly, to draw up the minutes of the said meeting, upon the several matters that have been under consideration therein, to the end, that the respective Quarterly and Monthly Meetings may be informed of all proceedings; together with a general exhortation to holiness, unity and charity. Of all which proceedings in the Yearly, Quarterly, and Monthly Meetings, due record is kept by some one appointed for that service, or who hath voluntarily undertaken it. These meetings are opened, and usually concluded, in solemn waiting upon God, who is sometimes graciously pleased to answer them with as signal evidences of his love and presence, as in any of their meetings for worship.

It is further to be noted, that in these solemn

assemblies for the churches' service, there is no one presides among them after the manner of the assemblies of other people; Christ only being their president, as He is pleased to appear in life and wisdom in any one or more of them; to whom, whatever be their capacity or degree, the rest adhere with a firm unity, not of authority, but conviction, which is the Divine authority and way of Christ's power and spirit in his people: making good his blessed promise, that he would be in the midst of his, where and whenever they were met together in his name, even to the end of the world. So be it.

Now it may be expected I should here set down what sort of authority is exercised by this people, upon such members of their Society as correspond not in their lives with their profession, and who are refractory to this good and wholesome order settled among them; and the rather, because they have not wanted their reproach and sufferings from some tongues and pens, upon this occasion, in a plentiful manner.

The power they exercise, is such as Christ has given to his own people, to the end of the world, in the persons of his disciples, viz., To oversee, exhort, reprove, and after long suffering and waiting upon the disobedient and refractory, to disown them, as being any more of their communion, or that they will any longer stand charged in the sight and judgment of God or men, with their conversation or behaviour, as of them, until they repent. The subject matter about which this authority, in any of the foregoing branches of it is exercised; is first, in relation to common and general practice; and, secondly, about those things that more strictly refer to their own character and profession, and which distinguish them from all other professors of Christianity; avoiding two extremes upon which many split, viz., Persecution and libertinism; that is, a coercive power, to whip people into the temple; that such as will not conform, though against faith and conscience, shall be punished in their persons or estates: or leaving all loose and at large, as to practice, and so unaccountable to all but God and the magistrate. To which hurtful extreme, nothing has more contributed than the abuse of church power, by such as suffer their passions and private interests to prevail with them to carry it to outward force and corporal punishment—a practice they have been taught to dislike, by their extreme sufferings, as well as their known principle for an universal liberty of conscience.

On the other hand, they equally dislike an independency in society; an unaccountableness in practice and conversation, to the rules and terms of their own communion, and to those that are the members of it. They distinguish between imposing any practice that immediately regards faith or worship, (which is never to be done or suffered, or submitted unto) and requiring Christian compliance with those methods that only respect church-business in its more civil part and concern; and that regard the discreet and orderly maintenance of the character of the Society as a sober and religious community. In short, what is for the promotion of holiness and charity, that men may practise what they profess, live up to their own principles, and not be at liberty to give the lie to their own profession without rebuke, is their use and limit of church power. They compel none to join them, but oblige those that are of them to walk suitably, or they are denied by them: that is all the mark they set upon them, and the power they exercise, or judge a Christian Society can exercise, upon those that are members of it.

The way of their proceeding against such as have lapsed or transgressed, is this: He is visited by some of them, and the matter of fact is laid home to him, be it any evil practice against known and general virtue, or any breach of their particular testimony, which he in common, professeth with them. They labour with him in much love and zeal, for the good of his soul, the honour of God and reputation of their profession, to own his fault and condemn it, in as ample a manner as the evil or scandal was given by him; which for the most part is performed by some written testimony under the party's hand: and if it so happen, that the party prove refractory, and is not willing to clear the truth they profess, from the reproach of his or her evil doing or unfaithfulness, they, after repeated entreaties and due waiting for a token of repentance, give forth a paper to disown such a fact and the party offending; recording the same as a testimony of their care for the honour of the Truth they profess.

And if he or she shall clear their profession and themselves, by sincere acknowledgment of their fault and godly sorrow, they are received and looked upon again as members of their communion. For as God, so his true people, upbraid no man after repentance.

This is the account I have to give of the people of God called Quakers, as to their rise, appearance, principles and practices in this age of the world, both with respect to their faith and worship, discipline and conversation. And I judge it very proper in this place, because it is to preface the journal of the first blessed and glorious instrument of

this work, and for a testimony to him in his singular qualifications and services, in which he abundantly excelled in his day, and are worthy to be set forth as an example to all succeeding times, to the glory of the Most High God, and for a just memorial to that worthy and excellent man, his faithful servant and apostle to this generation of the world.

SECTION V.

Of the first instrument or person by whom God was pleased to gather this people into the way they profess. His many excellent qualifications; showing a Divine, and not an human power, to have been their original in him. His troubles and sufferings both from without and within. His end and triumph.

I AM now come to the third head or branch of my preface, viz., The instrumental author. For it is natural for some to say, well, here are the people and work, but where and who was the man, the instrument? He that in this age was sent to begin this work and people? I shall, as God shall enable me, declare who and what he was; not only by report of others, but from my own long and most inward converse and intimate knowledge of him; for which my soul blesseth God, as it hath often done. And I doubt not, but by the time I have discharged myself of this part of my preface, my serious readers will believe I had good cause so to do.

The blessed instrument of it, in this day of God, and of whom I am now about to write, was George Fox, distinguished from another of that name, by that other's addition of younger to his name, in all his writings; not that he was so in years, but that he was so in the Truth. But he was also a worthy man, witness and servant of God in his time.

George Fox was born in Leicestershire, about the year 1624. He descended of honest and sufficient parents, who endeavoured to bring him up, as they did the rest of their children, in the way and worship of the nation. Especially his mother, who was a woman accomplished above most of her degree in the place where she lived. But from a child he appeared of another frame of mind than the rest of his brethren; being more religious, inward, still, solid and observing, beyond his years, as the answers he would give and the questions he would put, upon occasion, manifested to the astonishment of those who heard him, especially in Divine things.

His mother taking notice of his singular temper, and the gravity, wisdom and piety that very early shined through him, refusing childish and vain sports and company, when very young, was tender and indulgent over him, so that from her he met with little difficulty. As to his employment, he was brough up in country business, and as he took most delight in sheep, so he was very skilful in them; an employment that very well suited his mind in several respects, both for its innocency and solitude; and was a just emblem of his after ministry and service.

I shall not break in upon his own account, which is by much the best that can be given; and therefore desire, what I can, to avoid saying any thing of what is said already, as to the particular passages of his coming forth. When he was somewhat above twenty, he left his friends, and visited the most retired and religious people in those parts; and some there were, in this nation, who waited for the consolation of Israel, night and day, as Zacharias, Anna and good old Simeon did of old time. To these he was sent, and these he sought out in the neighbouring counties, and among them he sojourned, until his more ample ministry came upon him. At this time he taught, and was an example, of silence, endeavouring to bring them from self-performances; testifying of and turning them to the light of Christ within them, and encouraging them to wait in patience, and to feel the power of it stir in their hearts, that their knowledge and worship of God might stand in the power of an endless life, which was to be found in the light, as it was obeyed, in the manifestation of it in man. For in the Word was life, and that life is the light of men. Life in the Word, light in men, and life in men too, as the light is obeyed. The children of the light living by the life of the Word, by which the Word begets them again to God, which is the regeneration and new birth, without which there is no coming into the kingdom of God: to which whoever comes, is greater than John; that is, than John's dispensation, which was not that of the kingdom, but the consummation of the legal, and fore-runner of the Gospel times, the time of the kingdom. Accordingly several meetings were gathered in those parts; and thus his time was employed for some years.

In 1652, he being in his usual retirement, his mind exercised towards the Lord, upon a very high mountain, in some of the hither parts of Yorkshire, as I take it, he had a vision of the great work of God in the earth, and of the way that he was to go forth in a public ministry, to begin it. He saw people as thick as motes in the sun, that should in time be brought home to the Lord, that there might be but one Shepherd and one sheepfold

in all the earth. Then his eye was directed northward, beholding a great people that should receive him and his message in those parts. Upon this mountain he was moved of the Lord to sound out his great and notable day, as if he had been in a great auditory; and from thence went north, as the Lord had shown him. In every place where he came, if not before he came to it, he had his particular exercise and service shown to him, so that the Lord was his leader indeed. For it was not in vain that he travelled; God in most places sealing his commission with the convincement of some of all sorts, as well publicans as sober professors of religion. Some of the first and most eminent of those who came forth in a public ministry, and who are now at rest, were Richard Farnsworth, James Nayler, William Dewsberry, Thomas Aldam, Francis Howgil, Edward Burroughs, John Camm, John Audland, Richard Hubberthorn, T. Taylor, T. Holmes, Alexander Parker, William Simson, William Caton, John Stubbs, Robert Withers, Thomas Loe, Josiah Coale, John Burnyeat, Robert Lodge, Thomas Salthouse, and many more worthies, that cannot be well here named; together with divers yet living of the first and great convincement. These, after the knowledge of God's purging judgment in themselves, and some time of waiting in silence upon him, to feel and receive power from on high to speak in his name, which none else rightly can, though they may use the same words; they felt its Divine motions, and were frequently drawn forth, especially to visit the public assemblies, to reprove, inform and exhort them. Sometimes in markets, fairs, streets and by the highway side, calling people to repentance, and to turn to the Lord with their hearts as well as their mouths; directing them to the light of Christ within them, by which to see, examine and consider their ways, and to eschew evil, and do the good and acceptable will of God. And they suffered great hardships for this their love and good-will; being often stocked, stoned, beaten, whipt and imprisoned, though honest men, and of good report where they lived; who had left wives, children, houses and lands, to visit them with a living call to repentance. And though the priests generally set themselves to oppose them, and wrote against them, and insinuated most false and scandalous stories to defame them, stirring up the magistrates to suppress them, especially in those northern parts; yet God was pleased so to fill them with his living power, and to give them such an open door of utterance in his service, that there was a mighty convincement over those parts.

Through the tender and singular indulgence of Judge Bradshaw, Judge Fell, and Colonel West, in the infancy of things, the priests were never able to gain the point they laboured for, which was to proceed to blood; and if possible, Herod-like, by a cruel exercise of the civil power, to have cut them off, and rooted them out of the country. But especially Judge Fell, who was not only a check to their rage in the course of legal proceedings, but otherwise upon occasion, and finally countenanced this people. For his wife receiving the Truth with the first, it had that influence upon his spirit, being a just and wise man, and seeing in his own wife and family a full confutation of all the popular clamours against the way of Truth, he covered them what he could, and freely opened his doors, and gave up his house to his wife and her friends; not valuing the reproach of ignorant or evil-minded people; which I here mention to his and her honour, and which will be, I believe, an honour and a blessing to such of their name and family, as shall be found in that tenderness, humility, love and zeal for the Truth and people of the Lord.

That house was for some years at first, especially till the Truth had opened its way into the southern parts of this island, an eminent receptacle of this people. Others of good note and substance in those northern counties, also opened their houses, together with their hearts, to the many publishers, who, in a short time, the Lord raised to declare his salvation to the people; and where meetings of the Lord's messengers were frequently held, to communicate their services and exercises, and comfort and edify one another in their blessed ministry.

But lest this may be thought a digression, having touched upon this before, I return to this excellent man; and for his personal qualities, natural, moral and divine, as they appeared in his converse with the brethren, and in the church of God, take as follows:

I. He was a man whom God endued with a clear and wonderful depth; a discerner of other's spirits, and very much a master of his own. And though that side of his understanding which lay next to the world, and especially the expression of it, might sound uncouth and unfashionable to nice ears, his matter was nevertheless very profound, and would not only bear to be often considered, but the more it was so, the more weighty and instructing it appeared. And as abruptly and brokenly as sometimes his sentences would seem to fall from him, about divine things, it is well known they were often as texts to many fairer declarations. And indeed, it

showed beyond all contradiction, that God sent him, in that no art or parts had any share in the matter or manner of his ministry; and that so many great, excellent and necessary truths as he came forth to preach to mankind, had therefore nothing of man's wit or wisdom to recommend them. So that as to man he was an original, being no man's copy. His ministry and writings show that they are from one who was not taught of man, nor had learned what he said by study. Nor were they notional or speculative, but sensible and practical truths, tending to conversion and regeneration, and the setting up of the kingdom of God in the hearts of men; and the way of it was his work. I have many times been overcome in myself, and been made to say, with my Lord and Master, upon the like occasion, "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and revealed them to babes." For my soul hath bowed in humble thankfulness to the Lord, that he did not choose any of the wise and learned of this world to be the first messenger in our age of his blessed truth to men; but that he took one who was not of high degree, nor elegant speech, nor learned after the way of this world, that his message and work, which he sent him to do, might come with less suspicion or jealousy of human wisdom and interest, and with more force and clearness upon the consciences of those that sincerely sought the way of Truth in the love of it. I say, beholding with the eye of my mind, which the God of heaven had opened in me, the marks of God's finger and hand visibly in this testimony, from the clearness of the principle, the power and efficacy of it, in the exemplary sobriety, plainness, zeal, steadiness, humility, gravity, punctuality, charity and circumspect care in the government of church affairs, which shined in his and their life and testimony whom God employed in this work, it greatly confirmed me that it was of God, and engaged my soul in a deep love, fear, reverence and thankfulness for his love and mercy therein to mankind: in which mind I remain, and shall, I hope, through the Lord's strength, to the end of my days.

II. In his testimony or ministry, he much laboured to open Truth to the people's understandings, and to bottom them upon the principle and principal, Christ Jesus the light of the world; that by bringing them to that Spirit which is from God in themselves, they might the better know and judge of him and themselves.

III. He had an extraordinary gift in opening the Scriptures. He would go to the marrow of things, and show the mind, harmony and fulfilling of them with much plainness, and to great comfort and edification.

IV. The mystery of the first and second Adam, of the fall and restoration, of the law and Gospel, and shadows and substance, of the servant's and Son's state, and the fulfilling of the Scriptures in Christ and by Christ, the true light, in all that are his, through the obedience of faith, were much of the substance and drift of his testimonies. In all which he was witnessed to be of God; being sensibly felt to speak that which he had received of Christ, and was his own experience, in that which never errs or fails.

V. But above all, he excelled in prayer. The inwardness and weight of his spirit, the reverence and solemnity of his address and behaviour, and the fewness and fulness of his words, have often struck even strangers with admiration, as they used to reach others with consolation. The most awful, living, reverent frame I ever felt or beheld, I must say, was his in prayer. And truly it was a testimony that he knew and lived nearer to the Lord than other men; for they that know him most, will see most reason to approach him with reverence and fear.

VI. He was of an innocent life, no busybody, nor self-seeker; neither touchy nor critical: what fell from him was very inoffensive, if not very edifying. So meek, contented, modest, easy, steady, tender, it was a pleasure to be in his company. He exercised no authority but over evil, and that every where, and in all; but with love, compassion, and long suffering. A most merciful man, as ready to forgive, as unapt to take or give an offence. Thousands can truly say he was of an excellent spirit and savour among them, and because thereof, the most excellent spirits loved him with an unfeigned and unfading love.

VII. He was an incessant labourer: for in his younger time, before his many, great and deep sufferings and travels had enfeebled his body for itinerant services, he laboured much in the word and doctrine, and discipline, in England, Scotland and Ireland; turning many to God, and confirming those who were convinced of the Truth, and settling good order, as to church affairs, among them. And towards the conclusion of his travelling services, between the years 1671 and 1677, he visited the churches of Christ in the plantations in America, and in the United Provinces, and Germany, as his journal relates; to the convincement and consolation of many. After that time he chiefly resided in and about the city of London. And besides his labour in the ministry, which was frequent

and serviceable, he wrote much, both to them that are within, and to those who are without the communion. But the care he took of the affairs of the church in general was very great.

VIII. He was often where the records of the business of the church are kept, and where the letters from the many meetings of God's people over all the world use to come: which letters he had read to him, and communicated them to the meeting that is held weekly for such services: and he would be sure to stir them up to answer them, especially in suffering cases; showing great sympathy and compassion upon all such occasions; carefully looking into the respective cases, and endeavouring speedy relief, according to the nature of them. So that the churches, or any of the suffering members thereof, were sure not to be forgotten nor delayed in their desires, if he were there.

IX. As he was unwearied, so he was undaunted in his services for God and his people; he was no more to be moved to fear than to wrath. His behaviour at Derby, Litchfield, Appleby, before Oliver Cromwell, at Launceston, Scarborough, Worcester, and Westminster-hall, with many other places and exercises, did abundantly evidence it, to his enemies as well as to his friends.

But as in the primitive times, some rose up against the blessed apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, even from among those whom they had turned to the hope of the Gospel, and became their greatest trouble; so this man of God had his share of suffering from some who were convinced by him, who, through prejudice or mistake, ran against him, as one that sought dominion over conscience, because he pressed by his presence or epistles, a ready and zealous compliance with such good and wholesome things as tended to an orderly conversation about the affairs of the church, and in their walking before men. That which contributed much to this ill work was, in some, a grudging of this meek man the love and esteem he had and deserved in the hearts of the people; and weakness in others, who were taken with their groundless suggestions of imposition and blind obedience.

They would have had every man independent, that as he had the Spirit of Truth in himself, he should only stand or fall to that, and no body else; not considering that it is one in all; and though the measure of light or grace might differ, yet the nature of it was the same; and being so, they struck at the spiritual unity, which a people, guided by the same Spirit, are naturally led into: so that what is an evil to one, is so to all, and what is virtuous, honest, and of good repute to one, is so to all, from the sense and savour of the one universal Spirit which is common to all, and which the disaffected also profess to be the root of all true Christian fellowship, and that spirit into which the people of God drink, and come to be spiritually-minded, and of one heart and one soul.

Some ignorantly mistook good order in the government of church affairs, for discipline in worship, and that it was so pressed or recommended by him and other brethren. And thereupon they were ready to reflect the same things that dissenters had very reasonably objected upon the national churches, which have coercively pressed conformity to their respective creeds and worships. Whereas these things related wholly to conversation, and the outward, and as I may say, civil part of the church; that men should walk up to the principles of their belief, and not be wanting in care and charity. But though some have stumbled and fallen through mistakes, and an unreasonable obstinacy even to a prejudice; yet blessed be God, the generality have returned to their first love, and seen the work of the enemy, who loses no opportunity or advantage by which he may check or hinder the work of God, and disquiet the peace of his church, and chill the love of his people to the Truth, and one to another; and there is hope of divers of the few who yet are at a distance.

In all these occasions, though there was no person the discontented struck so sharply at, as this good man, he bore all their weakness and prejudice, and returned not reflection for reflection; but forgave them their weak and bitter speeches, praying for them, that they might have a sense of their hurt, and see the subtilty of the enemy to rend and divide, and return to their first love which thought no ill.

And truly I must say, that though God had visibly clothed him with a divine preference and authority, and indeed his very presence expressed a religious majesty, yet he never abused it: but held his place in the church of God with great meekness, and a most engaging humility and moderation. For upon all occasions, like his blessed Master, he was a servant to all; holding and exercising his eldership in the invisible power that had gathered them, with reverence to the Head and care over the body: and was received, only in that spirit and power of Christ, as the first and chief elder in this age: who, as he was therefore worthy of double honour, so for the same reason it was given by the faithful of this day; because his authority was inward and not outward, and that he got it and kept it by the love of God, and power of

an endless life. I write my knowledge, and not report, and my witness is true; having been with him for weeks and months together on divers occasions, and those of the nearest and most exercising nature; and that by night and by day, by sea and by land; in this and foreign countries; and I can say, I never saw him out of his place, or not a match for every service or occasion.

For in all things he acquitted himself like a man, yea, a strong man, a new and heavenly minded man, a divine and a naturalist, and all of God Almighty's making. I have been surprised at his questions and answers in natural things; that whilst he was ignorant of useless and sophistical science, he had in him the grounds of useful and commendable knowledge, and cherished it everywhere: civil beyond all forms of breeding, in his behaviour; very temperate, eating little and sleeping less, though a bulky person.

Thus he lived and sojourned among us: and as he lived so he died; feeling the same eternal power that had raised and preserved him, in his last moments. So full of assurance was he, that he triumphed over death: and so even in his spirit to the last, as if death were hardly worth notice, or a mention: recommending to some of us who were with him, the despatch and dispersion of an epistle just before given forth by him to the churches of Christ throughout the world, and his own books: but above all, Friends; and of all Friends, those in Ireland and America, twice over, saying, mind poor Friends in Ireland and America.

And to some who came in and inquired how he found himself, he answered, never heed, the Lord's power is over all weakness and death; the Seed reigns, blessed be the Lord: which was about four or five hours before his departure out of this world. He was at the great meeting near Lombard street, on the first-day of the week, and it was the third-day following, about ten o'clock at night, when he left us; being at the house of Henry Goldney, in the same court. In a good old age he went, after having lived to see his children's children in the Truth to many generations. He had the comfort of a short illness, and the blessing of a clear sense to the last: and we may truly say, with a man of God of old, that being dead, he yet speaketh; and though now absent in body, he is present in spirit: neither time nor place being able to interrupt the communion of saints, or dissolve the fellowship of the spirits of the just. His works praise him, because they are to the praise of Him who wrought by him; for which his memorial is and shall be blessed. I have done, as to this part of my preface, when I have left this short epitaph to his name, "Many sons have done virtuously in this day; but dear George, thou excellest them all."

SECTION VI.

Containing five several exhortations. First, general, reminding this people of their primitive integrity and simplicity. Secondly, in particular, to the ministry. Thirdly, to the young convinced. Fourthly, to the children of Friends. Fifthly, to those that are yet strangers to this people and way; to whom this book, (and that to which it was a preface in its former edition) may come. All the several exhortations accommodated to their several states and conditions; that all may answer the end of God's glory and their own salvation.

And now, friends, you that profess to walk in the way that this blessed man was sent of God to turn us into, suffer, I beseech you, the word of exhortation, as well fathers as children, and elders as young men. The glory of this day, and foundation of the hope that has not made us ashamed since we were a people, you know is that blessed light and life of Christ which we profess, and direct all people to, as the great and divine instrument and agent of man's conversion to God. It was by this that we were first touched and effectually enlightened, as to our inward state; which put us upon the consideration of our latter end; causing us to set the Lord before our eyes, and to number our days, that we might apply our hearts to wisdom. In that day we judged not after the sight of the eye, nor after the hearing of the ear; but according to the light and sense this blessed Spirit gave us, so we judged and acted in reference to things and persons, ourselves and others; yea, towards God our maker. For being quickened by it in our inward man, we could easily discern the difference of things, and feel what was right, and what was wrong, and what was fit, and what not, both in reference to religious and civil concerns. That being the ground of the fellowship of all saints, it was in that our fellowship stood. In this we desired to have a sense of one another, acted towards one another, and all men, in love, faithfulness and fear.

In feeling the stirrings and motions of this Spirit in our hearts, we drew near to the Lord, and waited to be prepared by it, that we might feel its drawings and movings before we approached the Lord in prayer, or opened our mouths in ministry. And in our beginning and ending with this, stood our comfort, service and edification. And as we ran faster

or fell short, in our services, we made burthens for ourselves to bear; finding in ourselves a rebuke instead of an acceptance; and in lieu of well-done, Who has required this at your hands?

In that day we were an exercised people, our very countenances and deportment declared it. Care for others was then much upon us, as well as for ourselves; especially of the young convinced. Often had we the burthen of the word of the Lord to our neighbours, relations and acquaintance; and sometimes strangers also. We were in travail likewise for one another's preservation; not seeking, but shunning occasions of any coldness or misunderstanding; treating one another as those who believed and felt God present; which kept our conversation innocent, serious and weighty; guarding ourselves against the cares and friendships of the world.

We held the truth in the spirit of it, and not in our own spirits, or after our own wills and affections: they were bowed and brought into subjection, insomuch that it was visible to those who knew us, that we did not think ourselves at our own disposal, to go where we listed, nor to say or do what we listed nor when we listed. Our liberty stood in the liberty of the Spirit of truth; and no pleasure, no profit, no favour could draw us from this retired, strict and watchful frame. We were so far from seeking occasions of company, that we avoided them what we could; pursuing our own business with moderation, instead of meddling with other people's unnecessarily.

Our words were few and savoury, our looks composed and weighty, and our whole deportment very observable. True it is, that this retired and strict sort of life from the liberty of the conversation of the world, exposed us to the censures of many as humourists, conceited and self-righteous persons, &c. But it was our preservation from many snares, to which others were continually exposed, by the prevalency of the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life, that wanted no occasions or temptations to excite them, abroad in the converse of the world.

I cannot forget the humility and chaste zeal of that day. O, how constant at meetings, how retired in them, how firm to truth's life, as well as truth's principles! and how entire and united in our communion, as indeed became those who profess one head, even Christ Jesus the Lord.

This being the testimony and example the man of God, before-mentioned, was sent to declare and leave amongst us, and we having embraced the same as the merciful visitation of God to us, the word of exhortation at this time is, That we continue to be found in the way of this testimony, with all zeal and integrity, and so much the more, by how much the day draweth near.

And first, as to you my beloved and much honoured brethren in Christ, who are in the exercise of the ministry; O, feel life in your ministry! let life be your commission, your well-spring and treasury on all such occasions; else you well know, there can be no begetting to God, since nothinig can quicken or make people alive to God, but the life of God: and it must be a ministry in and from life, that enlivens any people to God. We have seen the fruit of all other ministries, by the few that are turned from the evil of their ways. It is not our parts, or memory, or the the repetition of former openings, in our own will and time, that will do God's work. A dry doctrinal ministry, however sound in words, can reach but the ear, and is but a dream at the best: there is another soundness, that is soundest of all, viz. Christ the power of God. He is the key of David, that opens and none shuts, and shuts, and none can open; as the oil to the lamp, and the soul to the body, so is that to the best of words: which made Christ to say, My words, they are Spirit and they are life; that is, they are from life, and therefore they make you alive that receive them. If the disciples, who had lived with Jesus, were to stay at Jerusalem, until they received it, much more must we wait to receive before we minister, if we will turn people from darkness to light, and from satan's power to God.

I fervently bow my knees to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you may always be like minded, that you may ever wait reverently, for the coming and opening of the Word of life, and attend upon it in your ministry and service, that you may serve God in his spirit. And be it little or be it much, it is well; for much is not too much, and the least is enough, if from the motion of God's Spirit; and without it, verily, ever so little is too much, because to no profit.

For it is the Spirit of the Lord immediately, or through the ministry of his servants, that teacheth his people to profit; and to be sure, so far as we take him along with us in our services, so far we are profitable and no further. For if it be the Lord that must work all things in us for our salvation, much more is it the Lord that must work in us for the conversion of others. If therefore it was once a cross to us to speak, though the Lord required it at our hands, let it never be so to be silent, when he does not.

It is one of the most dreadful sayings in the book of God, That he that adds to the words of the prophecy of this book, God will

add to him the plagues written in this book. To keep back the counsel of God is as terrible; for he that takes away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life. And truly, it has great caution in it, to those that use the name of the Lord, to be well assured the Lord speaks, that they may not be found of the number of those who add to the words of the testimony of prophecy, which the Lord giveth them to bear; nor yet to mince or diminish the same, both being so very offensive to God.

Wherefore, brethren, let us be careful neither to out-go our Guide, nor yet to loiter behind him; since he that makes haste, may miss his way, and he that stays behind, lose his guide. For even those who have received the word of the Lord, had need to wait for wisdom, that they may see how to divide the word aright: which plainly implieth, that it is possible for one who has received the word of the Lord, to miss in the dividing and application of it, which must come from an impatience of spirit, and a self-working, which makes an unsound and dangerous mixture, and will hardly beget a right-minded living people to God.

I am earnest in this above all other considerations, as to public brethren; well knowing how much it concerns the present and future state and preservation of the church of Christ Jesus, that has been gathered and built up by a living and powerful ministry, that the ministry be held, preserved, and continued in the manifestations, motions and supplies of the same life and power, from time to time.

And wherever it is observed, that any do minister more from gifts and parts, than life and power, though they have an enlightened and doctrinal understanding, let them in time be advised and admonished for their preservation; because insensibly such will come to depend upon a self-sufficiency, to forsake Christ the living fountain, and hew out unto themselves cisterns that will hold no living water. By degrees, such will come to draw others from waiting upon the gift of God in themselves, and to feel it in others, in order to their strength and refreshment, to wait upon them, and to turn from God to man again, and so make shipwreck of the faith once delivered to the saints, and of a good conscience towards God; which are only kept by that Divine gift of life, that begat the one, and awakened and sanctified the other in the beginning.

Nor is it enough, that we have known the Divine gift, and in it have reached to the spirits in prison, and been the instruments of the convincing of others of the way of God, if we keep not as low and poor in ourselves, and as depending upon the Lord, as ever: since no memory, no repetitions of former openings, revelations or enjoyments, will bring a soul to God, or afford bread to the hungry, or water to the thirsty, unless life go with what we say, and that must be waited for.

O that we may have no other fountain, treasure or dependence! That none may presume at any rate to act of themselves for God, because they have long acted from God; that we may not supply want of waiting, with our own wisdom, or think that we may take less care and more liberty in speaking than formerly; and that where we do not feel the Lord, by his power, to open us and enlarge us, whatever be the expectation of the people, or has been our customary supply and character, we may not exceed or fill up the time with our own.

I hope we shall ever remember, who it was that said, "Of yourselves ye can do nothing;" our sufficiency is in Him. And if we are not to speak our own words, nor take thought what we should say to men in our defence when exposed for our testimony, surely we ought to speak none of our own words, nor take thought what we shall say in our testimony and ministry, in the name of our Lord, to the souls of the people; for then of all times, and of all other occasions, should it be fulfilled in us, "for it is not you that speak, but the Spirit of my Father that speaketh in you."

And indeed, the ministry of the Spirit must and does keep its analogy and agreement with the birth of the Spirit; that as no man can inherit the kingdom of God, unless he be born of the Spirit, so no ministry can beget a soul to God, but that which is from the Spirit: for this, as I said before, the disciples waited before they went forth; and in this, our elder brethren, and messengers of God in our day, waited, visited, and reached to us; and having begun in the Spirit, let none ever hope or seek to be made perfect in the flesh; for what is the flesh to the Spirit, or the chaff to the wheat? If we keep in the Spirit, we shall keep in the unity of it, which is the ground of true fellowship. For by drinking into that one Spirit, we are made one people to God, and by it we are continued in the unity of the faith, and the bond of peace. No envying, no bitterness, no strife, can have place with us. We shall watch always for good, and not for evil, one over another, and rejoice exceedingly, and not grudge at one another's increase in the riches of the grace with which God replenisheth his faithful servants.

And brethren, as to you is committed the dispensation of the oracles of God, which gives you frequent opportunities, and great

place with the people among whom you travel, I beseech you that you would not think it sufficient to declare the word of life in their assemblies, however edifying and comfortable such opportunities may be to you and them: but, as was the practice of the man of God before mentioned, in great measure, when among us, inquire the state of the several churches you visit; who among them are afflicted or sick, who are tempted, and if any are unfaithful or obstinate; and endeavour to issue those things in the wisdom and power of God, which will be a glorious crown upon your ministry. As that prepares your way in the hearts of the people, to receive you as men of God, so it gives you credit with them to do them good by your advice in other respects; the afflicted will be comforted by you, the tempted strengthened, the sick refreshed, the unfaithful convicted and restored, and such as are obstinate, softened and fitted for reconciliation; which is clinching the nail, and applying and fastening the general testimony, by this particular care of the several branches of it, in reference to them more immediately concerned in it.

For though good and wise men, and elders too, may reside in such places, who are of worth and importance in the general, and in other places; yet it does not always follow, that they may have the room they deserve in the hearts of the people they live among; or some particular occasion may make it unfit for him or them to use that authority. But you that travel as God's messengers, if they receive you in the greater, shall they refuse you in the less? and if they own the general testimony, can they withstand the particular application of it, in their own cases? Thus ye will show yourselves workmen indeed, and carry your business before you, to the praise of his name, who hath called you from darkness to light, that you might turn others from satan's power unto God and his kingdom, which is within. And O that there were more of such faithful labourers in the vineyard of the Lord! Never more need since the day of God.

Wherefore I cannot but cry and call aloud to you, who have been long professors of the Truth, and know the Truth in the convincing power of it, and have had a sober conversation among men, yet content yourselves only to know truth for yourselves, to go to meetings and exercise an ordinary charity in the church and an honest behaviour in the world, and limit yourselves within these bounds, feeling little or no concern upon your spirits for the glory of the Lord in the prosperity of his Truth in the earth, more than to be glad that others succeed in such service. Arise ye in the name and power of the Lord Jesus; behold how white the fields are unto harvest, in this and other nations, and how few able and faithful labourers there are to work therein! Your country-folks, neighbours and kindred want to know the Lord and his Truth, and to walk in it. Does nothing lie at your door upon their account? search and see, and lose no time, I beseech you, for the Lord is at hand.

I do not judge you, there is one that judgeth all men, and his judgment is true. You have mightily increased in your outward substance; may you equally increase in your inward riches, and do good with both, while you have a day to do good. Your enemies would once have taken what you had from you for his name's sake, in whom you have believed; wherefore he has given you much of the world, in the face of your enemies! But O let it be your servant, and not your master! Your diversion rather than your business! Let the Lord be chiefly in your eye, and ponder your ways, and see if God has nothing more for you to do; and if you find yourselves short in your account with him, then wait for his preparation, and be ready to receive the word of command, and be not weary of well-doing, when you have put your hand to the plough; and assuredly you shall reap, if you faint not, the fruit of your heavenly labour in God's everlasting kingdom.

And you young convinced ones, be you entreated and exhorted to a diligent and chaste waiting upon God, and the way of his blessed manifestation and appearance to you. Look not out, but within: let not another's liberty be your snare; neither act by imitation, but from the sense and feeling of God's power in yourselves; crush not the tender buddings of it in your souls, nor overrun, in your desires and warmness of affections, the holy and gentle motions of it. Remember it is a still voice that speaks to us in this day, and that it is not to be heard in the noises and hurries of the mind, but is distinctly understood in a retired frame. Jesus loved and chose solitudes; often going to mountains, gardens and sea-sides, to avoid crowds and hurries, to show his disciples it was good to be solitary, and sit loose to the world. Two enemies lie near your state, imagination and liberty; but the plain, practical, living, holy Truth, that has convinced you, will preserve you, if you mind it in yourselves, and bring all thoughts, inclinations and affections to the test of it, to see if they are wrought in God, or of the enemy, or of your ownselves; so will a true taste, discerning and judgment be preserved to you, of what you should do and leave undone. And in your diligence and faithfulness in this

way you will come to inherit substance; and Christ, the eternal wisdom, will fill your treasury. And when you are converted as well as convinced, then confirm your brethren; and be ready to every good word and work, that the Lord shall call you to; that you may be to his praise, who has chosen you to be partakers, with the saints in light, of a kingdom that cannot be shaken, an inheritance incorruptible in eternal habitations.

And now, as for you that are the children of God's people, a great concern is upon my spirit for your good: and often are my knees bowed to the God of your fathers, for you, that you may come to be partakers of the same Divine life and power, that have been the glory of this day; that a generation you may be to God, an holy nation and a peculiar people, zealous of good works, when all our heads are laid in the dust. O, you young men and women! let it not suffice you, that you are the children of the people of the Lord; you must also be born again, if you will inherit the kingdom of God. Your fathers are but such after the flesh, and could but beget you into the likeness of the first Adam; but you must be begotten in the likeness of the second Adam, by a spiritual generation, or you will not, you cannot, be of his children or offspring. And therefore look carefully about you, O ye children of the children of God! Consider your standing and see what you are in relation to this Divine kindred, family and birth. Have you obeyed the light, and received and walked in the Spirit, which is the incorruptible seed and word of the kingdom of God, of which you must be born again. God is no respecter of persons. The father cannot save or answer for the child, nor the child for the father, but in the sin thou sinnest thou shalt die; and in the righteousness thou dost, through Christ Jesus, thou shalt live; for it is the willing and obedient that shall eat the good of the land. Be not deceived, God is not mocked; such as all nations and people sow, such they shall reap at the hand of the just God. And then your many and great privileges above the children of other people, will add weight in the scale against you, if you choose not the way of the Lord. For you have had line upon line, and precept upon precept, and not only good doctrine, but good example; and which is more, you have been turned to, and acquainted with, the Spirit of Truth in yourselves, of which others too generally have been ignorant: and you know you may be as good as you please, without the fear of frowns and blows, or being turned out of doors and forsaken of father and mother for God's sake and his holy religion, as has been the case of some of your fathers, in the day they first entered into this holy path. And if you, after hearing and seeing the wonders which God has wrought in the deliverance and preservation of them, through a sea of troubles, and the manifold temporal, as well as spiritual blessings that he has filled them with, in the sight of their enemies, should neglect and turn your backs upon so great and near a salvation, you would not only be most ungrateful children to God and them, but must expect that God will call the children of those that knew him not, to take the crown out of your hands, and that your lot will be a dreadful judgment at the hand of the Lord: but O that it may never be so with any of you. The Lord forbid, saith my soul.

Wherefore, O ye young men and women, look to the Rock of your fathers: there is no other God but him, no other light but his, no other grace but his, nor spirit but his, to convince you, quicken and comfort you; to lead, guide and preserve you to God's everlasting kingdom. So will you be possessors as well as professors of the Truth, embracing it, not only by education, but judgment and conviction; from a sense begotten in your souls, through the operation of the eternal spirit and power of God; by which you may come to be the seed of Abraham, through faith and the circumcision not made with hands; and so heirs of the promise made to the fathers of an incorruptible crown. That, as I said before, a generation you may be to God, holding up the profession of the blessed Truth in the life and power of it. For formality in religion is nauseous to God and good men; and the more so, where any form or appearance has been new and peculiar and begun and practised upon principle, with an uncommon zeal and strictness. Therefore I say, for you to fall flat and formal, and continue the profession, without that salt and savour by which it is come to obtain a good report among men, is not to answer God's love, nor your parents' care, or the mind of Truth in yourselves, nor in those that are without; who, though they will not obey the Truth, have sight and sense enough to see if those who do make a profession of it. For where the Divine virtue of it is not felt in the soul, and waited for and lived in, imperfections will quickly break out and show themselves, and detect the unfaithfulness of such persons, and that their insides are not seasoned with the nature of that holy principle which they profess.

Wherefore, dear children, let me entreat you to shut your eyes at the temptations and allurements of this low and perishing world, and not suffer your affections to be captivated

by those lusts and vanities, which your fathers, for the Truth's sake, long since turned their backs upon: but as you believe it to be the truth, receive it into your hearts, that you may become the children of God: so that it may never be said of you, as the evangelist writes of the Jews in his time, that Christ, the true light "came to his own, but his own received him not: but to as many as received him, to them he gave power to become the children of God, which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God." A most close and comprehensive passage to this occasion. You exactly and peculiarly answer to those professing Jews, in that you bear the name of God's people, by being the children and wearing the form of God's people: and he, by his light in you, may be very well said to come to his own, and if you obey it not, but turn your backs upon it, and walk after the vanities of your minds, you will be of those who receive him not, which I pray God may never be your case and judgment: but that you may be thoroughly sensible of the many and great obligations you lie under to the Lord for his love, and to your parents for their care: and with "all your heart, and all your soul, and all your strength, turn to the Lord, to his gift and Spirit in you, and hear his voice and obey it, that you may seal to the testimony of your fathers, by the truth and evidence of your own experience;" that your children's children may bless you, and the Lord for you, as those that delivered a faithful example as well as record of the truth of God unto them. So will the gray hairs of your dear parents, yet alive, go down to the grave with joy, to see you the posterity of Truth, as well as theirs, and that not only their nature but spirit shall live in you when they are gone.

I shall conclude this account with a few words to those that are not of our communion, into whose hands this may come, especially those of our own nation.

Friends, as you are the sons and daughters of Adam, and my brethren after the flesh, often and earnest have been my desires and prayers to God on your behalf, that you may come to know your Creator to be your Redeemer and Restorer to the holy image, which through sin you have lost, by the power and spirit of his Son Jesus Christ, whom he hath given for the light and life of the world. And O that you, who are called Christians, would receive him into your hearts! For there it is you want him, and at that door he stands knocking that you might let him in: but you do not open to him; you are full of other guests, so that a manger is his lot among you now, as well as of old. Yet you are full of profession, as were the Jews when he came among them, who knew him not, but rejected and evilly entreated him. So that if you come not to the possession and experience of what you profess, all your formality in religion will stand you in no stead in the day of God's judgment.

I beseech you ponder with yourselves your eternal condition, and see what title, what ground and foundation you have for your Christianity; whether it be more than a profession and an historical belief of the Gospel? Have you known the baptism of fire and the Holy Ghost, and the fan of Christ that winnows away the chaff in your minds, the carnal lusts and affections? That Divine leaven of the kingdom, which, being received, leavens the whole lump of man, sanctifying him throughout in body, soul and spirit? If this be not the ground of your confidence, you are in a miserable estate.

You will say perhaps, That though you are sinners, and live in the daily commission of sin, and are not sanctified, as I have been speaking, yet you have faith in Christ, who has borne the curse for you, and in him you are complete by faith, his righteousness being imputed to you.

But, my friends, let me entreat you not to deceive yourselves in so important a point as is that of your immortal souls. If you have true faith in Christ, your faith will make you clean; it will sanctify you: for the saints' faith was their victory of old. By this they overcame sin within and sinful men without. And if thou art in Christ, thou walkest not after the flesh, but after the Spirit, whose fruits are manifest. Yea, thou art a new creature; new made, new fashioned, after God's will and mould. Old things are done away, and behold, all things are become new: new love, desires, will, affections and practices. It is not any longer thou that livest, thou disobedient, carnal, worldly one, but it is Christ that liveth in thee; and to live is Christ, and to die is thy eternal gain: because thou art assured that thy corruptible shall put on incorruption, and thy mortal, immortality, and that thou hast a glorious house, eternal in the heavens, that will never wax old or pass away. All this follows being in Christ, as heat follows fire, and light the sun.

Therefore have a care how you presume to rely upon such a notion, as that you are in Christ, whilst in your old fallen nature. For what communion hath light with darkness, or Christ with Belial? Hear what the beloved disciple tells you, "If we say we have fellowship with God and walk in darkness, we lie,

and do not the truth." That is, if we go on in a sinful way, are captivated by our carnal affections, and are not converted to God, we walk in darkness, and cannot possibly, in that state, have any fellowship with God. Christ clothes those with his righteousness, who receive his grace in their hearts, and deny themselves, and take up his cross daily and follow him. Christ's righteousness makes men inwardly holy; of holy minds, wills and practices. It is nevertheless Christ's though we have it; it is ours, not by nature, but by faith and adoption: it is the gift of God. But still, though not ours, as of or from ourselves, (for in that sense it is Christ's, for it is of and from him;) yet it is ours, and must be ours, in possession, efficacy and enjoyment, to do us any good; or Christ's righteousness will profit us nothing. It was after this manner that he was made, to the primitive Christians, righteousness, sanctification, justification and redemption; and if ever you will have the comfort, kernel and marrow of the Christian religion, thus you must come to learn and obtain it.

Now, my friends, by what you have read, you may perceive that God has visited a poor people among you with his saving knowledge and testimony; whom he has upheld and increased to this day, notwithstanding the fierce opposition they have met withal. Despise not the meanness of this appearance: it was, and yet is (we know) a day of small things, and of small account with too many; and many hard and ill names are given to it: but it is of God, it came from him because it leads to him. This we know, but we cannot make another to know it, unless he will take the same way to know it that we took. The world talks of God, but what do they do? They pray for power, but reject the holy Spirit in which it is. If you would know God, and worship and serve God as you should do, you must come to the means he has ordained and given for that purpose. Some seek it in books, some in learned men, but what they look for is in themselves, though not of themselves, but they overlook it. The voice is too still, the seed too small, and the light shineth in darkness; they are abroad, and so cannot divide the spoil: but the woman who lost her silver, found it at home, after she had lighted her candle and swept her house. Do you so too, and you shall find what Pilate wanted to know, viz., Truth. Truth in the inward parts, so valuable in the sight of God.

The light of Christ within, who is the light of the world, (and so a light to you, that tells you the truth of your condition) leads all that take heed unto it, out of darkness into God's marvellous light. For light grows upon the obedient: it is sown for the righteous, and their way is a shining light, that shines forth more and more to the perfect day.

Wherefore, O friends, turn in, turn in, I beseech you: where the poison is, there is the antidote. There you want Christ, and there you must find him; and blessed be God, there you may find him. Seek and you shall find, I testify for God. But then you must seek aright, with your whole heart, as men that seek for their lives, yea, for their eternal lives; diligently, humbly, patiently, as those that can taste no pleasure, comfort or satisfaction in any thing else, unless you find him whom your souls want to know and love above all. O it is a travail, a spiritual travail! let the carnal, profane world, think and say as it will. And through this path you must walk to the city of God, that has eternal foundations, if ever you will come there.

Well! and what does this blessed light do for you? Why, first, It sets all your sins in order before you. It detects the spirit of this world in all its baits and allurements, and shows how man came to fall from God, and the fallen estate he is in. Secondly, It begets a sense and sorrow, in such as believe in it, for this fearful lapse. You will then see him distinctly whom you have pierced, and all the blows and wounds you have given him by your disobedience, and how you have made him to serve with your sins, and you will weep and mourn for it, and your sorrow will be a godly sorrow. Thirdly, After this it will bring you to the holy watch, to take care that you do so no more, and that the enemy surprise you not again. Then thoughts, as well as words and works, will come to judgment, which is the way of holiness, in which the redeemed of the Lord do walk. Here you will come to love God above all, and your neighbours as yourselves. Nothing hurts, nothing harms, nothing makes afraid on this holy mountain. Now you come to be Christ's indeed; for you are his in nature and spirit, and not your own. And when you are thus Christ's, then Christ is yours, and not before. And here you will know communion with the Father and with the Son, and the efficacy of the blood of cleansing, even the blood of Jesus Christ, that immaculate Lamb, which speaks better things than the blood of Abel; and which cleanseth from all sin the consciences of those who, through the living faith, come to be sprinkled with it, from dead works, to serve the living God.

To conclude, behold the testimony and doctrine of the people called Quakers! Behold their practice and discipline! And behold the

blessed man and men (at least many of them) who were sent of God in this excellent work and service! All which is more particularly expressed in the annals of that man of God, [George Fox's Journal,] which I do heartily recommend to my reader's most serious perusal; and beseech Almighty God, that his blessing may go along with both, to the convincement of many, as yet strangers to this holy dispensation, and also to the edification of God's church in general. Who, for his manifold and repeated mercies and blessings to his people in this day of his great love, is worthy ever to have the glory, honour, thanksgiving and renown; and be it rendered and ascribed, with fear and reverence, through him in whom he is well pleased, his beloved Son and Lamb, our light and life, who sits with him upon the throne, world without end. Amen, says one whom God has long since mercifully favoured with his fatherly visitation, and who was not disobedient to the heavenly vision and call; to whom the way of Truth is more lovely and precious than ever, and who, knowing the beauty and benefit of it above all worldly treasures, has chosen it for his chiefest joy; and therefore recommends it to thy love and choice, because he is with great sincerity and affection,

Thy soul's friend,

William Penn.

He also wrote in the same year, a Visitation to the Jews, by way of appendix to a book published by John Tomkins, called "The Harmony of the Old and New Testament."

After expressing his desire for the redemption of the Jews, as being the descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, he proceeds to show that every argument which can be advanced in defence of the old Testament, in which the Jews assuredly believe, is applicable to the New. He states the unquestionable fact, that while the existence of the Apostolic writings, at the time to which they are referred, is proved by a succession of authors through the first ages after the Christian era, there are none of the Jewish writers who contradict the statement of the evangelists. From the histories of two at least of the evangelists being published, during the lives of those who had an opportunity of witnessing the circumstances which they relate; and many of those facts occurring in the presence of multitudes, he argues that these narratives would have been contradicted, and their falsehood exposed, if they had not been true. Even Tryphon the Jew and Celsus the Gentile, who, about the end of the second century, cavilled at the Christian religion, do not attempt to disprove the miracles which the evangelists record. The fulfilment of the prophecies, contained in the New Testament, respecting the destruction of Jerusalem and the manifold sufferings of the people, is also adduced as evidence of the Divine authority of the Christian religion, and the character of the Messiah, in whom the Christians believe is shown to correspond with the prophetic descriptions of him.

From these and other considerations the Jews are admonished to embrace the Christian religion; and to receive the Son and sent of the Father. He thus concludes the tract: viz.

"And hear and bear this word, I beseech you, from me. You can never see, know or hear the happiness of the coming of the Messiah, till you come to a prepared frame of mind. You must repent of your sins, turn from them and watch against all temptations, not to commit them again; and in this condition of mind and spirit you will know a fitting to receive and own the Messiah, and enjoy the blessed benefits that accrue by him to all those who embrace him. He did come sufferingly and will come triumphantly, but those only can receive him, and have the comfort and advantage of his first and second coming, that come to know and receive him in his light and spirit in their hearts."

In the ninth, tenth and eleventh months he travelled in the work of the ministry, in the counties of Gloucester, Somerset, Devon and Dorset, having meetings almost daily in the principal towns, and other places in those counties. To these meetings great numbers resorted, and many among them assented to the truth of his doctrines. At one of these meetings, the number of people was so great, that they left the market house in which it began, and resorted to the open fields. A number of meetings were held in the town halls, which the Mayors from the respect they bore him, permitted to be opened for that purpose. From this journey he returned to London, but of his employment there I find no account. He appears however to have been fully occupied, if we may judge from the tenor of a letter written from that city to John Gratton, a fellow labourer in the work of the Gospel: an extract from which is here given.

"Dear John Gratton,

"Thy dear and tender love I feel by thy kind lines, and they were to my comfort and refreshment. Thy name has been down in my pocket-book ever since I came to this city, to write to thee as one of my dear and choice friends, who lies and lives near me, with whom is my dear, near, and inward fellowship; and that thou art low and poor, and as self-

independent as ever, is a brave condition, and thou canst not say better for thyself or the greatest worthy in the flock. O dear John, I desire to dwell there, while I live in this tabernacle. It is my prayer, and much of my ministry to God's people. Some are convinced, but not converted; and many, who are converted, do not persevere: wherefore their oil dries up; and self, in Truth's form, gets up under specious pretences."——

"Through the Lord's great mercy and beyond my hopes I am yet tolerably well through hard service, which it has been my lot to be engaged in of late; in which the Lord has abundantly answered me, and tender-hearted friends and sober people of all sorts."——

"As yet I have not seen my own home above these four months. I am a poor pilgrim on the earth, yet my hope is established for an abiding place in an unchangeable world."——

"Dear John, never trouble thyself with priests. Let them have our books. Take two or three gross things from theirs, confute them, and leave the rest. Methinks J. R. (Sir John Rhodes, who was Gratton's neighbour, and had become a Quaker) should exercise himself that way, which would whet him up to services suitable to his condition. My love to him and the Doctor, (Gilbert Heathcote, who had married Sir John Rhodes's sister:) I remember them in my prayers to the Lord, that they may travel on to the end, and receive the crown of faithfulness. So, in the Lord's love, dearly farewell!

"Thy cordial friend and loving brother,

"WILLIAM PENN."

In the year 1695, a writer who chose to conceal his name, published what he called an answer to William Penn's Key; a tract which has been noticed under the transactions of 1692. This drew from him a reply containing further illustrations of the subjects embraced in the Key. There is near the beginning of this reply, a passage in relation to his conduct during the preceding reign, which evincing a consciousness of the integrity of his motives, may be here inserted.

The anonymous writer, having charged him with prevarication, and attributed his conduct to an intemperate zeal for an unbounded liberty of conscience, according to the doctrine of King James's declaration; he refers him to several of his works which were published in Charles's time, to show that he always defended the same principles, and was not more intemperate in the reign that favoured liberty of conscience, than he was in the one which did not. To which he adds, "No man but a persecutor, can without great injustice or ingratitude, reproach that part I had in King James's court. For I think I may say, without vanity, upon this provocation, I endeavoured at least to do some good at my own cost, and would have been glad to have done more. I am very sure I intended and I think I did harm to none, either parties or private persons, my own family excepted." And the injury done to his own family he shrewdly supposes could be no great offence in the view of his opponent.

In the autumn of this year, William Penn paid a religious visit to some of the western counties of England. In the eighth month he was present at a dispute held at Melksham in Wiltshire, between John Plympton a Baptist and John Clark a Friend. The said Baptist had challenged the people called Quakers to a conference, on five heads, viz. 1. The universality of grace; 2. Baptism; 3. The Supper; 4. Perfection; 5. The Resurrection. The objections of the Baptist were ably met and answered by John Clark, to the general satisfaction of the numerous auditors. But Plympton, though confuted, was not silenced. At length evening coming on, William Penn arose and bore a powerful and convincing testimony to the doctrines of the Society, which obtained the marked attention of the audience. After which he concluded the meeting with prayer.

In the following month he visited Wells, where two of his friends procured a grant of the market house to hold a meeting in; but the clerk of the market was afterwards induced to retract his promise and refuse them admission. They then concluded to hold their meeting at a public house; of which they gave notice to the bishop, as required by the act of toleration. The room in which they assembled, had adjoining it a balcony which opened to the street. The room being soon filled and a large concourse collected in the street, William Penn took his station in the balcony, and from that place addressed this double auditory. But in the midst of his declaration, he was interrupted by officers, with a warrant from the Mayor; which from its tenor appears to have been drawn up while he was preaching to the people. The officers were too officious to permit him to finish his testimony, though requested so to do, but instantly hurried him before the Mayor and his associate, who upon examination, soon discovered that they had themselves been violating the law, by disturbing a lawful assembly held in a house regularly certified. They therefore excused themselves as well as they could, and set him at liberty. Yet they afterwards threatened the innkeeper with a fine, for permitting a conventicle to be held in his house. The bishop's certificate however, being procured, to show that due notice of the meeting

was given, no further proceedings were attempted.

This circumstance sufficiently proves, that the spirit of persecution was still alive in some parts of Great Britain, notwithstanding the act of toleration. It is however fair to add, that this instance appears to have originated with the civil officers and not with the clergy.*

Friends after this hired a house in that city for a meeting place, at which William Penn subsequently had a meeting to good satisfaction. Several other meetings, and the Quarterly Meeting for the county were afterwards held there.

From Wells William Penn proceeded to visit other places in the county, holding meetings almost daily as he went along. He at length visited Bristol, where he staid some time, and thence returned to his home at Worminghurst in Essex.

Although friends were relieved by the act of toleration, from fines and imprisonment on account of their meetings for worship, they were still subject to great inconvenience and frequent losses, because of their conscientious refusal to take the oaths, which on numerous occasions were required by law. Efforts were therefore made in 1693, and renewed in subsequent years, to obtain an act of parliament allowing them to give testimony upon their solemn affirmation, instead of an oath; with the condition annexed, that in case any of them should be duly convicted of making, in that manner, a false declaration, they should be liable to the same penalty as though they had been convicted of corrupt perjury. In 1695, the subject gained so much place with persons in power, that a bill was brought into the house for granting the relief desired. Whether William Penn took part in these applications, is uncertain, but while the bill was depending, he presented a brief memorial to the house of commons on the subject, of which the following is a copy.

"TO THE HONOURABLE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

"*A few words crave their perusal, upon occasion of the Bill to excuse the people called Quakers from swearing.*

"THAT the request of the people called Quakers, may be indulged by the members of this honourable house, it is humbly proposed to them to consider the nature and fulness of the security they offer; and if it be found to amount to the weight and value of an oath, it is hoped there will be no difficulty in accepting it in lieu of an oath.

"The pledge that every man upon oath gives of his truth is his soul; he means that God should deal with him according to the truth of his affirmative or negative given by him in the name of God. Now that the said people do as much, viz: That they pledge their souls too, in their way; that they mean the same caution with them that swear, and are under the same reverence in their simple and solemn aye or no, and therefore give the same security; I shall beg this honourable house to consider three things:

"First, that this people make it an article of their faith and practice, and a great part of their characteristic, not to swear at all. They think, whether mistaken or no, that the righteousness of Christianity does not need nor use an oath; so that you have their religion, in the highest exercises of it, in human affairs, for your security.

"Secondly, that they have often, and at very dear rates, proved to the world, they mean what they say; since they have frequently chosen to lose their estates, and lie and die in jail, rather than save the one, or deliver the other, by deviating from their principle; and since in such cases, integrity is the security all aim at, it is hard to conceive which way any man can give a greater; nor are they so insensible, as not to know that untruth in them, after this great indulgence, is a more aggravated crime than perjury in others; since they excuse themselves from not swearing, by a profession of an exacter simplicity and greater strictness.

"Lastly, they humbly hope, that being to suffer for untruth as for perjury, their request will not be uneasy; since they subject their integrity to trial, upon the hazard of a correction, that is so much greater than the nature of the offence, in the eye of the law, would bear. Let them then, pray, speak in their own way; and if false, be punished in yours. And since this honourable house has testified an excelling zeal to secure the rights and privileges of that great body they represent, this inferior member, with all due respect, claiming a relation to it, request they may not be left exposed in theirs; but that by your wisdom and goodness, they may be provided for, in true proportion to the exigencies they are under; which will engage them in the best wishes for your prosperities.

"WILLIAM PENN."

The issue of the case was the passage of a law, to come into force on the 4th of third month 1696, permitting every Quaker in England or Wales, to make a solemn declaration

* The bishop to whom notice of this meeting was given, and who treated Friends respectfully, was Robert Redder, who was afterwards advantageously known as the author of a work entitled "*A Demonstration of the Messias.*"

of a prescribed form, in all cases where an oath was previously required; and rendering such affirmation equivalent in law to an oath; except that they were not permitted to give evidence in criminal cases, to serve on juries, or to hold any office of profit in the government. In procuring this act, Friends received the aid of the influence and talents of the king and Waller the poet, who was then a member of the house of Commons.

It is a remarkable circumstance that this act, permitting the members of a Society long known to be conscientiously scrupulous of swearing, to substitute a solemn declaration in place of an oath, was procured with considerable difficulty, and granted with apparent hesitation; for it was to continue in force for seven years, and to the end of the next session of parliament and no longer. The form of the affirmation in this first act was not satisfactory, the terms being considered as too nearly approximating to those of an oath, and many Friends declined its use on that account, choosing to suffer all the inconvenience and hardship to which they had been hitherto subjected, rather than obtain relief in so questionable a manner. The act was at length made perpetual, though the terms of the affirmation being still uneasy to many Friends, it failed to afford the intended relief. At length, in 1721, an act was obtained, giving to the affirmation a form with which Friends were generally satisfied.

From the enactment being made at first for seven years, and then for eleven, before it was declared perpetual, it would appear that dispensing with an oath, even in favour of those who were restrained from its use by religious principle, was then viewed as a legislative experiment of doubtful expediency;* yet in 1830 and 1835, the use of oaths, in a great number of cases, was abolished by act of parliament, after a very full examination of their effect, and a satisfactory conviction that the truth might be as well obtained by a simple declaration.

On the 5th of first month, 1696, William Penn accomplished his marriage at Bristol, with Hannah Callowhill, daughter of Thomas Callowhill, and grand-daughter of Dennis Hollister, both eminent merchants of that city. She was a sober, religious young woman, and continued an agreeable companion to him during the remainder of his life.

Shortly after this event, he was subjected to a heavy trial, by the death of his eldest son, a youth of a very promising character, both in regard to his understanding, which was of the brightest order, and the more substantial virtues of the heart. The account which he has given of this son is too interesting to be omitted; it is as follows:

"My very dear child and eldest son, Springett Penn, from his childhood manifested a disposition to goodness, and gave me hope of a more than ordinary capacity; and time satisfied me in both respects. Besides a good share of learning and especially of mathematical knowledge, he showed a judgment in the use and application of it, much above his years. He had the seeds of many good qualities rising in him, which made him beloved, and consequently lamented; but especially his humility, plainness and truth; with a tenderness and softness of nature, that if I may say it, were an improvement upon his other good qualities. And though these were no security against sickness and death, yet they went a good way to facilitate a due preparation for them. Indeed the good ground that was in him showed itself very plainly sometime before his illness. For more than half a year before it pleased the Lord to visit him with weakness, he grew more retired, and much disengaged from youthful delights; showing a remarkable tenderness in meetings, even when they were silent. But when he saw himself doubtful as to his recovery, he turned his mind and meditations more apparently towards the Lord; secretly, as also when those were in the room who attended upon him, praying often with great fervency to the Lord, and uttering many thankful expressions and praises to Him in a very deep and sensible manner. One day he said to us, I am resigned to what God pleaseth; he knows what is best. I would live if it pleased him that I might serve him. But, O Lord, not my will, but thy will be done.

"One speaking to him of the things of this world, and what might please him when recovered; he answered, My eye looks another way, where the truest pleasure is. When he told me he had rested well, and I said it was a mercy to him, he quickly replied upon me, with a serious yet sweet look, All is mercy, dear father, every thing

* It even appears that some of those who favoured this act, granted the affirmation under the belief that it was in reality an oath of a disguised form. Writers are not, indeed, altogether agreed what constitutes an oath. If we regard the legal definition, we must perceive that this affirmation was not an oath. It was in these words, *I, A. B., do declare in the presence of Almighty God, the witness of the truth of what I say.* But according to legal authorities, "what is universally understood by an oath, is, that the person who takes it, imprecates the vengeance of God upon him, if the oath he takes is false."

is mercy. Another time when I went to meeting, at parting, he said, Remember me, my dear father, before the Lord. Though I cannot go to meetings, yet I have many good meetings; the Lord comes in upon my spirit; I have heavenly meetings with him by myself.

"Not many days before he died, while alone, the Lord appeared by his holy power upon his spirit, and at my return, asking him how he did, he told me, O I have had a sweet time, a blessed time! Great enjoyments. The power of the Lord overcame my soul: a sweet time indeed!

"On my telling him how some of the gentry who had been to visit him, were gone to their games, and sports and pleasures, and how little consideration the children of men had of God and their latter end; and how much happier he was in this weakness, to have been otherwise educated, and to be preserved from those temptations to vanity, &c., he answered, It is all stuff, my dear father: it is sad stuff. O that I might live to tell them so! Well my dear child, I replied, let this be the time of thy entering into secret covenant with God, that if he raise thee, thou wilt dedicate thy youth, strength and life to him and his people and service. He returned, Father, that is not now to do; it is not now to do; with great tenderness upon his spirit.

"Being almost ever near him, and doing any thing for him he wanted or desired, he broke out with much sense and love, My dear father, if I live I will make thee amends. And speaking to him of Divine enjoyments, that the eye of man saw not, but the soul, made alive by the spirit of Christ, plainly felt; he, in a lively remembrance, cried out, I had a sweet time yesterday by myself! the Lord hath preserved me to this day! O blessed be his name; my soul praises him for his mercy! Father, it is of the goodness of the Lord that I am as well as I am! Fixing his eyes upon his sister, he took her by the hand, saying, Poor Tishe, look to good things, poor child, there is no comfort without it. One drop of the love of God is worth more than all the world. I know it; I have tasted it: I have felt as much or more of the love of God in this weakness than in all my life before. At another time as I stood by him he looked up upon me and said, Dear father, sit by me, I love thy company, and I know thou lovest mine; and if it be the Lord's will that we must part, be not troubled, for that will trouble me.

"Taking something one night in bed, just before going to rest, he sat up, and fervently prayed thus: O Lord God, thou whose Son said to his disciples, Whatsoever ye ask in my name, ye shall receive; I pray thee in His name, bless this to me this night, and give me rest, if it be thy blessed will, O Lord! And accordingly he had a very comfortable night, of which he took a thankful notice before us next day.

"And when he at one time, more than ordinarily, expressed a desire to live, and entreated me to pray for him; he added, dear father, if the Lord should raise me and enable me to serve him and his people, then I might travel with thee sometimes, and we might ease one another (meaning in the ministry:) he spoke it with great modesty. Upon which I said to him, my dear child, if it please the Lord to raise thee, I am satisfied it will be so; and if not, then inasmuch as it is thy fervent desire in the Lord, he will look upon thee just as if thou didst live to serve him, and thy comfort will be the same: so either way it will be well. For if thou shouldst not live, I do verily believe thou wilt have the recompense of thy good desires, without the temptations and troubles that would attend, if long life were granted to thee.

"Saying one day I am resolved I will have such a thing done; he immediately catched himself, and fell into this reflection, with much contrition, Did I say, I will? O Lord, forgive me that irreverent and hasty expression! I am a poor weak creature and live by thee, and therefore I should have said, if it pleaseth thee that I live, I intend to do so, or so; Lord forgive my rash expression.

"Seeing my present wife ready to be helpful and do any thing for him, he turned to her and said, Don't thou do so, let them; don't trouble thyself so much for such a poor creature as I am. On her taking leave of him a few nights before his end, he said to her, Pray for me, dear mother: thou art good and innocent, it may be the Lord may hear thy prayers for me, for I desire my strength again, that I might live, and employ it more in the Lord's service.

"Two or three days before his departure, he called his brother to him, and looking awfully upon him said, Be a good boy, and know there is a God, a great and mighty God, who is a rewarder of the righteous, and so he is of the wicked, but their rewards are not the same. Have a care of idle people and idle company, and love good company and good Friends, and the Lord will bless thee: I have seen good things for thee since my sickness, if thou dost but fear the Lord. And if I should not live, though the Lord is all-sufficient, remember what I say to thee, when I am dead and gone: poor child, the Lord bless thee, come and kiss me! Which melted us all into great tenderness, but his brother more particularly.

"Many good exhortations he gave to some of the servants, and others who came to see him, that were not of our communion, as well as those that were, which drew tears from their eyes.

"The day but one before he died, he went to take the air in a coach; but said at his return, Really, father, I am exceedingly weak, thou canst not think how weak I am. My dear child, I replied, thou art weak, but God is strong, who is the strength of thy life: Ay, that is it, said he, which upholdeth me. The day before he departed, being alone with him, he desired me to fasten the door; and looking earnestly upon me, said, Dear father, thou art a dear father, and I know thy Father, come let us two have a little meeting, a private ejaculation together, now no body else is here. O my soul is sensible of the love of God! And indeed a sweet time we had, like to precious ointment for his burial.

"He desired to go home, if not to live, to die there, and we made preparation for it, being twenty miles from my house; and so much stronger was his spirit than his body, that he spoke of going next day, which was the morning he departed; and a symptom it was of his great journey to his longer home. That morning he left us, growing more and more sensible of his extreme weakness, he asked me, as doubtful of himself, How shall I go home? I told him in a coach; he answered, I am best in a coach. But observing his decay, I said, Why child? thou art at home everywhere; Ay, said he, So I am in the Lord. I took that opportunity to ask him if I should remember his love to his friends at Bristol, London, &c. Yes, yes, said he, my love in the Lord; my love to all Friends in the Lord: And relations too? he said, Ay, to be sure. Being asked if he would have his ass's milk, or eat any thing; he answered, No more outward food, but heavenly food is provided for me.

"His time drawing on apace, he said to me, My dear father, kiss me, thou art a dear father, I desire to prize it: how can I make thee amends?

"He also called his sister, and said to her, Poor child, come and kiss me: there seemed a tender and long farewell between them. I sent for his brother that he might kiss him too, which he did: all were in tears about him, and turning his head to me, he said softly, Dear father, hast thou no hope for me? I answered, My dear child, I am afraid to hope, and I dare not despair; but am, and have been resigned, though one of the hardest lessons I ever learned. He paused awhile, and with a composed frame of mind, said, Come life, come death, I am resigned: O the love of God overcomes my soul! Feeling himself decline apace, and seeing him not able to bring up the matter that was in his throat, somebody fetched the doctor, but so soon as he came in, he said, Let my father speak to the doctor, and I will go to sleep; which he did, and waked no more; breathing his last on my breast, the 10th day of the second month, between the hours of nine and ten in the morning, 1696, in his one and twentieth year.

"So ended the life of my dear child and eldest son, much of my comfort and hope, and one of the most tender and dutiful, as well as ingenuous and virtuous youths, I knew, if I may say so of my own dear child. In him I lost all that any father can lose in a child, since he was capable of any thing that became a sober young man; my friend and companion, as well as most affectionate and dutiful child.

"May this loss and end have its due weight and impression upon all his dear relations and friends, and those to whose hands this account may come, for their remembrance and preparation for their great and last change; and I shall have my end in making my dear child thus far public.

"WILLIAM PENN."

The year in which the events last mentioned occurred, appears to have been passed by William Penn chiefly at home; yet he was not entirely occupied with his secular concerns, for he published a tract, entitled "Primitive Christianity Revived, in the faith and practice of the people called Quakers."

This was intended to include, in a compendious form, a general illustration and defence of the doctrines of Friends—it is divided into eleven sections; and is as follows:

Primitive Christianity revived, in the faith and practice of the people called Quakers; written in testimony to the present dispensation of God through them, to the world; that prejudices may be removed, the simple informed, the well-inclined encouraged, and the Truth and its innocent friends rightly represented.

EPISTLE TO THE READER.

BY this short treatise, thou wilt perceive the subject of it, viz: The light of Christ in man, as the manifestation of God's love for man's happiness. Forasmuch as this is a peculiar testimony and characteristic of the people called Quakers, and their great fundamental in religion; that by which they have been distinguished from other professors of Christianity in their time, and to which they refer all people about faith, worship, and practice, both in their ministry and writings; that

as the fingers shoot out of the hand, and the branches from the body of the tree; so true religion, in all the parts and articles of it, springs from the Holy Spirit in man; and because the prejudices of some are very great against this people and their way; and others, who love their seriousness, and commend their good life, are yet, through mistakes, or want of inquiry, under jealousy of their unsoundness in some points of faith; and that there are not a few in all persuasions, who desire earnestly to know and enjoy God in that sensible manner which this people speak of, and who seem to long after a state of holiness and acceptance with God; but are under doubts and despondings of attaining it, from the want they find in themselves of inward power to enable them, and are unacquainted with this efficacious agent, which God hath given and appointed for their supply;

For these reasons and motives, I have taken in hand to write this small tract, of the nature and virtue of the light of Christ within man; what and where it is, and for what end, and therein of the religion of the people called Quakers; that at the same time, all people may be informed of their true character, and what true religion is, and the way to it, in this age of high pretences and as deep irreligion. That so the merciful visitation of the God of light and love, more especially to these nations, both immediately and instrumentally, for the promotion of piety, which is religion indeed, may no longer be neglected by the inhabitants thereof, but that they may come to see and say, with heart and mouth, This is a dispensation of love and life from God to the world; and this poor people, whom we have so much despised, and so often trodden upon, and treated as the off-scouring of the earth, are the people of God, and children of the Most High. Bear with me, reader, I know what I say, and am not high-minded, but fear: I write with humility towards God, though with confidence towards thee. Not that thou shouldst believe upon my authority, nothing less; for that is not to act upon knowledge, but trust; but that thou shouldst try and approve what I write: for that is all I ask, as well as all I need for thy conviction, and my own justification.

And when thou, reader, shalt come to be acquainted with the Holy Spirit, and the plain and happy teachings of it, thou wilt, with us, admire that thou shouldst have lived so long a stranger to what was so near thee, and as much wonder that others should be so blind as not to see it, as formerly thou thoughtest us singular for obeying it. The day I believe is at hand, that will declare this with an uncontrolable authority, because it will be with an unquestionable evidence.

I have done, reader, with this preface, when I have told thee, First, that I have stated the principle, and opened as God has enabled me, the nature and virtue of it in religion; wherein the common doctrines and articles of the Christian religion are delivered; about which, I have endeavoured to express myself in plain and proper terms, and not in figurative, allegorical, or doubtful phrases; that so I may leave no room for an equivocal or double sense; but that the truth of the subject I treat upon, may appear easily and evidently to every common understanding. Next I have confirmed what I have written by Scripture, reason, and the effects of it upon so great a people; whose uniform concurrence in the experience and practice thereof, through all times and sufferings, since we were a people, challenge the notice and regard of every serious reader. Thirdly, I have written briefly, that so it might be every one's reading. Much in a little is best, when we see daily that the richer people grow, the less money or time they have for God or religion. And perhaps those who would not buy a large book, may find in their hearts to give away some of these for their neighbour's good. Be serious, reader, be impartial, and then be as inquisitive as thou canst; and that for thine own soul, as well as the credit of this most misunderstood and abused people. And the God and Father of lights and spirits, so bless thine, in the perusal of this short treatise, that thou mayest receive real benefit by it, to his glory and thine own comfort, which is the desire and end of him that wrote it; who is in the bonds of Christian charity, very much and very ardently,

Thy real friend,

William Penn.

SECTION I.

1. *Their fundamental principle.* 2. *The nature of it.* 3. *Called by several names.* 4. *They refer all to this, as to faith and practice, ministry and worship.*

1. That which the people called Quakers lay down, as a main fundamental in religion, is this, That God, through Christ, hath placed his Spirit in every man, to inform him of his duty, and to enable him to do it; and that those who live up to this, are the people of God, and those that live in disobedience to it, are not God's people, whatever name they may bear or profession they may make of religion. This is their ancient, first and

standing testimony. With this they began, and this they bore, and do bear to the world.

2. By this spirit they understand something that is Divine; and though in man, yet not of man, but of God; and that it came from him, and leads to him all those that will be led by it.

3. There are divers ways of speaking, which they have been led to use, by which they declare and express what this Spirit is, about which I think fit to precaution the reader, viz., They call it, The light of Christ within man, or, light within, which is their ancient, and most general and familiar phrase; also the manifestation or appearance of Christ, the witness of God, the seed of God, the seed of the kingdom, wisdom, the word in the heart, the grace that appears to all men, the Spirit given to every man to profit with, the Truth in the inward parts, the spiritual leaven, that leavens the whole lump of man: many of which are figurative expressions, but all of them such as the Holy Ghost hath used, and which will be used in this treatise, as they are most frequently in the writings and ministry of this people. But that this variety and manner of expression may not occasion any misapprehension or confusion in the understanding of the reader, I would have him know, that they always mean by these terms or denominations, not another, but the same as before mentioned: which, as I said, though it be in man, is not of man, but of God, and therefore divine: and one in itself, though diversly expressed by the holy men, according to the various manifestations and operations thereof.

4. It is to this spirit of light, life, and grace, that this people refer all: for they say it is the great agent in religion; that, without which, there is no conviction, so no conversion or regeneration; and consequently no entering into the kingdom of God. That is to say, there can be no true sight of sin or sorrow for it, and therefore no forsaking or overcoming it, nor remission or justification from it. A necessary and powerful Spirit indeed, when neither sanctification nor justification can be had without it. In short, there is no becoming virtuous, holy and good, without this; no acceptance with God, nor peace of soul, but through it. But on the contrary, that the reason of so much irreligion among Christians, so much superstition instead of devotion, and so much profession without enjoyment, and so little heart-reformation, is, because people in religion overlook the Holy Spirit, and leave it behind them.

They will be religious without it, and Christians without it, though this be the only means of making them so indeed. So natural is it to man in his degenerate state, to prefer sacrifice before obedience, and to make prayers go for practice, and so flatter himself with hope, by ceremonial and bodily service, to excuse himself to God from the stricter discipline of his Spirit in the soul, which leads man to take up the cross, deny self, and do that which God requires of him. This is every man's true religion, and every such man is truly religious: that is, he is holy, humble, patient, meek, merciful, just, kind, and charitable; which they say, no man can make himself; but that the Holy Spirit will make all men so, who will embrace the convictions and teachings of it, being the root of all true religion in man, and the good Seed from whence all good fruits proceed. To sum up what they say upon the nature and virtue of it, as contents of that which follows, they declare that this Spirit is, first, Divine. Secondly, universal. Thirdly, efficacious: In that it gives man,

First, the knowledge of God and of himself, and therein a sight of his duty and disobedience to it.

Secondly, it begets a true sense and sorrow for sin in those that seriously regard the convictions of it.

Thirdly, it enables them to forsake sin, and sanctifies from it.

Fourthly, it applies God's mercies in Christ for the forgiveness of sins that are past, unto justification, upon sincere repentance and obedience.

Fifthly, it gives to the faithful, perseverance unto a perfect man, and the assurance of blessedness world without end.

To the truth of all which, they call in a threefold evidence: First, the Scriptures, which give an ample witness, especially those of the New and better Testament. Secondly, the reasonableness of it in itself. And lastly, a general experience, in great measure: but particularly, their own, made credible by the good fruits they have brought forth, and the answer God has given to their ministry: which, to impartial observers, have commended the doctrine, and gives me occasion to abstract their history, in divers particulars, for a conclusion to this little treatise.

SECTION II.

1. *The evidence of Scripture for the light of Christ*, John i. 4. 9. 2. *His Divinity.* 3. *All things created by him.* 4. *What he is to man, as to salvation.*

1. I SHALL begin with the evidence of the blessed Scriptures of Truth, for this Divine light, the first and most common word used

by them, to express and denominate it by, as well as most apt and proper in this dark state of the world.

John i. 1. In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.

Verse 3. All things were made by him.

Verse 4. In him was life, and the life was the light of men.

Verse 9. That was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.

2. I have begun with him, who began his history with him that was the beginning of the creation of God; the most beloved disciple, and longest liver of all the apostles, and he who for excellent knowledge and wisdom in heavenly things, is justly entitled John the Divine. He tells us first, what Christ was in the beginning, viz: the Word. "In the beginning was the Word."

And though that shows what the Word must be, yet he adds and explains, that "the Word was with God, and the Word was God;" lest any should doubt of the Divinity of the Word, or have lower thoughts of him than he deserved. The Word then, is Divine, and an apt term it is, that the evangelist styles him by, since it is so great an expression of the wisdom and power of God to men.

3. "All things were made by him." If so, he wants no power. And if we were made by him, we must be new made by him too, or we can never enjoy God. His power shows his dignity, and that nothing can be too hard for such a sufficiency as made all things, and without which nothing was made, that was made. As man's Maker must be his husband, so his Creator must be his Redeemer also.

4. "In him was life, and the life was the light of men." This is our point. The evangelist first begins with the nature and being of the Word: from thence he descends to the works of the Word: and lastly, he tells us, what the Word is, with respect to man above the rest of the creation, viz: The Word was life, and the life was the light of men. The relation must be very near and intimate, when the very life of the Word, that was with God, and was God, is the light of men: as if men were next to the Word, and above all the rest of his works; for it is not said so of any other creature.

Man cannot be without light then; no not a Divine light: for if this be not Divine, which is the life of the Divine Word, there can be no such thing at all as Divine or supernatural light and life. And the text does not only prove the Divinity of the light, but the universality of it also, because man mentioned in it, is mankind: which is yet more distinctly expressed in his ninth verse, "That was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." Implying, that he that lighteth not mankind is not that true light; and therefore John was not that light, but bore witness of him who was, and who lighteth every man; to wit, the Word that took flesh: so that both the Divine nature, and universality of the light of Christ within, are confirmed together.

SECTION III.

1. *How this Scripture is wrested.* 2. *That it is a natural light;* 3. *That it lighteth not all;* 4. *That it is only the doctrine and life of Christ when in the flesh; all answered, and its Divinity and universality proved.*

1. But though there be no passage or proposition to be found in Holy Scripture, in which mankind is more interested, or that is more clearly laid down by the Holy Ghost, than this I have produced, yet hardly hath any place been more industriously wrested from its true and plain sense: especially since this people have laid any stress upon it, in defence of their testimony of the light within. Some will have it to be but a natural light, or a part of man's nature, though it be the very life of the Word by whom the world was made, and mentioned in those verses which only concern his eternal power and Godhead. But because I would be understood, and treat of things with all plainness, I will open the terms of the objection as well as I can, and then give my answer to it.

2. If by natural be meant a created thing, as man is, or any thing that is requisite to the composition of man, I deny it: the text is expressly against it, and says, the light with which man is lighted, is the life of the Word which was with God, and was God. But if by natural is only intended, that we have it as sure as we are born, or have nature; and that it is the light of our minds and understandings, and is not the result of any revelation from without, as by angels or men; then we mean and intend the same thing. It is thus natural to man to have a supernatural light, and for the creature to be lighted by an uncreated light, as is the life of the creating Word. And did people but consider the constitution of man, it would conduce much to preserve or deliver them from any dilemma upon this account. For man can no more be a light to his mind, than he is to his body. He has the capacity of seeing objects when he has the help of light, but cannot be a light to himself, by which to see them. Wherefore as the sun in the firmament is the light of the body, and gives us discerning in our temporal affairs;

so the life of the Word is the glorious light and sun of the soul; our intellectual luminary, that informs our mind, and gives us true judgment and distinction about those things that more immediately concern our better and inward man.

3. But others will have this text read thus, not that the Word enlightens all mankind, but that all who are enlightened, are enlightened by him, thereby not only narrowing and abusing the text, but rendering God partial, and so severe to his creatures, as to leave part of the world in darkness, without the means or opportunity of salvation; though we are assured from the Scriptures, that all have light, that Christ is the light of the world, and that he died for all; yea, the ungodly, and that God desires not the death of any, but rather that all should repent and come to the knowledge of the Truth and be saved; and that the grace of God has appeared to all men, &c.

4. There is a third sort who will needs have it understood, not of any illumination by a Divine light or spirit in man, but by the doctrine Christ preached, and the life and example he lived, and led in the world; which neither reached the thousandth part of mankind, nor can consist with what the apostle John intends in the beginning of his history, which wholly relates to what Christ was before he took flesh, or at least, what he is to the soul, by his immediate inshinings and influences. It is most true, Christ was, in a sense, the light of the world, in that very appearance, and shined forth by his heavenly doctrine, many admirable miracles, and his self-denying life and death. Yet that hinders not, but that he was and is the spiritual light, which shineth more or less, in the hearts of the sons and daughters of men. For as he was a light in his life and conversation, he was only a light in a more excellent sense than he spoke of to his disciples, when he said, Ye are the light of the world. But Christ the Word enlightened them, and enlightens us, and enlightens all men that come into the world; which he could not be said to do, if we only regard his personal and outward appearance. In that sense it is long since he was that light, but in this he is continually so. In that respect he is remote, but in this sense he is present and immediate, else we should render the text, That was the true light which did lighten, instead of which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. And that the evangelist might be so understood, as we speak, he refers to this as an evidence of his being the Messiah, and not John, for whom many people had much reverence; for in verse eighth, he saith of John, He was not that light, but was sent to bear witness of that light. Now comes his proof and our testimony, That was the true Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world; which was not John, or any else, but the Word that was with God, and was God. The evangelist did not describe him by his fasting forty days, preaching so many sermons, working so many miracles, and living so holy a life; and, after all so patiently suffering death, which yet Christ did; thereby to prove him the light of the world; but, says the evangelist, That was the true light, the Word in flesh, the Messiah, and not John, or any else, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. So that Christ is manifested and distinguished by giving light: and indeed so are all his followers from other people, by receiving and obeying it. There are many other Scriptures, of both Testaments, that refer to the light within; either expressly, or impliedly; which for brevity's sake, I shall waive reciting.

SECTION. IV.

1. *The virtue of the light within; it gives discerning.* 2. *It manifests God.* 3. *It gives life to the soul.* 4. *It is the apostolical message.* 5. *Objection answered about two lights.* 6. *About natural and spiritual light: not two darknesses within, therefore not two lights within.* 7. *The apostle John answers the objection fully: the light the same,* I. John ii. 8, 9.

1. The third thing, is the virtue and efficacy of this light for the end for which God hath given it, viz. To lead and guide the soul of man to blessedness. In order to this the first thing it does in and for man, is to give him a true sight or discerning of himself, what he is, and what he does; that he may see and know his own condition, and what judgment to make of himself, with respect to religion and a future state. Of which, let us hear what the Word himself saith, who cannot err, as John relates it, chap. iii. 20, 21. For every one that doth evil, hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved. But he that doth Truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest, that they are wrought in God. A most pregnant instance of the virtue and authority of the light. First, It is that by which men ought to examine themselves. Secondly, It gives a true discerning betwixt good and bad, what is of God, from what is not of God. And lastly it is a judge, and condemneth or acquitteth, reproveth or comforteth,

the soul of man, as he rejects or obeys it. That must needs be Divine and efficacious, which is able to discover to man, what is of God, from what is not of God; and which gives him a distinct knowledge in himself, of what is wrought in God, from what is not wrought in God. By which it appears, that this place does not only regard the discovery of man and his works, but, in some measure, it manifesteth God and his works also, which is yet something higher; for as much as it gives the obedient man a discovery of what is wrought or performed by God's power, and after his will, from what is the mere workings of the creature himself. If it could not manifest God, it could not tell man what was God's mind, nor give him such a grounded sense and discerning of the rise, nature, and tendency of the workings of his mind or inward man, as is both expressed and abundantly implied in this passage of our Saviour. And if it reveals God, to be sure it manifests Christ, who flows and comes from God. Who then would oppose or slight this blessed light?

2. But that this light doth manifest God, is yet evident from Rom. i. 19. Because that which may be known of God is manifest in men, for God hath showed it unto them. An universal proposition; and we have the apostle's word for it, who was one of a thousand, and inspired on purpose to tell us the truth; let it then have its due weight with us. If that which may be known of God is manifest in men, the people called Quakers cannot, certainly, be out of the way in preaching up the light within, without which, nothing can be manifested to the mind of man; as saith the same apostle to the Ephesians, Eph. v. 13. Whatsoever doth make manifest is light. Well then may they call this light a manifestation or appearance of God, that showeth in and to man, all that may be known of God. A passage much like this, is that of the prophet Micah, chap. vi. 8. He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God? God hath showed thee, O man! It is very emphatical. But how hath he showed him? Why by this light in the conscience, which the wicked rebel against, Job xxiv. 13. Who for that cause, know not the ways, nor abide in the paths thereof: for its ways are ways of pleasantness, and all its paths are peace, to them that obey it.

3. But the light giveth the light of life, which is eternal life, to them that receive and obey it. Thus, says the blessed Saviour of the world, "I am the light of the world, he that followeth me shall not abide in darkness, but shall have the light of life." Now he is the light of the world, because he lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and they that obey the light obey him, and therefore have the light of life. That is, the light becomes eternal life to the soul: that as it is the life of the Word, which is the light in man, so it becomes the life in man, through his obedience to it, as his heavenly light.

4. Furthermore, this light was the very ground of the apostolical message, as the beloved disciple assures us: "This then is the message, which we have heard of him, and declare unto you, that God is light, and in him is no darkness at all: If we say we have fellowship with him, and walk in darkness, we lie, and do not the truth: But if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ, his Son, cleanseth us from all sin." Which is so comprehensive of the virtue and excellency of the light, in reference to man, that there is little need more should be said upon it; forasmuch as, first, it reveals God, and God himself is light. Secondly, it discovers darkness from light, and that there is no fellowship between them. Thirdly, that man ought to walk in the light. Fourthly, that it is the way to obtain forgiveness of sin, and sanctification from it. Fifthly, that it is the means to have peace and fellowship with God and his people, his true church, redeemed from the pollutions of the world.

5. Some perhaps, may object, as indeed it hath been more than once objected upon us, that this is another light, not that light wherewith every man is enlightened. But the same apostle, in his evangelical history, tells us, that in the Word was life, and the life was the light of men, and that that very light, that was the life of the Word, was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. Where is there so plain a text to be found against the sufficiency, as well as universality of the light within; or a plainer for any article of faith in the whole book of God? Had the beloved disciple intended two lights in his evangelical history, and in his epistles, to be sure he would have noted to us his distinction: but we read of none, and by the properties ascribed in each writing, we have reason to conclude he meant the same.

6. But if any shall yet object, That this is to be understood of a spiritual light, and that ours is to be a natural one, I shall desire them to do two things: first, to prove that a natural light, as they phrase it, doth manifest God, other than as I have before explained and allowed; since whatever is part of man, in his constitution, but especially in his degeneracy from God, is so far from yielding him the knowledge of God, that it cannot

rightly reprove or discover that which offends him, without the light we speak of: and it is granted, that what we call Divine, and some mistakenly call natural, light, can do both. Secondly, if this light be natural, notwithstanding it doth manifest our duty and reprove our disobedience to God, they would do well to assign us some certain medium, or way, whereby we may truly discern and distinguish between the manifestations and reproofs of the natural light within, from those of the Divine light within, since they allow the manifestation of God, and reproof of evil, as well to the one, as to the other. Let them give us but one Scripture that distinguishes between a natural and a spiritual light within. They may with as much reason talk of a natural and spiritual darkness within. It is true, there is a natural proper darkness, to wit, the night of the outward world; and there is a spiritual darkness, viz: the clouded and benighted understandings of men, through disobedience to the light and Spirit of God: but let them assign us a third, if they can. People use, indeed, to say, improperly, of blind men, they are dark, and we may call a natural or idiot so, if we will: but where is there another darkness of the understanding, in the things of God? If they can, I say, find that, in and about the things of God, they do something.

Christ distinguished not between darkness and darkness, or light and light, in any such sense; nor did any of his disciples: yet both have frequently spoken of darkness and light. What difference, pray, doth the Scripture put between spiritual darkness, and darkness mentioned in these places, Luke i. 7, 9. Matt. iv. 16. John i. 5., and iii. 19., and viii. 12, 31, 46. 1 Thes. v. 4. 1 John i. 6. Acts xxvi. 18. Rom. xiii. 12. 2 Cor. vi. 14, 22. Eph. v. 8. Col. i. 13. Upon the strictest comparison of them I find none. It is all one spiritual darkness. Neither is there so much as one Scripture that affords us a distinction between light within and light within; or that there are really two lights from God, in man, that regard religion. Peruse Matt. iv. 16. Luke ii. 32, and xv. 8. John i. 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, and iii. 19, 20, 21, and viii. 12. Acts xxvi. 18. Rom. xiii. 12. 2 Cor. iv. 6, and vi. 14. Eph. v. 8, 13. Col. i. 12. 1 Thess. v. 5. 1 Tim. vi. 16. 1 Pet. ii. 9. 1 John i. 5, 7, and ii. 8. Rev. xxi. 23, 24, and xxii. 5. We believe the greatest opposer to our assertion, will not be able to sever light from light, or find out two lights within, in the passages here mentioned, or any other, to direct man in his duty to God and his neighbour: and if he cannot, pray let him forbear his mean thoughts and words of the light of Christ within man, as man's guide in his duty to God and man. For as he must yield to us, that the light manifesteth evil, and reproveth for it; so doth Christ himself teach us of the light, "For every one that doth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved." And the apostle Paul plainly saith, "But all things that are reproved are made manifest by the light;" therefore there are not two distinct lights within, but one and the same manifesting, reproving, and teaching light within. And this the apostle John, in his first epistle, makes plain, beyond all exception, to all considerate people: First, in that he calls God, light, chap. i. 5. Secondly, in that he puts no medium, or third thing between that light, and darkness, verse 6. "If we say we have fellowship with him, and walk in darkness, we lie," &c.; intimating, that men must walk either in light or darkness, and not in a third, or other state or region. I am sure, that which manifests and reproves darkness, cannot be darkness. This all men must confess.

7. And as if the apostle John would have anticipated their objection, viz: "It is true, your light within reproves for evil, but it is not therefore the Divine light which leads into higher things, and which comes by the Gospel;" he thus expresseth himself, "The darkness is past, and the true light now shineth. He that saith he is in the light, and hateth his brother, is in darkness even until now;" which is not another light than that mentioned before, chap. i. For as light is put there, in opposition to darkness, so light here, is put in opposition to darkness. And as the darkness is the same, so must the light be the same. Wherefore we may plainly see, that it is not another light, than that which reproves a man for hating his brother, which brings a man into fellowship with God, and to the blood of cleansing, as the next verse speaks: therefore that light which reproveth a man for hating his brother, is of a Divine and efficacious nature. In short, that light which is opposite to, and reproves spiritual darkness in man and woman, is a spiritual light; but such a light is that which we confess, testify to, and maintain; therefore it is a spiritual light. It is also worth our notice, that the apostle useth the same manner of expression here, chap. ii. 8. The true light shineth, that he doth in his evangelical history, chap. i. 9. That was the true light; intimating that the same Divine Word, or true light now shineth; and that it is the same true light in his account, which reproveth such as hate their brethren: consequently, that light which so reproveth them, is the true light.

Christ and his disciples, but especially his beloved one, often make that very light, which stoops to the lowest step of immorality, and to the reproof of the grossest evil, to be no other than the same Divine light, in a further degree of manifestation, which brings such as follow it to the light of life, to the blood of cleansing, and to have fellowship with God, and one with another: nay, not only so, but the apostle makes a man's being a child of God, to depend upon his answering this light in a palpable and common case, viz: not hating of his brother; and strange it is that any should shut their eyes so fast against beholding the virtue of it, as to conclude it a natural and insufficient light, which is both unscriptural and unreasonable. Shall we slight it, because we come so easily by it, and it is so familiar and domestic to us? Or make its being so common, an argument to undervalue so inestimable a mercy? What is more common than light, and air, and water? And should we therefore contemn them, or prize them? Prize them, certainly; as what we cannot live, or live comfortably, without. The more general the mercy is, the greater, and therefore the greater obligation upon man to live humbly and thankfully for it. And to those alone that do so, are its Divine secrets revealed.

SECTION V.

1. *The light the same with the spirit. It is of God; proved by its properties.* 2. *The properties of the spirit compared with those of the light.* 3. *The light and grace flow from the same source, proved by their agreeing properties.* 4. *An objection answered.* 5. *Difference in manifestation, or operation, especially in Gospel times, but not in principle, illustrated.*

1. Obj. But some may say, We could willingly allow to the Spirit and grace of God, which seemed to be the peculiar blessing of the new and second covenant, and the fruit of the coming of Christ, all that which you ascribe to the light within; but except it appeared to us that this light were the same in nature with the Spirit and grace of God, we cannot easily bring ourselves to believe what you say in favour of the light within.

Ans. This objection, at first look, seems to carry weight with it: but upon a just and serious review, it will appear to have more words than matter, show than substance: yet because it gives occasion to solve scruples, that may be thrown in the way of the simple, I shall attend it throughout. I say, then, if it appear that the properties ascribed to the light within, are the same with those that are given to the Holy Spirit and grace of God; and that those several terms or epithets, are only to express the divers manifestations or operations of one and the same Spirit, then it will not, it cannot be denied, but this light within, is Divine and efficacious, as we have asserted it. Now, that it is of the same nature with the Spirit and grace of God, and tends to the same end, which is to bring people to God, let the properties of the light be compared with those of the Spirit and grace of God. I say they are the same, in that, First, the light proceeds from the one Word, and one life of that one Word, which was with God and was God, John i. 4, and i. 9. Secondly, it is universal, it lighteth every man. Thirdly, it giveth the knowledge of God, and fellowship with him, Rom. i. 19. John iii. 21. 1 John i. 5, 6. Fourthly, it manifesteth and reproveth evil, John iii. 20. Eph. v. 13. Fifthly, it is made the rule and guide of Christian walking, Psalm xliii. 3. John viii. 12. Eph. v. 13, 15. Sixthly, it is the path for God's people to go in, Psalm cxix. 105. Prov. iv. 18. Isaiah ii. 5. 1 John i. 7. Rev. xxi. 24, And the nations of them that are saved, shall walk in the light of the Lamb. Lastly, it is the armour of the children of God against satan, Psalm xxvii. 1, The Lord is my light, whom shall I fear? Rom. xiii. 12, Let us put on the armour of light.

2. Now let all this be compared with the properties of the Holy Spirit, and their agreement will be very manifest. First, it proceedeth from God, because it is the Spirit of God, Rom. vi. 11. Secondly, it is universal. It strove with the old world, Gen. vi. 3. Then to be sure with the new one: Every one hath a measure of it given to profit withal, 1 Cor. xii. 7. Thirdly, it revealeth God, Job xxxii. 8. 1 Cor. ii. 10, 11. Fourthly, it reproveth sin, John xvi. 8. Fifthly, it is a rule and guide for the children of God to walk by, Rom. viii. 14. Sixthly, it is also the path they are to walk in, Rom. viii. 1. Gal. v. 15, Walk in the Spirit. Lastly, this is not all; it is likewise the spiritual weapon of a true Christian, Eph. vi. 17, Take the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God. After this, I hope none will deny that this light and this Spirit must be of one and the same nature, that work one and the same effect, and tend evidently to one and the same holy end.

3. And what is said of the light and Spirit, may also, very well be said of the light and grace of God; in that, First, the grace floweth from Christ, the Word, that took flesh, as

well as the light; for as in him was life, and that life the light of men, so he was full of grace and truth, and of his fulness have all we received, and grace for grace, John i. 4. 9. 14. 16. Secondly, it is universal; both from this text, and what the apostle to Titus teacheth; For the grace of God that bringeth salvation, hath appeared to all men, Tit. ii. 11, 12. Thirdly, it manifesteth evil, for if it teaches to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, it must needs detect them, and so says the text. Fourthly, it revealeth godliness, and consequently it must manifest God. Fifthly, it is an instructor and guide; for, says the apostle, It teaches to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world, and herein is a rule of life, Tit. ii. 11, 12. Sixthly, it is to all that receive it, all that they can need or desire, 2 Cor. xii. 9, My grace is sufficient for thee. A high testimony from heaven, to the power of this teaching and saving grace, under the strongest temptations.

4. Obj. But there is little mention made of the Spirit, and none of the grace, before Christ's coming, and therefore the Spirit, as spoken of in the writings of the New Testament, and especially the grace, must be another, and a nobler thing than the light within.

Ans. By no means another thing, but another name, for another manifestation or operation of the same Spirit. It is called light from the distinction and discerning it gives. Let there be light, and there was light, said God in the beginning of the old world; so there is first light in the beginning of the new creation of God in man. It is called Spirit, because it giveth life, sense, motion, and vigor: and it is as often mentioned in the writings of the Old as New Testament; which every reader may see, if he will but please to look into his Scripture concordance. Thus God's Spirit strove with the old world, Gen. vi. 3. and with Israel in the wilderness, Neh. ix. 30. And David asked, in the agony of his soul, Whither shall I go from thy Spirit? Psalm cxxxix. 7; and the prophets often felt it. It is styled grace, not from its being another Spirit, but because it was a fuller dispensation of the virtue and power of the same Divine Spirit; and that being purely God's favour and mercy, and not man's merit, is aptly, and deservedly called the grace, favour, or good-will of God, to undeserving man. The wind does not always blow fresh, nor heaven send down its rain freely, nor the sun shine forth clearly; shall we therefore say, it is not of the same kind of wind, rain or light, when it blows, rains, or shines but a little, as when it blows, rains, or shines much? It is certainly the same in nature and kind; and so is this blessed Spirit, under all its several dispensations, manifestations and operations, for the benefit of man's soul, ever since the world began.

5. But this is most freely, humbly and thankfully acknowledged by us, that the dispensation of the Gospel was the clearest, fullest, and noblest of all other; both with regard to the coming of Christ in the flesh, and being our one holy offering to God for sin, through the eternal Spirit; and the breaking forth of his light, the effusion of his Spirit, and appearance of his grace in, and to man, in a more excellent manner, after his ascension. For though it was not another light, or Spirit, than that which he had given to man in former ages, yet it was another and greater measure; and that is the privilege of the Gospel above former dispensations. What before shined but dimly, shines since with great glory. Then it appeared but darkly, but now with open face. Types, figures and shadows veiled its appearances and made them look low and faint; but in the Gospel time, the veil is rent, and the hidden glory manifest. It was under the law but as a dew or small rain, but under the Gospel, it may be said to be poured out upon men; according to that gracious and notable promise of God, by the prophet Joel, "In the latter days I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh." Thus we say when it rains plentifully, look how it pours. So God augments his light, grace and Spirit to these latter days. They shall not have it sparingly, and by small drops, but fully and freely, and overflowing too. And thus Peter, that deep and excellent apostle, applies that promise in Joel, on the day of Pentecost, as the beginning of the accomplishment of it. This is grace, and favour, and goodness indeed. And therefore well may this brighter illumination, and greater effusion of the Spirit, be called grace; for as the coming of the Son excelled that of the servant, so did the manifestation of the light and Spirit of God, since the coming of Christ, excel that of the foregoing dispensations; yet ever sufficient to salvation, to all those that walked in it. This is our sense of the light, Spirit, and grace of God: and by what is said, it is evident they are one and the same, and that he that has light, need not want the Spirit or grace of God, if he will but receive it, in the love of it: for the very Spirit, that is light to show him, is also Spirit to quicken him, and grace to teach, help, and comfort him. It is sufficient in all circumstances of of life, to them that diligently mind and obey it.

SECTION VI.

1. *An objection answered: All are not good, though all are lighted.* 2. *Another objection answered, that Gospel truths were known before Christ's coming.* 3. *Another: The gentiles had the same light, though not with those advantages: proved from Scripture.*

1. Obj. But some may yet say, If it be as you declare, how comes it, that all who are enlightened, are not so good as they should be; or as you say this would make them?

Ans. Because people do not receive and obey it: all men have reason, but all men are not reasonable. Is it the fault of the grain, in the granary, that it yields no increase, or of the talent in the napkin, that it is not improved? It is plain a talent was given; and as plain that it was improvable; both because the like talents were actually improved by others, and that the just Judge expected his talent with advantage; which else, to be sure, he would never have done. Now when our objectors will tell us, whose fault it was that the talent was not improved, we shall be ready to tell them, why the unprofitable servant was not so good as he should have been. The blind must not blame the sun, nor sinners tax the grace, of insufficiency. It is sin that darkens the eye, and hardens the heart, and that hinders good things from the sons of men. If we do his will, we shall know of his Divine doctrine, so Christ tells us. Men not living up to what they know, cannot blame God, that they know no more. The unfruitfulness is in us, not in the talent. It were well indeed, that this were laid to heart. But alas! men are too apt to follow their sensual appetites, rather than their reasonable mind, which renders them brutal instead of rational. For the reasonable part in man, is his spiritual part, and that guided by the Divine logos, or Word, which Tertullian interprets reason in the most excellent sense, makes man truly reasonable; and then it is that man comes to offer up himself to God a reasonable sacrifice. Then a man indeed; a complete man; such a man as God made, when he made man in his own image, and gave him paradise for his habitation.

2. Obj. But some yet object, If mankind had always the Holy Spirit, how comes it that Gospel truths were not so fully known before the coming of Christ, to those that were obedient to it.

Ans. Because a child is not a grown man, nor the beginning the end; and yet he that is the beginning, is also the end: the Spirit is the same, though not the manifestation. As the world has many steps and periods of time towards its end, so hath man to his perfection. They that are faithful to what they know of the dispensation of their own day, shall hear the happy welcome, of "Well done, good and faithful servant." And yet many of God's people in those days, had a prospect of the glory of the latter times, the improvement of religion, and the happiness of the church of God.

This we see in the prophecy of Jacob and Moses, concerning the restoration of Israel by Christ. So David, in many of his excellent psalms, expressing most sensible and extraordinary enjoyments, as well as prophecies; particularly his 2nd, 15th, 18th, 22nd, 23rd, 25th, 27th, 32nd, 36th, 37th, 42nd, 43rd, 45th, 51st, 84th, &c. The prophets are full of it, and for that reason have their name; particularly Isaiah, chapters 2nd, 9th, 11th, 25th, 28th, 32nd, 35th, 42nd, 49th, 50th, 51st, 52nd, 53rd, 54th, 59th, 60th, 61st, 63rd, 65th, 66th. Jeremiah also, chapters 23rd, 30th, 31st, 33rd. Ezekiel, chapters 20th, 34th, 36th, 37th. Daniel, chapters 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th. Hosea, chapters 1st, 3rd. Joel, chapters 2nd, 3rd. Amos, chapter 9th. Micah, chapters 4th, 5th. Zachariah, chapters 6th, 8th, 9th, 11th, 13th, 14th. Malachi, chapters 3rd, 4th. This was not another Spirit, though another manifestation of the same, nor was it common, but particular and extraordinary in the reason of it.

It was the same Spirit that came upon Moses, which came upon John the Baptist, and it was also the same Spirit that came upon Gideon and Sampson, that fell upon Peter and Paul; but it was not the same dispensation of that Spirit. It hath been the way of God, to visit and appear to men, according to their states and conditions, and as they have been prepared to receive him, be it more outwardly or inwardly, sensibly or spiritually. There is no capacity too low, or too high, for this Divine Spirit: for as it made and knows all, so it reaches unto all people. It extends to the meanest, and the highest cannot subsist without it. Which made David break forth in his expostulations with God, "Whither shall I go from thy Spirit, or whither shall I flee from thy presence?" Implying it was everywhere, though not everywhere, or at every time, alike. If I go to heaven, to hell, or beyond the seas, even there shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me. That is, there will this Divine Word, this light of men, this Spirit of God, find me, lead me, help me, and comfort me. For it is with me wherever I am, and wherever I go, in one respect or other; "When thou goest, it shall lead thee; when

thou sleepest, it shall keep thee; and when thou awakest, it shall talk with thee:" and I can no more get rid of it, if I would, than of myself, or my own nature; so present is it with me, and so close it sticks unto me. "When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee; when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burnt, neither shall the flame kindle upon thee." David knew it, and therefore had a great value for it. "In thy light shall we see light," or we shall be enlightened by thy light. "Thou wilt light my candle; the Lord my God will lighten my darkness." Again, "The Lord is my light, whom shall I fear." It was his armour against all danger. It took fear away from him, and he was undaunted, because he was safe in the way of it. Of the same blessed Word he says elsewhere, "It is a lamp unto my feet, and a lanthorn to my paths." In short, a light to him in his way to blessedness.

3. Obj. But if the Jews had this light, it does not follow that the gentiles had it also; but by your doctrine all have it.

Ans. Yes, and it is the glory of this doctrine which we profess, that God's love is therein held forth to all. And besides the texts cited in general, which are as full and positive as can be expressed, the apostle is very particular in the second chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, "That the gentiles having not the law, did by nature the things contained in the law, and were a law unto themselves." That is, they had not an outward law, circumstanced as the Jews had; but they had the work of the law written in their hearts, and therefore might well be a law to themselves, that had the law in themselves. And so had the Jews too, but then they had greater outward helps to quicken their obedience to it; such as God afforded not unto any other nation: and therefore the obedience of the gentiles, or uncircumcision, is said to be by nature, or naturally, because it was without those additional, external, and extraordinary ministries and helps which the Jews had to provoke them to duty. Which is so far from lessening the obedient gentiles, that it exalts them in the apostle's judgment; because though they had less advantages than the Jews, yet the work of the law written in their hearts, was made so much the more evident by the good life they lived in the world. He adds, their consciences bearing witness, or as it may be rendered, witnessing with them, and their thoughts, meanwhile, accusing, or else excusing one another, in the day when God shall judge the secrets of all hearts by Jesus Christ, according to my Gospel. Which presents us with four things to our point, and worth our serious reflection. First, that the gentiles had the law written in their hearts. Secondly, that their conscience was an allowed witness or evidence about duty. Thirdly, that the judgment made thereby shall be confirmed by the apostle's Gospel at the great day, and therefore valid and irreversible. Fourthly, that this could not be, if the light of this conscience were not a Divine and sufficient light: for conscience truly speaking, is no other than the sense a man hath, or judgment he maketh, of his duty to God, according to the understanding which God gives him of his will. And that no ill, but a true and Scriptural use may be made of this word conscience, I limit it to duty, and that to a virtuous and holy life, as the apostle evidently doth, about which we cannot miss, or dispute; read verses seventh, eighth, and ninth. It was to that therefore the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ desired to be made manifest, for they dared to stand the judgment of conscience, in reference to the doctrine they preached and pressed upon men. The beloved disciple also makes it a judge of man's present and future state, under the term heart; viz; for if our heart condemn us, God is greater than our heart, and knoweth all things. Beloved, if our heart condemn us not, then have we confidence towards God. Plain and strong words: and what were they about, but whether we love God, in deed and in truth: and how must that appear? Why, in keeping his commandments, which is living up to what we know. And if any desire to satisfy themselves further of the divinity of the gentiles, let them read Plato, Seneca, Plutarch, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, and the gentile writers. They will also find many of their sayings collected in the first part of a book, called "The Christian Quaker," and compared with the testimonies of Scripture, not for their authority, but agreeableness. In them they may discern many excellent truths, and taste great love and devotion to virtue; a fruit that grows upon no tree but that of life, in any age or nation. Some of the most eminent writers of the first ages, such as Justin Martyr, Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, &c., bore them great respect, and thought it no lessening to the reputation of Christianity, that it was defended in many gentile authors, as well as that they used and urged them, to engage their followers to the faith, as Paul did the Athenians with their own poets.

SECTION VII.

1. *An objection answered about the various dispensations of God: the principle the same.* 2. *God's work of a piece, and Truth the same under divers shapes.* 3. *The reason of the prevalency of idolatry.* 4. *The Quakers' testimony the best antidote against it, viz.: Walking by the Divine Spirit in man.* 5. *It was God's end in all his manifestations, that man might be God's image and delight.*

1. Obj. But it may be said, If it were one Holy Spirit, why so many modes and shapes of religion, since the world began? For the Patriarchal, Mosaical, and Christian, have their great differences; to say nothing of what has befallen the Christian, since the publication of it to the world.

Ans. I know not how properly they may be called divers religions, that assert the true God for the object of worship; the Lord Jesus Christ for the only Saviour; and the light, or Spirit of Christ, for the great agent and means of man's conversion and eternal felicity, any more than infancy, youth, and manhood, make three men, instead of three growths or periods of time, of one and the same man. But passing that, the many modes, or ways of God appearing to men, arise, as hath been said, from the divers states of men, in all which it seems to have been his main design to prevent idolatry and vice, by directing their minds to the true object of worship, and pressing virtue and holiness. So that though mediately he spoke to the patriarchs, mostly by angels in the fashion of men, and by them to their families, over and above the illumination in themselves; so to the prophets, for the most part, by the revelation of the Holy Ghost in them, and by them to the Jews; and since the Gospel dispensation, by his Son, both externally, by his coming in the flesh, and internally, by his spiritual appearance in the soul, as he is the great light of the world: yet all its flowings mediately through others, have still been from the same Spirit, co-operating with the manifestation of it immediately in man's own particular.

2. This is of great weight, for our information and encouragement, that God's work, in reference to man, is all of a piece, and in itself, lies in a narrow compass, and that his eye has ever been upon the same thing in all his dispensations, viz., to make men truly good, by planting his holy awe and fear in their hearts. Though he has condescended, for the hardness and darkness of men's hearts, to approach and spell out his holy mind to them, by low and carnal ways, as they may appear to our more enlightened understandings; suffering Truth to put on divers sorts of garments, the better to reach to the low state of men, to engage them from false gods and ill lives; seeing them sunk so much below their nobler part, and what he made them, that like brute beasts, they knew not their own strength and excellency.

3. And if we do but well consider the reason of the prevalency of idolatry, upon the earlier and darker times of the world, of which the Scripture is very particular, we shall find that it ariseth from this; that it is more sensual, and therefore calculated to please the senses of men; being more outward or visible, or more in their own power to perform, than one more spiritual in its object. For as their gods were the workmanship of men's hands, they could not prefer them, that being the argument which did most of all gall their worshippers, and what of all things, for that reason, they were most willing to forget. But their incidency to idolatry, and the advantages it had upon the true religion with them, plainly came from this, that it was more outward and sensual: they could see the object of their devotion, and had it in their power to address it when they would. It was more fashionable too, as well as better accommodated to their dark and brutal state. And therefore it was, that God, by many afflictions and great deliverances, brought forth a people to endear himself to them, that they might remember the hand that saved them, and worship him, and him only; in order to root up idolatry, and plant the knowledge and fear of him in their minds, for an example to other nations. Whoever reads Deuteronomy, which is a summary of the other four books of Moses, will find the frequent and earnest care and concern of that good man for Israel, about this very point; and how often that people slipped and lapsed, notwithstanding God's love, care and patience over them, into the idolatrous customs of the nations about them. Divers other Scriptures inform us also, especially those of the prophets, Isaiah liv. and lv. Psalms xxxvii. and cxv. and Jer. x., where the Holy Ghost confutes and rebukes the people, and mocks their idols with a sort of holy disdain.

4. Now that which is furthest from idolatry, and the best antidote against it, is the Spirit of God we have spoken of; and the more people's minds are turned and brought to it, and they resolve their faith, worship and obedience into the holy illuminations and power of it, the nearer they grow to the end of their creation, and consequently to their Creator. They are more spiritually qualified, and be-

come better fitted to worship God as he is: who, as we are told by our Lord Jesus Christ, is a Spirit, and will be worshipped in Spirit and in Truth, and that they are such sort of worshippers which God seeketh to worship him, in this Gospel day. The hour cometh, saith he, and now is; that is, some now do so, but more shall. A plain assertion in present, and a promise and prophecy of the increase of such worshippers in future. Which shows a change intended from a ceremonial worship and state of the church of God, to a spiritual one. Thus the text, "But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in Spirit and in Truth." Which is as much as to say, when the worship of God shall be more inward than outward, and so more suitable to the nature of God, and the nobler part of man, his inside, or his inward and better man, for so those blessed words import, in Spirit and in Truth. In Spirit, that is, through the power of the Spirit. In Truth, that is, in realities, not in shadows, ceremonies, or formalities, but in sincerity, with and in life, being Divinely prepared and animated; which brings man not only to offer up right worship, but also into intimate communion and fellowship with God, who is a Spirit.

5. And if it be duly weighed, it will appear that God in all his manifestations of himself, hath still come nearer and nearer to the insides of men, that he might reach to their understandings and open their hearts, and give them a plainer and nearer acquaintance with himself in Spirit: and there it is that man must seek and find the knowledge of God for his eternal happiness. Indeed, all things that are made, show forth the power and wisdom of God, and his goodness too, to mankind; and therefore many men urge the creation to silence atheistical objections: but though all those things show a God, yet man does it above all the rest. He is the precious stone of the ring, and the most glorious jewel of the globe; to whose reasonable use, service and satisfaction, the whole seems to be made and dedicated. But God's delight, by whom man was made, we are told by the Holy Ghost, is in the habitable parts of the earth, with the sons of men, Prov. viii. 31. And with those that are contrite in spirit, Isaiah lxvi. 1. And why is man his delight, but because man only, of all his works, was of his likeness. This is the intimate relation of man to God: somewhat nearer than ordinary; for of all other beings, man only had the honour of being his image; and by his resemblance to God, as I may say, came his kindred with God and knowledge of him. So that the nearest and best way for man to know God, and be acquainted with him, is to seek him in himself, in his image; and as he finds that, he comes to find and know God. Now man may be said to be God's image in a double respect. First, as he is of an immortal nature; and next, as that nature is endued with those excellencies in a small degree, and proportionable to a creature's capacity, that are by nature infinitely and incomparably in his Creator. For instance, wisdom, justice, mercy, holiness, patience, and the like. As man becomes holy, just, merciful, patient, &c., by the copy he will know the original, and by the workmanship in himself, he will be acquainted with the holy Workman. This, reader, is the regeneration and new creature we press, Gal. vi. 15, 16., and according to this rule, we say men ought to be religious, and walk in this world. Man, as I said just now, is a composition of both worlds; his body is of this, his soul of the other world. The body is as the temple of the soul, the soul the temple of the Word, and the Word the great temple and manifestation of God. By the body the soul looks into and beholds this world, and by the Word it beholds God, and the world that is without end. Much might be said of this order of things, and their respective excellencies, but I must be brief.

SECTION VIII.

1. *The doctrines of satisfaction and justification owned and worded according to Scripture.* 2. *What constructions we cannot believe of them, and which is an abuse of them.* 3. *Christ owned a sacrifice and a mediator.* 4. *Justification twofold, from the guilt of sin, and from the power and pollution of it.* 5. *Exhortation to the reader upon the whole.*

1. Obj. THOUGH there be many good things said, how Christ appears and works in a soul, to awaken, convince and convert it; yet you seem not particular enough about the death and sufferings of Christ: and it is generally rumoured and charged upon you by your adversaries, that you have little reverence to the doctrine of Christ's satisfaction to God for our sins, and that you do not believe, that the active and passive obedience of Christ, when he was in the world, is the alone ground of a sinner's justification before God.

Ans. The doctrines of satisfaction and justification, truly understood, are placed in so strict an union, that the one is a necessary consequence of the other, and what we say of them, is what agrees with the suffrage of Scripture, and for the most part in the terms of it; always believing that in points where

there arises any difficulty, be it from the obscurity of expression, mis-translation, or the dust raised by the heats of partial writers, or nice critics, it is ever best to keep close to the text, and maintain charity in the rest. I shall first speak negatively, what we do not own, which perhaps hath given occasion to those who have been more hasty than wise, to judge us defective in our belief of the efficacy of the death and sufferings of Christ to justification:

2. First, We cannot believe that Christ is the cause, but the effect of God's love, according to the testimony of the beloved disciple, John, chap. iii. God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son into the world, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.

Secondly, We cannot say, God could not have taken another way to save sinners, than by the death and sufferings of his Son, to satisfy his justice, or that Christ's death and sufferings were a strict and rigid satisfaction for that eternal death and misery due to man for sin and transgression; for such a notion were to make God's mercy little concerned in man's salvation; and indeed we are at too great a distance from his infinite wisdom and power, to judge of the liberty or necessity of his actings.

Thirdly, We cannot say Jesus Christ was the greatest sinner in the world, (because he bore our sins on his cross, or because he was made sin for us, who knew no sin) an expression of great levity and unsoundness, yet often said by great preachers and professors of religion.

Fourthly, We cannot believe that Christ's death and sufferings so satisfy God, or justify men, as that they are thereby accepted of God. They are indeed thereby put into a state capable of being accepted of God, and through the obedience of faith and sanctification of the spirit, are in a state of acceptance. We can never think a man justified before God, while self-condemned; or that any man can be in Christ who is not a new creature; or that God looks upon men otherwise than they are. We think it a state of presumption and not of salvation to call Jesus Lord, and not by the work of the Holy Ghost; Master, and he not yet master of their affections; Saviour, and they not saved by him from their sins; Redeemer, and yet they not redeemed by him from their passion, pride, covetousness, wantonness, vanity, vain honours, friendships, and glory of this world; which is to deceive themselves; for God will not be mocked, such as men sow, such they must reap. And though Christ did die for us, yet we must, by the assistance of his grace, work out our salvation with fear and trembling: as he died for sin, so we must die to sin, or we cannot be said to be saved by the death and sufferings of Christ, or thoroughly justified and accepted with God. Thus far negatively. Now positively what we own as to justification.

3. We do believe that Jesus Christ was our holy sacrifice, atonement, and propitiation; that he bore our iniquities, and that by his stripes we were healed of the wounds Adam gave us in his fall; and that God is just in forgiving true penitents upon the credit of that holy offering which Christ made of himself to God for us; and that what he did and suffered, satisfied and pleased God, and was for the sake of fallen man, who had displeased God: and that through the offering up of himself once for all, through the eternal Spirit, he hath for ever perfected those (in all times) that were sanctified, who walked not after the flesh, but after the spirit, Rom. viii. 1. Mark that.

4. In short, justification consists of two parts, or hath a two-fold consideration, viz. justification from the guilt of sin, and justification from the power and pollution of sin; and in this sense justification gives a man a full and clear acceptance before God. For want of this latter part it is, that so many souls, religiously inclined, are often under doubts, scruples, and despondencies, notwithstanding all that their teachers tell them of the extent and efficacy of the first part of justification. And it is too general an unhappiness among the professors of Christianity, that they are apt to cloak their own active and passive disobedience with the active and passive obedience of Christ.

The first part of justification, we do reverently and humbly acknowledge, is only for the sake of the death and sufferings of Christ; nothing we can do, though by the operation of the holy Spirit, being able to cancel old debts, or wipe out old scores; it is the power and efficacy of that propitiatory offering, upon faith and repentance, that justifies us from the sins that are past; and it is the power of Christ's spirit in our hearts, that purifies and makes us acceptable before God. For until the heart of man is purged from sin, God will never accept of it. He reproves, rebukes and condemns those that entertain sin there, and therefore such cannot be said to be in a justified state; condemnation and justification being contraries. So that they that hold themselves in a justified state by the active and passive obedience of Christ, while they are not actively and passively obedient to the spirit of Christ Jesus, are under a strong and dangerous delusion; and for crying out against

this sin-pleasing imagination, not to say doctrine, we are staged and reproached as deniers and despisers of the death and sufferings of our Lord Jesus Christ. But be it known to such, they add to Christ's sufferings and crucify to themselves afresh the Son of God and trample the blood of the covenant under their feet, who walk unholily under a profession of justification; for God will not acquit the guilty, nor justify the disobedient and unfaithful. Such deceive themselves, and at the great and final judgment their sentence will not be, "Come ye blessed," because it cannot be said to them, "Well done good and faithful," for they cannot be so esteemed who live and die in a reproveable and condemnable state; but, "Go ye cursed, &c."

5. Wherefore, O my reader, rest not thyself wholly satisfied with what Christ has done for thee in his blessed person without thee, but press to know his power and kingdom within thee, that the strong man, who has too long kept thy house, may be bound and his goods spoiled, his works destroyed and sin ended, according to 1 John iii. 7. For which end, says that beloved disciple, Christ was manifested; that all things may become new; new heavens and new earth, in which righteousness dwells. Thus thou wilt come to glorify God in thy body and in thy spirit, which are his; and live to him and not to thyself. Thy love, joy, worship and obedience; thy life, conversation and practice; thy study, meditation and devotion, will be spiritual. The Father and the Son will make their abode with thee, and Christ will manifest himself to thee; for the secrets of the Lord are with them that fear him; and an holy unction or anointing have all those, which leads them into all truth, and they need not the teachings of men. They are better taught, being instructed by the Divine oracle. They are not bare hear-say, or traditional Christians, but fresh and living witnesses; those that have seen with their own eyes, and heard with their own ears, and have handled with their own hands, the Word of life, in the divers operations of it, to their souls' salvation. In this they meet, in this they preach, and in this they pray and praise; behold the new covenant fulfilled, the church and worship of Christ, the great anointed of God, and the great anointing of God, in his holy high priesthood and offices in his church!

SECTION IX.

1. *A confession to Christ and his work, both in doing and suffering.* 2. *That ought not to make void our belief and testimony of his inward and spiritual appearance in the soul.* 3. *What our testimony is in the latter respect: that it is impossible to be saved by Christ without us, while we reject his work and power within us.* 4. *The dispensation of grace, in its nature and extent.* 5. *A further acknowledgment to the death and sufferings of Christ.* 6. *The conclusion, showing our adversaries' unreasonableness.*

1. And lest any should say we are equivocal in our expressions, and allegorize away Christ's appearance in the flesh; meaning only thereby our own flesh; and that as often as we mention him, we mean only a mystery, or a mystical sense of him, be it as to his coming, birth, miracles, sufferings, death, resurrection, ascension, mediation and judgment; I would yet add, to preserve the well disposed from being staggered by such suggestions, and to inform and reclaim such as are under the power and prejudice of them:

That we do, we bless God, religiously believe and confess, to the glory of God the Father, and the honour of his dear and beloved Son, that Jesus Christ took our nature upon him, and was like unto us in all things, sin excepted: that he was born of the virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, the Roman governor, was crucified, dead, and buried in the sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea; rose again the third day, and ascended into heaven, and sits on the right hand of God, in the power and majesty of his Father; who will one day judge the world by him, even that blessed Man, Christ Jesus, according to their works.

2. But because we so believe, must we not believe what Christ said, "He that is with you shall be in you." "I in them, and they in me," &c. "When it pleased God to reveal his Son in me." "The mystery hid from ages, is Christ in the gentiles, the hope of glory." "Unless Christ be in you, ye are reprobates!" Or must we be industriously represented as deniers of Christ's coming in the flesh, and the holy ends of it, in all the parts and branches of his doing and suffering, only because we believe and press the necessity of believing, receiving and obeying his inward and spiritual appearance and manifestation of himself, through his light, grace and Spirit in the hearts and consciences of men and women, to reprove, convict, convert and change them? This we esteem hard and unrighteous measure; nor would our warm and sharp adversaries be so dealt with by others: but to do as they would be done to, is too often no part of their practice, whatever it be of their profession.

3. Yet we are very ready to declare to the

whole world, that we cannot think men and women can be saved by their belief of the one, without the sense and experience of the other; and that is what we oppose, and not his blessed manifestation in the flesh. We say that he then overcame our common enemy, foiled him in the open field, and in our nature triumphed over him that had overcome and triumphed over it in our fore-father Adam, and his posterity: and that as truly as Christ overcame him in our nature, in his own person, so by his Divine grace, being received and obeyed by us, he overcomes him in us: that is, he detects the enemy by his light in the conscience, and enables the creature to resist him, and all his fiery darts; and finally, so to fight the good fight of faith, as to overcome him, and lay hold on eternal life.

4. And this is the dispensation of grace, which we declare has appeared to all, more or less; teaching those who will receive it, "to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world; looking for (which none else can justly do) the blessed hope and glorious appearing of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ," &c. And as from the teachings, experience and motion of this grace we minister to others, so the very drift of our ministry is to turn people's minds to this grace in themselves, that all of them may be up and doing, even the good and acceptable will of God, and work out their salvation with fear and trembling, and make their high and heavenly calling and election sure; which none else can do, whatever be their profession, church or character: for such as men sow they must reap; and his servants we are whom we obey. Regeneration we must know, or we cannot be children of God, and heirs of eternal glory. To be born again, another Spirit must prevail, leaven, season, and govern us, than either the spirit of the world, or our own depraved spirits; and this can be no other Spirit than that which dwelt in Christ; for unless that dwell in us, we can be none of his, Rom. viii. 9. And this Spirit begins in conviction, and ends in conversion and perseverance; and the one follows the other. Conversion being the consequence of convictions obeyed, and perseverance a natural fruit of conversion, and being born of God; "For such sin not, because the Seed of God abides in them." But such, through faithfulness, continue to the end, and obtain the promise, even everlasting life.

5. But let my reader take this along with him, that we do acknowledge that Christ, through his holy doing and suffering, for being a Son he learned obedience, has obtained mercy of God his Father for mankind, and that his obedience has an influence to our salvation, in all the parts and branches of it, since thereby he became a conqueror, and led captivity captive, and obtained gifts for men, with divers great and precious promises, that thereby we might be partakers of the Divine nature, having escaped the corruption that is in the world, through lust. I say, we do believe and confess, that the active and passive obedience of Christ Jesus affects our salvation throughout, as well from the power and pollution of sin, as from the guilt, he being a conqueror as well as a sacrifice, and both through suffering. Yet they that reject his Divine gift, so obtained, and which he has given to them, by which to see their sin and the sinfulness of it, and to repent and turn away from it, and do so no more; and to wait upon God for daily strength to resist the fiery darts of the enemy, and to be comforted through the obedience of faith in and to this Divine grace of the Son of God, such do not please God, do not believe truly in God, nor are they in a state of true Christianity and salvation. "Woman," said Christ, to the Samaritan at the well, "hadst thou known the gift of God, and who it is that speaketh to thee," &c. People know not Christ and God, "whom to know is life eternal," because they are ignorant of the gift of God, viz: "A manifestation of the Spirit of God is given to every man to profit withal;" which reveals Christ and God to the soul. Flesh and blood cannot do it, Oxford and Cambridge cannot do it, tongues and philosophy cannot do it: for they who by wisdom knew not God, had these things for their wisdom. They were strong, deep and accurate in them; but, alas! they were clouded, puffed up, and set further off from the inward and saving knowledge of God, because they sought for it in them, and thought to find God there. But the key of David is another thing, which shuts and no man opens, and opens and no man shuts; and this key have all they that receive the gift of God into their hearts, and it opens to them the knowledge of God and themselves, and gives them quite another sight, taste and judgment of things than their educational or traditional knowledge afforded them. This is the beginning of the new creation of God, and thus it is we come to be new creatures.

And we are bold to declare, there is no other way like this, by which people can come into Christ, or be true Christians, or receive the advantage that comes by the death and sufferings of the Lord Jesus Christ. Wherefore we say, and upon good authority, even that of our own experience, as well as that of the Scriptures of Truth, Christ will

prove no saving sacrifice for them who refuse to obey him for their example. They that reject the gift, deny the Giver instead of themselves for the Giver's sake. O that people were wise, that they would consider their latter end, and the things that make for the peace thereof! Why should they perish in a vain hope of life, while death reigns; of living with God, who live not to him, nor walk with him? Awake thou that sleepest in thy sin, or at best, in thy self-righteousness! Awake, I say, and Christ shall give thee life! For he is the Lord from heaven, the quickening Spirit, who quickens us by his Spirit, if we do not resist it and quench it by our disobedience, but receive, love and obey it, in all the holy leadings and teachings of it. Rom. viii. 14, 15. To which holy Spirit I commend my reader, that he may the better see where he is, and also come to the true belief and advantage of the doings and sufferings of our dear and blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who saves from the power and pollution, as well as guilt of sin, all those who hear his knocks, and open the door of their hearts to him, that he may come in and work a real and thorough reformation in and for them. Thus the benefit, virtue and efficacy of his doings and sufferings without us, will come to be livingly and effectually applied and felt, and fellowship with Christ in his death and sufferings known, according to the doctrine of the apostle; which, those who live in that which made him suffer, know not, though they profess to be saved by his death and sufferings. Much more might be said as to this matter, but I must be brief.

6. To conclude this chapter, we wonder not that we should be mistaken, mis-construed and mis-represented, in what we believe and do to salvation, since our betters have been so treated in the primitive times. Nor indeed is it only about doctrines of religion; for our practices in worship and discipline have had the same success. But this is what I earnestly desire, that however bold people are pleased to make with us, they would not deceive themselves in the great things of their own salvation: that while they would seem to own all to Christ, they may not be found disowned of Christ in the last day. Read the 7th of Matthew: it is he that hears Christ, the great Word of God, and does what he enjoins, what he commands, and by his blessed example recommends, who is a wise builder, who has founded his house well, and built with good materials, and whose house will stand the last shock and judgment. For which cause we are often plain, close and earnest with people to consider, that Christ came not to save them in, but from, their sins; and that they who think to discharge and release themselves of his yoke and burden, his cross and example, and secure themselves, and compliment Christ with his having done all for them (while he has wrought little or nothing in them, nor they parted with any thing for the love of him) will finally awake in a dreadful surprise, at the sound of the last trumpet, and at this sad and irrevocable sentence, "Depart from me ye workers of iniquity, I know you not." May all timely avoid this terrible end, by hearkening to wisdom's voice, and turning at her reproof, that she may lead them in the ways of righteousness, and in the midst of the paths of judgment, that their souls may come to inherit substance; even durable riches and righteousness, in the kingdom of the Father, world without end.

SECTION X.

1. *Of the true worship of God, in what it stands.* 2. *Of the true ministry, that it is by inspiration.* 3. *The Scripture plain in that case.* 4. *Christ's ministers, true witnesses, they speak what they know, not by report.* 5. *Christ's ministers preach freely, it is one of their marks.*

1. As the Lord wrought effectually, by his Divine grace, in the hearts of this people, so he thereby brought them to a Divine worship and ministry; they came to experience Christ's words, viz. That God is a spirit, and that he would therefore be worshipped in the Spirit, and in the Truth, and that such worshippers the Father would seek to worship him. For bowing to the convictions of the Spirit in themselves, in their daily course of living, by which they were taught to eschew that which was made manifest to them to be evil, and to do that which was good, they, in their assembling together, sat down, and waited for the preparation of the holy Spirit, both to let them see their states and conditions before the Lord, and to worship him acceptably; and as they were sensible of wants, or shortness, or infirmities, so in the secret of their own hearts, prayer would spring to God, through Jesus Christ, to help, assist and supply; but they did not dare to awaken their beloved before his time; nor approach the throne of the King of glory, till he held out his sceptre; nor take thought what they should say, or after their own or other men's studied words and forms, for this were to offer strange fire; to pray, but not by the Spirit; to ask, but not in the name, that is, in the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, who prayed, as well as spoke

like one having authority, that is, power, a Divine energy and force to reach and pierce the heavens, which he gives to all who obey his light, grace and Spirit, in their solemn waiting upon him. So that it is this people's principle, that fire must come from heaven, life and power from God, to enable the soul to pour out itself acceptably before him. And when a coal from his holy altar touches our lips, then can we pray and praise him as we ought to do. And as this is our principle, which is according to Scripture, so it is, blessed be God, our experience and practice; and therefore it is we are separated from the worship of men, under their several forms, because they do not found it in the operation, motion and assistance of the Spirit of Christ, but in the appointment, invention and framing of man, both as to matter, words and time. We do not dissent in our own wills, and we dare not comply against his will who has called us, and brought us to his own spiritual worship; in obedience to whom we are what we are, in our separation from the divers ways of worship in the world.

2. And as our worship stands in the operation of the Spirit of Truth in our inward parts, as before expressed, so does our ministry. For as the holy testimonies of the servants of God of old, were from the operation of his blessed Spirit, so must those of his servants be in every age, and that which has not the Spirit of Christ for its spring and source, is of man, and not of Christ. Christian ministers are to minister what they receive: this is Scripture; now that which we receive is not our own, less another man's, but the Lord's. So that we are not only not to steal from our neighbours, but we are not to study or speak our own words. If we are not to study what we are to say before magistrates for ourselves, less are we to study what we are to say for and from God to the people. We are to minister, as the oracles of God; if so, then must we receive from Christ, God's great oracle, what we are to minister. And if we are to minister what we receive, then not what we study, collect and beat out of our own brains, for that is not the mind of Christ, but our imaginations, and this will not profit the people.

3. This was recommended to the Corinthians by the apostle Paul, 1 Cor. 14. that they should speak as they were moved, or as any thing was revealed to them, by the Spirit, for the edification of the church; for, says he, Ye may all prophesy; that is, ye may all preach to edification, as any thing is revealed to you, for the good of others, and as the Spirit giveth utterance. And as the Spirit must give Christ's ministers their utterance, those who are his, are careful not to utter any thing in his name to the people, without his Spirit; and by good consequence, they that go before the true guide, and utter words without the knowledge of the mind of the Spirit, are none of Christ's ministers. Such, certainly run, and God has not sent them, and they cannot profit the people. And indeed, how should they, when it is impossible that mere man, with all his parts, arts and acquirements, can turn people from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God, which is the very end and work of the Gospel ministry. It must be inspired men, men gifted by God, taught and influenced by his heavenly Spirit, that can be qualified for so great, so inward, and so spiritual a work.

4. Ministers of Christ are his witnesses, and the credit of a witness is, that he has heard, seen or handled. And thus the beloved disciple states the truth and authority of their mission and ministry. "That which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon and our hands have handled, that declare we unto you, that your fellowship may be with us, and truly our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ." I say, if Christ's ministers are his witnesses, they must know what they speak; that is, they must have experienced, and passed through those states and conditions they preach of, and practically know those truths they declare to the people, or they come not in by the door, but over the wall, and are thieves and robbers. He that has the key of David comes in at the door, Christ Jesus, and has his admission and approbation from him, anointed by him, the alone high Priest of the Gospel dispensation. He it is that breathes, and lays his hands, upon his own ministers; he anoints them, and recruits their cruse, and renews their horn with oil, that they may have it fresh, for every occasion and service he calls them to, and engages them in.

5. Nor is this all, but as they receive freely, freely they give; they do not teach for hire, divine for money, nor preach for gifts or rewards. It was Christ's holy command to his ministers to give freely, and it is our practice. And truly we cannot but admire that this should be made a fault, and that preaching for hire should not be seen to be one; yea, a mark of false prophets, when it has been so frequently and severely cried out upon, by the true prophets of God in former times. I would not be uncharitable, but the guilty are desired to call to mind, who it was that offered money to be made a minister, and what it was for; if not to get money and make a trade or livelihood by it; and what answer

he met with from the apostle Peter, Acts viii. 18, 19, 20. The Lord touch the hearts of those who are giving money to be made ministers, in order to live by their preaching, that they may see what ground it is they build upon, and repent, and turn to the Lord, that they may find mercy, and become living witnesses of his power and goodness in their own souls; so may they be enabled to tell others what God has done for them, which is the root and ground of the true ministry; and this ministry it is that God does bless. I could say much on this subject, but let what has been said suffice at this time, only I cannot but observe, that where any religion has a strong temptation of gain to induce men to be ministers, there is great danger of their running faster to that calling, than becomes a true Gospel minister.

1. Obj. But does not this sort of ministry and worship tend to make people careless, and to raise spiritual pride in others, may it not give an occasion to great mischief and irreligion?

Answ. By no means, for when people are of age, they, of right, expect their inheritances; and the end of all words is to bring people to the great Word, Christ Jesus, and then the promise of God is accomplished; "They shall be all taught of me, from the least to the greatest, and in righteousness (pray mark that) they shall be established, and great shall be their peace." To this declaration of the evangelical prophet, the beloved disciple agrees, and give a full answer to the objection: "These things have I written unto you, concerning them that seduce you. But the anointing, which ye have received of him, abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you, but as the same anointing teacheth you, of all things, and is truth, and is no lie; and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him." In which, three things are observable; first, that he wrote his epistle upon an extraordinary occasion, viz. to prevent their delusion. Secondly, That he asserts a nearer and superior minister than himself, viz. the anointing or grace they had received; and that not only in that particular exigency, but in all cases that might attend them. Thirdly, that if they did but take heed to the teachings of it, they would have no need of man's directions, nor fear of his seducings: at least of no ministry that comes not from the power of the anointing; though I rather take the apostle in the highest sense of the words: thus also the apostle Paul to the Thessalonians; "But as touching brotherly love, ye need not that I write unto you; for ye yourselves are taught of God to love one another." But helps are useful, and a great blessing, if from God; such was John the Baptist's; but remember he pointed all to Christ, "Lo the Lamb of God!" "I baptize you with water, but he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire." And so the true ministry does. And while people are sensual, and under such an eclipse, by the interposition of sin and satan, God is pleased to send forth his enlightened servants to awaken and turn them from the darkness to the light in themselves, that through obedience to it, they may come to be children of the light; and have their fellowship one with another in it, and an inheritance at last, with the saints in light for ever.

And as it is the way God has taken to call and gather people, so a living and holy ministry is of great advantage, to watch over, and build up the young, and comfort and establish the feeble and simple ones. But still I say, the more inward, the less outward; the more people come to be taught immediately of God, by the light of his Word and Spirit in their hearts, the less need of outward means: read Isaiah xvi. 19, 20. Which is held by all to be a Gospel promise, and the sun and moon there are generally understood to mean the external means in the church. Compare them with John i. 13. Rom. i. 19. 1 Cor. ii. 11. 15. 1 Thess. iv. 9. 1 John ii. 20. 27. Rev. xxi. 22, 23, 24. All which places prove what we assert of the sufficiency and glorious privilege of inward and spiritual teachings. And most certainly, as men grow in grace, and know the anointing of the Word in themselves, the dispensation will be less in words (though in words) and more in life; and preaching will in great measure be turned into praising, and the worship of God more into walking with, than talking of, God; for that is worship indeed, which bows to his will at all times, and in all places; the truest, the highest worship, man is capable of in this world. And it is that conformity that gives communion, and there is no fellowship with God, no light of his countenance to be enjoyed, no peace and assurance to be had, further than their obedience to his will, and a faithfulness to his Word, according to the manifestation of the light thereof in the heart.

I say, this is the truest and highest state of worship; for set days and places, with all the solemnity of them, were most in request in the weakest dispensation. Altars, arks and temples, sabbaths and festivals, &c. are not to be found in the writings of the New Testament. There, every day is alike, and every place is alike; but if there were a dedication, let it be to the Lord. Thus the apostle, but he plainly shows a state beyond it, for to live (with him) was Christ, and to

die was gain; for the life he lived, was by the faith of the Son of God, and therefore it was not he that lived, but Christ that lived in him; that is, that ruled, conducted, and bore sway in him, which is the true Christian life, the supersensual life; the life of conversion and regeneration; to which all the dispensations of God and ministry of his servants have ever tended, as the consummation of God's work for man's happiness. Here every man is a temple, and every family a church, and every place, a meeting-place, and every visit a meeting. And yet a little while and it shall be so yet more and more; and a people the Lord is now preparing to enter into this sabbath or degree of rest.

Not that we would be thought to undervalue public and solemn meetings; we have them all over the nation where the Lord has called us. Yea, though but two or three of us be in a corner of a country, we meet, as the apostle exhorted the saints of his time, and reproved such as neglected to assemble themselves. But yet show we unto thee, O reader, a more excellent way of worship; for many may come to those meetings, and go away carnal, dead and dry; but the worshippers in spirit and in Truth, whose hearts bow, whose minds adore the eternal God, who is a Spirit, in and by his Spirit, such as conform to his will, and walk with him in a spiritual life, they are the true, constant, living and acceptable worshippers; whether it be in meetings or out of meetings; and as with such, all outward assemblies are greatly comfortable, so also do we meet for a public testimony of religion and worship, and for the edification and encouragement of those who are yet young in the truth, and to call and gather others to the knowledge of it, who are yet going astray; and blessed be God, it is not in vain, since many are thereby added to the church, that we hope and believe shall be saved.

SECTION XI.

1. *Against tithes.* 2. *Against all swearing.* 3. *Against war among Christians.* 4. *Against the salutations of the times.* 5. *And for plainness of speech.* 6. *Against mixed marriages.* 7. *And for plainness in apparel, &c. No sports and pastimes after the manner of this world.* 8. *Of observing days.* 9. *Of care of the poor; peace and conversation.*

1. As God has been pleased to call us from a human ministry, so we cannot for conscience sake support and maintain it, and upon that score, and not out of humour or covetousness, we refuse to pay tithes, or such-like pretended dues, concerning which, many books have been written in our defence. We cannot support what we cannot approve, but have a testimony against; for thereby we should be found inconsistent with ourselves.

2. We dare not swear, because Christ forbids it; Mat. v. 34. 37. and James, his true follower. It is needless as well as evil, the reason of swearing being untruth, that men's yea was not yea. Swearing was used to awe men to truth speaking, and to give others satisfaction that what was sworn, was true. But the true Christian's yea being yea, the end of an oath is answered, and therefore the use of it is needless, superfluous and cometh of evil. The apostle James taught the same doctrine, and the primitive Christians practised it, as may be seen in the Book of Martyrs; as also the earliest and best of the reformers.

3. We also believe, that war ought to cease among the followers of the Lamb Christ Jesus, who taught his disciples to forgive and love their enemies, and not to war against them, and kill them; and that therefore the weapons of his true followers are not carnal but spiritual; yea mighty, through God, to cut down sin and wickedness, and dethrone him that is the author thereof. And as this is the most Christian, so the most rational way; love and persuasion having more force than weapons of war. Nor would the worst men easily be brought to hurt those that they really think love them. It is love and patience that must in the end have the victory.

4. We dare not give worldly honour, or use the frequent and modish salutations of the times, seeing plainly, that vanity, pride, and ostentation, belong to them. Christ also forbad them in his day, and made the love of them a mark of declension from the simplicity of purer times; and his disciples, and their followers obeyed their Master's precept. It is not to distinguish ourselves as a party, nor out of pride, ill-breeding or humour, but in obedience to the sight and sense we have received from the Spirit of Christ, of the evil rise and tendency thereof.

5. For the same reason we have returned to the first plainness of speech, viz. thou and thee, to a single person, which though men give no other to God, they will hardly endure it from us. It has been a great test upon pride, and shown the blind and weak insides of many. This also is out of pure conscience, whatever people may think or say of us for it. We may be despised, and have been so often, yea, very evilly entreated, but we are now better known, and people better informed. In short, it is also both Scripture and grammar, and we have propriety of speech for it, as well as peace in it.

6. We cannot allow of mixed marriages, that is, to join with such as are not of our Society; but oppose and disown them, if at any time any of our profession so grossly err from the rule of their communion; yet restore them upon sincere repentance, but not disjoin them. The book I wrote of the rise and progress of the people called Quakers, is more full and express herein.

7. Plainness in apparel and furniture, is another testimony peculiar to us, in the degree we have borne it to the world; as also few words, and being at a word. Likewise temperance in food, and abstinence from the recreations and pastimes of the world; all which we have been taught, by the Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ, to be according to godliness; and therefore we have long exhorted all, that their moderation may be known unto all men, for that the Lord is at hand, to enter into judgment with us for every intemperance or excess; and herein we hope we have been no ill examples, nor scandal unto any that have a due consideration of things.

8. We cannot, in conscience to God, observe holy days, (so called) the public fasts and feasts, because of their human institution and ordination, and that they have not a Divine warrant, but are appointed in the will of man.

9. Lastly, We have been led by the good Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ, of which I have treated in this discourse, according to primitive practice, to have a due care over one another, for the preservation of the whole Society, in a conversation more suitable to their holy profession.

First, In respect to a strict walking both towards those that are without, and those that are within; that their conversation in the world, and walking in and towards the church, may be blameless. That as they may be strict in the one, so they may be faithful in the other.

Secondly, That collections be made to supply the wants of the poor, and that care be taken of widows and orphans, and such as are helpless, as well in counsel as about substance.

Thirdly, That all such as intend to marry, if they have parents, or are under the direction of guardians or trustees, are obliged, first to declare to them their intention, and have their consent before they propose it to one another, and the meeting they relate to, who are also careful to examine their clearness, and being satisfied with it, they are by them allowed to solemnize their marriage in a public select meeting, for that purpose appointed, and not otherwise; whereby all clandestine and indirect marriages are prevented among us.

Fourthly, And to the end that this good order may be observed, for the comfort and edification of the Society, in the ways of truth and soberness, select meetings, of care and business, are fixed in all parts where we inhabit, which are held monthly, and which resolve into Quarterly Meetings, and those into one Yearly Meeting, for our better communication one with another, in those things that maintain piety and charity; that God, who by his grace, has called us to be a people to his praise, may have it from us, through his beloved Son, and our ever-blessed and only Redeemer, Jesus Christ, for he is worthy, worthy, now and ever. Amen.

Thus, reader, thou hast the character of the people called Quakers, in their doctrine, worship, ministry, practice and discipline; compare it with Scripture and primitive example, and we hope thou wilt find, that this short discourse hath, in good measure, answered the title of it, viz. "Primitive Christianity revived, in the principles and practice of the people called Quakers."

William Penn about this time paid a visit to Peter the great, Czar of Russia. This extraordinary man took the singular resolution of visiting several parts of Europe in person, for the purpose of becoming acquainted with the arts, which were but very imperfectly understood in his own country. Having resided for sometime in Holland, where he worked in one of the dock-yards, at the building of ships, he went over to England, and engaged in a similar employment at Deptford. He at times visited London, and resided at a large building which was provided for his accommodation. At one of these times, Gilbert Molleson, brother-in-law to Robert Barclay, having understood that a relation of his was in the service of the Czar, concluded that he might possibly find means through his instrumentality, to introduce some of the writings of Friends into the family and dominions of Peter. He therefore in company with Thomas Story, went one morning to the residence of the Czar; and upon inquiring for Gilbert's relation, they were introduced to an Englishman, who had resided in Russia as a merchant, and having there become known to the Czar, was then serving him as his interpreter. During their conference, Peter and Prince Menzikoff, his general, came to them, and by some questions which were put to them by the merchant, apparently at the suggestion of the Czar, gave Thomas an opportunity of explaining the principles of Friends on one or two points, particularly in relation to war. They afterwards presented to the merchant, for the use of the Czar, two copies of Barclay's Apology

in latin, with a request that in case any of their friends should come into his dominions, and preach the doctrines contained in that book, and be persecuted on that account by any persons acting under his authority, he would be kind enough to afford them protection and relief. On the first-day following, the Czar and Prince Menzikoff, with the same interpreter, came to the meeting at Gracechurch street, where Thomas Story happened to be. A Friend had just begun to speak when they came in, and without knowing that such distinguished auditors were present, delivered a testimony well adapted to the occasion. The interpreter probably informed the Czar the substance of the Friend's testimony, for they were observed to be often whispering to each other. Several persons afterwards crowding into the house from the street, with a view of gazing at the Russian monarch, he withdrew before the meeting was quite done.

After his return to Deptford, William Penn being informed of these circumstances, and understanding that he was not acquainted with the latin language, in which the Apology presented was written, went in company with George Whitehead and some other Friends to that place, and waited on him privately. As they were informed that he understood the German language, they presented him with some copies of the Apology in that tongue, which he accepted.* He afterwards sometimes attended the meetings of Friends in that place, conducting entirely as a private person.

From the curiosity manifested by that great man, to see whatever was to be seen in the countries which he visited, we need not be surprised that he should sometimes attend the meetings of Friends; yet we have at a subsequent period, sufficient evidence that this transient acquaintance with Friends, left a favourable impression on his mind. For about sixteen years after this time, being at Frederickstadt, in Holstein, whither he had gone with five thousand men, to assist the Danes against the Swedes, when he had quartered his men, he inquired of one of the burgomasters whether there were any Quakers there. Upon being told there were a few, he next inquired whether they had a meeting in that place; and was informed they had. It being the first-day of the week, he directed information to be given to Friends, that if they would appoint a meeting to be held that forenoon he would attend it. He was told in return, that the meeting-house was occupied by thirty of his soldiers; upon which he sent one of his captains with positive orders for the soldiers to leave the place without delay, and to take their baggage with them. Friends were immediately informed of this proceeding, and arrangements were made for holding a meeting there at two o'clock. The Czar accordingly came with Prince Menzikoff, General Dolgorouky, and several dukes and other men in conspicuous stations, followed by a great number of others. When as many were convened as the house would accommodate, he directed the doors to be closed. The Czar sat very gravely during the time of silence; and his attendants awed by his presence and example, did so likewise. After some time passed in silence, a Friend who resided in the town, rose and preached to the people. The Czar appeared particularly attentive, and as he understood the language in which the Friend spoke, probably the high Dutch, which his lords did not, he interpreted it to them with much seriousness and gravity; saying that whoever lived according to that doctrine would be happy. Though so much of the life of this monarch was passed in the hurry and turmoil of war, yet he was willing to commend the doctrines of the Gospel as they were professed and declared by a humble member of the Society of Friends.

The year 1697, appears to have passed away, without leaving any important memorial of the labours of William Penn. He seems to have been at this time an inhabitant of the city of Bristol. This we may remember was the residence of his second wife, previous to their marriage. One instance however remains in evidence of his continued attention to the interests of the Society to which he belonged.

A bill was about this time introduced into the British parliament, for the punishment of blasphemy. Upon inspecting the provisions of it, he discovered that if enacted into a law, it might and probably would be made the instrument of persecution, by subjecting to the punishment of blasphemers, many persons who fully acknowledged the Gospel Truths which that bill was intended to protect from profanation, but who dissented from the terms in which they were couched. He therefore wrote a short essay entitled "Some considerations upon the bill for the more effectual suppressing of blasphemy and profaneness; humbly offered," in which he pointed out the ill use that he apprehended might be made of it, advised that in case it was passed into a law, the Creed should be expressed in the exact words of Scripture, and showed the inefficiency of

* Thomas Clarkson adds to this account, that a conversation ensued between the Czar and William Penn, in the high Dutch language, which the latter spoke fluently.

the bill in its existing form, to the attainment of its ostensible object. This essay was probably sent to the members of parliament, for whose information it was prepared. What impression it made cannot be certainly known, but we find the bill was soon afterwards dropped.

In the early part of 1698, he left home to pay a religious visit to Ireland, having John Everot and Thomas Story as companions. They reached Dublin on the 6th of third month, and on the 8th attended the Half year's Meeting at that place, where, as Thomas Story informs us, they were greatly comforted, not only in the enjoyment of the blessed presence of the Lord, but also in observing the unity, mildness, and order which appeared among Friends in the management of the affairs of the church.

The presence of William Penn drew great numbers of people of all ranks and professions, to the meetings at Dublin, and he was so furnished with wisdom and utterance as fully to answer their expectations. Many of the clergy attended, and the people generally expressed their approbation of the doctrine which they heard. Of the clergy, the dean of Derry was one; who was several times at the meetings there; and being afterwards asked by his bishop, whether he heard any thing in those meetings but blasphemy and nonsense; and whether he took off his hat in time of prayer; he answered, that he heard neither blasphemy nor nonsense, but the everlasting Truth; and that he not only took off his hat at prayer, but his heart said amen to what he heard. This ecclesiastic appeared convinced that the principles professed by Friends were sound and true; yet he was not willing to lose his living and character on account of the peculiarities which they held. Thus proving unfaithful in the day of small things, he advanced no further.

In the intervals of meetings, William Penn visited the lords justices of Ireland and the principal officers of the government, to interest them, as far as he was able, in the principles and members of the Society.

But he was not permitted to proceed without opposition in the work wherein he was then engaged. For John Plympton, whom he had silenced at Melksham, between two and three years before, published, soon after his arrival, a paper containing some invidious reflections on Friends in general, and upon William Penn in particular; treating him with epithets inconsistent with common civility. In consequence of this, several Friends, of whom Thomas Story was one, went to the elders of the Society to which Plympton belonged, and afterwards to their meeting, and inquired whether this publication was made with their consent. They modestly answered that it was altogether his own work, with which they disavowed any connection. Friends therefore concluded to take no further notice of the man; but they published soon afterwards, a single sheet, under the title of "Gospel Truths," consisting of eleven propositions, in which the principal points of doctrine as held by the Society of Friends, are concisely stated; being couched in scriptural language, or confirmed by appropriate quotations chiefly from the New Testament. This paper was mostly drawn up by William Penn, and signed by him and three other Friends; it is as follows:

"GOSPEL TRUTHS.

"Sober reader, if thou hadst rather we should be in the right than in the wrong; and if thou thinkest it but a reasonable thing that we should be heard before we are condemned, and that our belief ought to be taken from our own mouths, and not at theirs who have prejudged our cause; then we entreat thee, to read and weigh the following brief account of those things that are chiefly received and professed among us, the people called Quakers, according to the testimony of the Scriptures of Truth, and the illumination of the Holy Ghost, which are the double and agreeing record of true religion. Published to inform the moderate inquirer, and reclaim the prejudiced to a better temper; which God grant, to his glory and their peace.

1. "It is our belief that God is, and that he is a rewarder of all them that fear him, with eternal rewards of happiness; and that those that fear him not, shall be turned into hell. Heb. xi. 16. Rev. xxii. 12. Rom. ii. 5, 6, 7, 8. Psalm ix. 17.

2. "That there are three that bear record in heaven; the Father, the Word, and the Spirit; and these three are really one. 1 John v. 7.

3. "That the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among men, and was, and is, the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth; his beloved Son, in whom he is well pleased, and whom we are to hear in all things; who tasted death for every man, and died for sin, that we might die to sin, and by his power and Spirit be raised up to newness of life here, and to glory hereafter. John i. 14. Mat. iii. 17. Heb. ii. 9.

4. "That as we are only justified from the guilt of sin, by Christ the propitiation, and not by works of righteousness that we have done; so there is an absolute necessity that we receive and obey, to unfeigned repentance and amendment of life, the holy light and Spirit of Jesus Christ, in order to obtain that

remission and justification from sin: since no man can be justified by Christ, who walks not after the Spirit, but after the flesh; for whom he sanctifies, them he also justifies. And if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, his precious blood cleanseth us from all sin; as well from the pollution as from the guilt of sin. Rom. iii. 22 to 26. chap. viii. 1, 2, 3, 4. 1 John v. 7.

5. "That Christ is the great light of the world, who lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and is full of grace and truth, and giveth to all, light for light, and grace for grace; and by his light and grace he inwardly appears to man, and teaches such as will be taught by him, 'That denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, they should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world.'

6. "That this light and grace, which is God's gift, through Christ to man, is that which shows us our sins, reproves us for them, and would lead all out of them that obey it, to serve God in fear and love, all their days. And they that turn not at the reproofs thereof, and will not repent and live, and walk according to it, shall die in their sins; and where Christ is gone, they shall never come, who is undefiled, and separated from sinners. Eph. v. 13. John xvi. 7. Prov. i. 20 to 24. John viii. 24.

7. "This is that Spirit by which God prepares the heart to worship him aright; and all the duties of religion, as praying, praising, and preaching, ought to be performed through the sanctifying power and assistance of it; other worship being but formal and will-worship, with which we cannot in conscience join, nor can we maintain or uphold it. Rom. viii. 26. 1 Pet. iv. 10, 11.

8. "Worship in this Gospel-day is inward and spiritual: for God is a spirit, as Christ teacheth, and he will now be worshipped in Spirit and in truth, being most suitable to his Divine nature. Wherefore we wait in our assemblies to feel God's Spirit to open and move upon our hearts, before we dare offer sacrifice to the Lord, or preach to others the way of his kingdom; that we may preach in power as well as words; and as God promised and Christ ordained, without money, and without price. John iv. 23, 24. 1 Thes. i. 5. Isaiah lxv. 1. Rev. xxii. 17. Mat. x. 8.

9. "This also leads us to deny all the vain customs and fashions of the world, and to avoid excess in all things, that our moderation may be seen of all men, because the Lord is at hand to see and judge us, according to our deeds. Tit. ii. 12. Rom. xii. 2. Phil. iv. 5. Eccl. xii. 14. Mat. xvi. 27. Rom. ii. 6. Rev. xx. 12.

10. "We believe in the necessity of the one baptism of Christ, as well as of his one supper, which he promiseth to eat with those that open the door of their hearts to him, being the baptism and supper signified by the outward signs; which, though we disuse, we judge not those that conscientiously practise them. Mat. iii. 11. Eph. iv. 1. 1 Pet. iii. 21, 22. John vi. Rev. iii. 20.

11. "We honour government; for we believe it is an ordinance of God; and that we ought in all things to submit, by doing or suffering; but esteem it a great blessing, where the administration is a terror to evil doers, and a praise to them that do well. Rom. xiii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

"This hath all along been the general stream and tendency both of our ministry and writings, as our books will make appear, notwithstanding what ill-minded and prejudiced persons may have strained to misrepresent us and our Christian profession.

"William Penn, Thomas Story,
"Anthony Sharp, George Rook.

"Dublin, the *4th of the Third month, 1698."

John Plympton also published a paper which he called, "A Quaker no Christian;" which William Penn answered by another entitled, "The Quaker a Christian." He also reprinted the eighth and ninth chapters of his Primitive Christianity Revived; which satisfied the people generally, that Plympton's charges were groundless.

From Dublin William Penn proceeded toward the county of Wexford, and on the 29th, had a large and favoured meeting at Lamb's-town. Here he received a visit from Colonel Butler, an Irishman of the Roman Catholic persuasion, who had been kind to the English in general, and to Friends in particular, during the late wars in that country.

On the 1st of fourth month, he and his companions had a large and satisfactory meeting at Wexford. Soon after this they addressed the following epistle to the Yearly Meeting of London.

"*An Epistle to the Yearly Meeting at London.*

"Lamb's-town, in Ireland, the 2nd of the Fourth month, 1698.

"Dear friends and brethren,

"It is not the least of our exercises that we are thus far outwardly separated from

* This date is erroneous, as it is the day on which they embarked at Holyhead. It probably ought to be the 24th, as they left Cork on the 27th.

you at this time of your holy and blessed solemnity: but because we have great reason to believe it is in the will of God, we humbly submit to his ordering hand, and with open arms of deep and tender love, embrace you, our living, and our loving brethren, who are given up to serve the Lord in your generation, and have long preferred Jerusalem, and the peace and prosperity of her borders, above your chiefest joy. The salutation of our endeared brotherly love in Christ Jesus, is unto you, desiring that he may richly appear among you in power, wisdom and love, to guide your judgments and influence your spirits, in this weighty anniversary assembly, that so nothing may appear, or have place among you, but what singly seeks the honour of the Lord, the exaltation of his Truth, and the peace and establishment of his heritage. For this, brethren, you and we know, has been the aim, end and practice of those whom the Lord hath made willing to forsake and give up all for his name's-sake; and through various exercises and tribulations, yea, in the way of the daily cross, and through the fight and baptism of manifold afflictions, to have their conversation and sojourning here below upon the earth, in fear and love; looking for their reward in the heavens, that shall never pass away, who have not been lifted up by good report, nor cast down by evil report, from their love to the Lord and his precious Truth; but hold on their way, and whose hands being clean of evil things towards all men, have waxed stronger and stronger in the Lord. Wherefore, dear brethren, let us all be found in the same steps, and walking the same way, not being high-minded, but fearing to the end, that we may serve our generation in diligence and faithfulness, and so enter into the rest that God has reserved for his true travellers and labourers in his vineyard.

"And now, dear brethren, know that the Lord hath brought us well into this kingdom of Ireland, and given us many large and blessed opportunities in several parts, meetings being crowded by people of all ranks and persuasions, especially at Dublin, who, for aught we have heard, have given the Truth a good report; and indeed the Lord has mightily appeared for his own name, and owned us with more than an ordinary presence, suitable to the occasions, and made very heavy and hard things easy to us, because of the glory of his power, with which he assisted us in our needful times; for which our souls bow before him, and bless, reverence and praise his holy and worthy name. So that dear brethren, we have good tidings to give you of Truth's prosperity at large, and more especially in the churches, having had the comfort of the General Meeting of this nation, consisting of many weighty brethren and sisters, from all parts thereof, which was held in the city of Dublin in much love, peace and unity for several days; wherein we had occasion to observe their commendable care, for the prosperity of the blessed Truth, in all the branches of its holy testimony, both in the general, and in the particular, improving the good order practised among the churches of Christ in our nation.

"Indeed their simplicity, gravity and coolness, in managing their church affairs; their diligence in meetings, both for worship and business; their despatch in ending differences, and expedients to prevent them, but especially their zeal against covetousness, and indifferency in Truth's service, and exemplary care, to discourage immoderate concern in pursuit of the things of this life, and to excite Friends to do good with what they have, very greatly comforted us. And in the sweet and blessed power of Christ Jesus, the meeting ended, and Friends departed. The Lord grant that you may also see of the travail of your souls and end of your labour and service of love, who seek not your own things, but the things of Jesus Christ, in this your solemn General Meeting.

"And, dear brethren, we must tell you, here is room enough for true labourers in God's vineyard, and cannot well forbear to recommend the service of Truth in this nation, to your serious consideration, if haply the Lord may put it into the hearts of any faithful and weighty brethren, to visit it in the word of eternal life; for we cannot but say, the harvest appears to us to be great, and the labourers in comparison but few: so in that love which many waters cannot quench, nor distance wear out of our remembrances, and in which we desire to be remembered of you to the Lord of our household, we dearly and tenderly salute and embrace you, and remain,

"Your loving and faithful brethren,

"William Penn,
"John Everot,
"Thomas Story.

"POSTSCRIPT.

"Friends here have been zealous and liberal in printing and re-printing, and freely distributing great quantities, and to very good purpose, of several books and papers written in defence of Truth, and for information of the simple and misinformed, which we hope will also fall under your consideration."

Proceeding in company with several other Friends towards Waterford, where a meeting

was appointed to be held at five o'clock in the afternoon, they met with a curious adventure. The parliament of Ireland had made a law, that no papist should be allowed to keep a horse worth more than five pounds and five shillings, and that where any papist was found to be in possession of a horse of that or a greater value, any person, being a protestant, might give information thereof upon oath, to two of their magistrates, and upon paying or tendering that sum to the possessor, in the presence of such magistrates, the ownership of the horse should be vested in the informer. They dined at Ross, which lies on the east side of the bay, Waterford being some distance below on the west. While they were at dinner, four of their horses were seized professedly by virtue of that law. Two of the horses thus seized, being worth little more than the maximum value of a papist's horse, were given up to their owners: but the other two, belonging to William Penn and his son, who appears to have been in the company, were detained as a much more valuable prize. Several horses belonging to some of the company, had been sent over before the seizure was made. William Penn and John Everot, therefore went on to attend the meeting at Waterford, leaving some of the rest to attend to the horses which were detained. They called upon the officer who granted the warrant, where the informers, two military officers, also appeared, and took out a replevin, by which means they regained possession of the horses, and went on to Waterford the same afternoon; but the meeting was over before their arrival. The officers thus prevented from obtaining immediate possession of William Penn's horses, were much enraged, and threatened loudly that they would recover them by law. But William Penn was too well known, to be fleeced of his property under the character of a papist. He wrote to the lords justices of Ireland, complaining of the abuse, and they issued an order confining those officers to their chambers, and commanded them to decline the suit. They were thus confined for several weeks, and at length made application to William Penn, through the medium of some Friends of Cork, and the governor of Waterford, for his intercession with the lords justices for their release. As they appeared to be sensible of their fault, and had withdrawn the suit at Ross, he made the application desired, and procured their discharge.

The meeting at Waterford was very large; the public service of which fell upon William Penn. It was reported that the bishop of the place, and several of his clergy were in his garden, where they could hear what was said, without showing themselves as part of the audience.

From Waterford, they proceeded by way of Clonmel, to Youghall; and on the way passed through some desolate country, where as they were afterwards told, a number of rapparees were lying in ambush for the purpose of seizing William Penn, under the impression that in case they effected his capture they would obtain a great prize. As he was known to possess a large estate in Ireland, these freebooters probably supposed that he carried a large sum with him on his journey. But there were a number of Friends belonging to the company, who from various causes passed the place in detached parties; so that the rapparees did not venture to molest them.

While in that country William Penn took an opportunity of visiting his estates there,* but spent only three days on one, and two on the other; and going forward held meetings at sundry places, till he arrived at Cork. In that city, on the first-day subsequent to his arrival, they had a very crowded meeting, where according to the testimony of Thomas Story, the Lord was mightily with him, clothing him with holy zeal and divine wisdom, to the great satisfaction of Friends, and the admiration of the people.

On the 3rd of fifth month, he had a large and good meeting at Charleyville, which would have been larger but for the management of the priest of the place. The meetings there began after the worship of others was over; but on that day the priest began his sermon rather earlier than usual, and continued to speak until the meeting of Friends was nearly over. But he gained nothing by his craft; for those who were thus detained, hearing from others a high character of the ministry of William Penn, were much displeased with their own pastor; and one of those who attended Friends' meeting told him to his face, that Mr. Penn preached better than he did. In the evening they had another meeting at

* An anecdote related to Thomas Story, at Shannenguay, on William Penn's estate, by a gentlewoman of good understanding and character, appears worthy of recital.

She was in the city of Cork when it was invested by King William's army; and was sitting with a little daughter by her side, under great solicitude on account of their dangerous situation, when she was seized with a sudden fear, and a strong impulse to leave the seat, which she did in a precipitate manner, and hastened to another part of the room. She then felt a like concern for her child, whom she called with uncommon earnestness to come to her; immediately afterwards, a cannon ball struck the seat where they had been sitting, and scattered its fragments about the room, but did no injury to either of them.

the same place, and thence went to Limerick, where they had a laborious meeting on the 5th. From Limerick they went to Birr, where they had a satisfactory meeting in the town-hall, which the chief magistrate, at the instance of William Penn, permitted them to use for that purpose. The priest of the parish, and several persons of quality attended; and the former came in the evening to see William Penn and discourse with him. William gave him a small book explanatory of Friends' principles, which he thankfully received, and took a very respectful leave of him.

Next day they went to Rosenallis, to the habitation of that worthy ancient Friend, William Edmundson, where William Penn remained until the 10th, when he and his companions attended a large meeting at Mountmellick, the company being mostly Friends.

On the following day they proceeded to Edenderry, where they had a large meeting with Friends and others, divers persons of quality, and two Episcopalian priests being of the number. One of these ministers, an ancient man, tenderly confessed the truth of the doctrine which he heard.

They went next to Lurgan, passing through a wild, mountainous country, and had a large meeting there, about two-thirds of the assembly being Friends; in which meeting the ministry of William Penn is described as particularly refreshing. A number of professors of different persuasions, being at that meeting, were convinced that Friends had been much misrepresented in the reports of the day, with regard to their principles, doctrines and manners.

They reached Dublin late in the evening on the seventh-day of the week, where their arrival soon became sufficiently known to collect a large company at each of the meetings on the following day; to which many strangers came. Having remained a few days in that city, they left it and visited Friends at their meetings in sundry places, till they came to Cashel. They were there on the first-day of the week; and a great company filled the house at a very early hour. The bishop of the place, going the same morning to his worship, his hour of meeting being probably something earlier than that of Friends, found the house almost empty, for his auditors were gone or going to the meeting of Friends, so that he had nobody to preach to, but the mayor, the church wardens and a few constables. This making him angry, he sent the mayor and constables to break up the meeting of Friends. When the mayor got to the meeting, William Penn had not come in, but was in an adjoining room. John Vaughton, a Friend from London, was preaching to the people. The mayor could not make his way to the interior of the house, for the throng; but made his proclamation, commanding them, in the king's name, to disperse. The people did not appear disposed to regard the mayor's proclamation, but kept their places; and John Vaughton related to him the substance of a conference which he and some other Friends had with the king, in which he assured them, that if they should be disturbed in their religious assemblies, and would acquaint him with it, he would take care to protect them. He then appealed to the mayor and the audience, to judge whether they ought to obey him, without law, or to accept the royal protection according to law. The mayor did not appear pleased with the business in which he was engaged, having undertaken it in compliance with the command of the bishop, and very readily yielded to a request from William Penn to speak with him in the room where he still was. William Penn treated him with the respect due to his office, and requested that he would retire, and let the bishop know that he would call upon him when their meeting was over; which the mayor accordingly did. William Penn, who had been writing some letters of importance, while the meeting was gathering, then went in, and they had a comfortable meeting, the people appearing generally satisfied with what they heard and felt.

When the meeting was over, William Penn taking two or three Friends with him, called on the bishop, and expostulated with him concerning his conduct in sending the mayor to disturb their meeting in the manner he had done. The bishop apparently convinced that his conduct was not justifiable, acknowledged that he was displeased with the smallness of his auditory, and sent the mayor to disperse their meeting in order to increase his own; but professed to have no ill will to William Penn or to the members of his profession.

But the bishop reflecting afterwards that such a transaction would probably excite considerable notice, and being convinced that unless the meeting was attended with some unusual circumstances, his interference would be judged unlawful, he wrote to the earl of Galloway, and the other lord justice of Ireland, informing them, "That Mr. Penn and the Quakers had gathered such a multitude of people, and so many armed papists, that it struck a terror into him and the town; and not knowing what the consequence might be, he sent the mayor and other magistrates to disperse them; but seeing they had taken no notice of him, or of the civil powers there, he thought it his duty to lay the matter before their lordships, that such remedies might be

applied, as they in their wisdom might think proper, to obviate the danger and ill consequences of such assemblies." This letter the earl afterwards showed to William Penn, who thereupon related the particulars of the case, informing the earl that he saw no armed persons there, unless perhaps a few gentlemen with swords as was usual; but knew nothing of their religious profession. This account satisfied the earl that the bishop's interference was altogether needless and impertinent.

From Cashel, William Penn and his companions went towards Cork, taking meetings in their way; and continued in that city and the neighbourhood until the 19th of sixth month, when they embarked for their native land. Just as he was leaving Ireland, a letter was received from the bishop of Cork, containing some severe animadversions upon the paper called "Gospel Truths," which he had put into his hands. These strictures were not a private communication, but printed and published; and the copy which then came to hand was, no doubt, a printed one. In this work the bishop made no inconsiderable profession of charity and moderation; yet he manifested stronger symptoms of bigotry and intolerance, than of moderation; putting constructions upon several parts of that paper, which ill accorded with a spirit of charity.

As William Penn had an esteem for the man, he must have been much grieved to find his friendly visit, and the information offered to him, so ungraciously received. But there was no time for answering it then. In two days from their embarkation, they landed at Minehead; from whence William Penn and Thomas Story proceeded, without much delay, to his residence at Bristol.

One of his earliest employments after reaching home, was to prepare a reply to the bishop of Cork. In this he had the assistance of Thomas Story, at least in transcribing the sheets and looking out for the appropriate texts, if not in the arrangement of the arguments. Great part of this paper is occupied in exposing the unsound and uncandid statements of the bishop; yet there are some parts of it of general importance, and explanatory of the doctrines of Friends. The subjects of baptism and the supper, in particular, are treated with great clearness and force. It is indeed questionable whether those points are as forcibly illustrated in any other part of William Penn's works.

A few weeks after the publication of this tract we find him at Deptford, in company with some Friends who were about to embark for America. Among this number was Thomas Story, his particular friend and late companion in his visit to Ireland. The latter had been for some time under a religious concern to visit that continent, and was then on board a ship at Deptford, nearly ready to sail. Previous to separating, Friends had a religious opportunity together in the cabin, where they were greatly tendered and comforted by the sensible effusions of heavenly love. After a season of retirement, William Penn was engaged in vocal prayer for the good and preservation of all, and especially for those who were then about to leave them; with thanksgiving also for all the favours of God, and for that holy and precious enjoyment in addition to his many former blessings. Under the tendering impressions thus experienced, they parted; leaving Friends to commence their voyage under a fresh assurance that they were going on their Master's business.

About this time sundry works made their appearance, in which the doctrines of Friends were much misrepresented, as well as their character. One of these was published by Francis Bugg, who had formerly professed with Friends, but had several years before apostatized from them. Another called "The Snake in the Grass," was published anonymously, but the author was discovered to be a nonjuring clergyman.* This latter work was answered by George Whitehead and Joseph Wyeth. William Penn also produced the following short essay, entitled

"*A Testimony to the Truth of God, as held by the people called Quakers: being a short vindication of them, from the abuses and misrepresentations often put upon them by envious apostates, and mercenary adversaries.*

"TO THE READER.

"OCCASION having been given us, which we never sought, we continue to improve it to the further explanation and defence of our so much abused profession; that if possible people may see, at least the more sober and candid, that we are not at that distance from Truth, nor so heterodox in our principles, as we have been by too many, either rashly or interestedly represented: but that we hold the great truths of Christianity, according to the Holy Scriptures, and that the realities of religion are the mark we press after, and to disabuse and awaken people from their false hopes and carnal securities, under which they are too apt to indulge themselves, to their irreparable loss; that by our setting Christian

* The nonjuring clergymen, were such as refused to take the oath of allegiance to William III., and were ejected from their livings on that account.

doctrine in a true light, and reviving and pressing the necessity of a better practice, they may see the obligation they are under to redeem the precious time they have lost, by a more careful employment of that which remains, to a better purpose. In this short vindication of our mistaken principles, the ingenuous reader may easily discern how illy we have been treated, and what hardships we have laboured under, through the prejudice of some, and the unreasonable credulity of others, and that we are a people in earnest for heaven, and in that way our blessed Lord trod for us to glory.

"A TESTIMONY TO THE TRUTH OF GOD, &c.

"By the observation we are led to make from Francis Bugg's late book, upon the bishop of Norwich giving him his recommendatory letter to the clergy, &c., in his diocess, to relieve by a collection, the necessities of that apostate; a copy of which letter the said Francis Bugg has published in his said book; and also by the observation we have made on the malicious attempts of the 'Snake in the Grass,' in his first, second and third editions, which is a disingenuous and unjust collection from Francis Bugg, and some other deserters, of things for the most part, long since answered; as also lately, by the book entitled, 'An Antidote,' &c.

"And lastly, by the observation we have made on the relation subscribed by some of the Norfolk clergy, dated October the 12th, 1698; we cannot forbear thinking, that as their confederacy is deep, so it aims at nothing less than the ruin of us and our posterity, by rendering us blasphemers and enemies to the government, and to be treated as such.

"The Norfolk relation from the clergy aforesaid, charges the said people with blasphemy: first, against God. Secondly, against Jesus Christ. Thirdly, against the Holy Scriptures; with contempt of civil magistracy, and the ordinances which Jesus Christ instituted, viz. baptism by water, and the Lord's supper by bread and wine. And lastly, that the light within, as taught by us, leaves us without any certain rule, and exposes us to the blasphemies aforesaid, with many others.

"Now because these charges refer to doctrine rather than fact, or particular persons, we think ourselves concerned to say something in vindication of our profession, and to wipe off the dirt thereby intended to be cast upon us, in giving our reader a plain account of our principles, free from the perversions of our enemies.

"But to manifest how uncharitably and unjustly the said clergymen have reflected upon the people called Quakers, with respect to the said charges, we are contented that the reader should go no further than their own printed relation, dated November 12th, 1698, not doubting but by that and the letters therewith printed, he will meet with entire satisfaction, with respect to the reasonableness and justice of the Quakers' proceedings in that affair, and how ready they were to come to the test, and to bring the pretended charge upon the stage, and to purge themselves from the guilt of the same: provided they might be accommodated with what the common law allows malefactors, viz. a copy of their indictment; but this could not be obtained. And though the said clergy have thought fit to print the charge in general, without any proof, we think ourselves obliged to vindicate our profession, by freely declaring, as now we do, without any mental reservation, our sincere belief of the very things they most unjustly charge us with denying.

1. "Concerning God.] Because we declare, that God is a God nigh at hand, and that he is according to his promise, become the teacher of his people by his Spirit in these latter days; and that true believers are the temples for him to walk and dwell in, as the apostle teacheth; experiencing something of the accomplishment of this great and glorious Truth among us, and have therefore pressed people earnestly to the knowledge and enjoyment thereof, as the blessing and glory of these latter days; we have been ignorantly, or maliciously represented and treated as heretics and blasphemers, as if we owned no God in heaven above the stars, and confined the holy One of Israel to our beings: Whereas we believe him to be the eternal, incomprehensible, almighty, all-wise and omnipresent God, the Creator and upholder of all things, and that he fills heaven and earth, and that the heaven of heavens cannot contain him; yet he saith by the prophet Isaiah, "To that man will I look, that is poor, and of a contrite spirit, and who trembles at my word." So that for professing that which is the very marrow of the Christian religion, viz. Emmanuel, God with us, we are represented as blasphemers against that God; with whom we leave our innocent and suffering cause. Isaiah vii. 14, l. 28. lviii. 17. lxxvi. 1, 2. 2 Cor. vi. 16. Rev. xxi. 3.

2. "Concerning Jesus Christ.] Because we believe that the Word which was made flesh, and dwelt amongst men, and was and is the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and Truth; his beloved Son, in whom he is well pleased, and whom we ought to hear in all things; who tasted death for every man, and

died for sin, that we might die to sin; is the great Light of the world, and full of grace and truth; and that he lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and giveth them grace for grace, and light for light, and that no man can know God and Christ, whom to know is life eternal, and themselves, in order to true conviction and conversion, without receiving and obeying this holy light, and being taught by the Divine grace; and that without it, no remission, no justification, no salvation, can be obtained, as the Scripture plentifully testifies; and because we therefore press the necessity of people's receiving the inward and spiritual appearance of this Divine Word, in order to a right and beneficial application of whatsoever he did for man, with respect to his life, miracles, sufferings, death, resurrection, ascension and mediation; our adversaries would have us deny any Christ without us. First, as to his Divinity, because they make us to confine him within us. Secondly, as to his humanity or manhood, because as he was the son of Abraham, David and Mary, according to the flesh, he cannot be in us, and therefore we are heretics and blasphemers.

"Whereas we believe him, according to Scripture, to be the son of Abraham, David and Mary, after the flesh, and also God over all, blessed for ever. So that he that is within us, is also without us, even the same who laid down his precious life for us, rose again from the dead, and ever liveth to make intercession for us, being the blessed and alone Mediator between God and man, and him by whom God will finally judge the world, both quick and dead: all which we as sincerely and steadfastly believe, as any other society of people, whatever may be ignorantly or maliciously insinuated to the contrary, either by our declared enemies or mistaken neighbours. Deut. xv. 18. Mic. v. 2. John i. 1, 2, 3. Rev. xxii. 16.

3. "Concerning the Holy Scriptures.] Because we assert the Holy Spirit to be the first great and general rule and guide of true Christians, as that by which God is worshipped, sin detected, conscience convicted, duty manifested, Scripture unfolded and explained, and consequently the rule for understanding the Scriptures themselves, since by it they were at first given forth; from hence our adversaries are pleased to make us blasphemers of the Holy Scriptures, undervaluing their authority, and preferring our own books before them, with more to that purpose.

"Whereas, we in truth and sincerity believe them to be of Divine authority, given by the inspiration of God, through holy men; they speaking or writing them as they were moved by the Holy Ghost: that they are a declaration of those things most surely believed by the primitive Christians, and that as they contain the mind and will of God, and are his commands to us, so they in that respect, are his declaratory word; and therefore are obligatory on us, and are 'profitable for doctrine, reproof, correction and instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, and thoroughly furnished to every good work.'

"Nay, after all, so unjust is the charge, and so remote from our belief concerning the Holy Scriptures, that we love, honour and prefer them, before all books in the world; ever choosing to express our belief of the Christian faith and doctrine in the terms thereof, and rejecting all principles or doctrines whatsoever, that are repugnant thereunto.

"Nevertheless, we are well persuaded, that notwithstanding there is such an excellency in the Holy Scriptures, as we have above declared, yet the unstable and unlearned in Christ's school often wrest them to their own destruction; and upon our reflection on their carnal constructions of them, we are made undervaluers of Scripture itself. But certain it is, that as the Lord hath been pleased to give us the experience of the fulfilling of them in measure, so it is altogether contrary to our faith and practice, to put any manner of slight or contempt upon them, much more to be guilty of what maliciously is suggested against us; since no society of professed Christians in the world, can have a more reverend and honourable esteem for them than we have. John iv. 24 and xvi. 8. Rom. i. 19. Luke i. 1, 2. Tim. iii. 16, 17. 2 Pet. iii. 16.

4. "Concerning magistracy.] Because we have not actively complied with divers statutes, which have been made to force an uniformity to what we had no faith in, but the testimony of our consciences is against, and because, for conscience sake, we could not give those marks of honour and respect, which were and are the usual practice of those who seek honour one of another, and not that honour which comes from God only, but measure and weigh honour and respect in a false balance and deceitful measure, on which, neither magistrate, ruler nor people can depend; we say, because we could not for conscience sake, give flattering titles, &c., we have been rendered as despisers and contemners of magistracy: whereas our principles, often repeated upon the many revolutions that have happened, do evidently manifest the contrary, as well as our peaceable behaviour from the beginning, under all the various forms of government, hath been an undeniable plea in

our favour, when those that also have professed the same principles of non-resistance and passive obedience, have quitted their principles, and yet quarrel with us upon a supposition that we will in time, write after their copy; which, as nothing is more contrary to our principles, faith and doctrine, so nothing can be more contrary to our constant practice.

"For we not only really believe magistracy to be an ordinance of God, but esteem it an extraordinary blessing, where it is a praise to them that do well, and a terror to evil-doers: and that it may be so in this our native land, is the fervent desire of our souls, that the blessing and peace of God may be continued thereupon. Job xxxii. 21. John v. 44. Acts v. 29. 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14.

5. "Concerning baptism.] Because we do not find in any place in the four Evangelists, that Jesus Christ instituted baptism by water, to come in the room of circumcision, or to be the baptism proper to his kingdom, which stands in righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost; we are therefore rendered as contemners of Christ's baptism: Whereas the baptism of Jesus Christ, of which he was Lord and administrator, according to the nature of his office and kingdom, is by John the Baptist declared to be that of fire, not water, and of the Holy Ghost; of which water baptism was but the forerunner, and is, by them that now practice it, called but the outward and visible sign of the inward and spiritual grace; and therefore not the grace itself: which grace, as the apostle saith, is sufficient for us, and we believe, profess and experience it to be come by Jesus Christ, who is the substance of all signs and shadows to true believers; he being no more a Jew or Christian who is one outwardly, by the cutting or washing of the flesh; but he is a Jew or Christian who is one inwardly, and circumcision and baptism are of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter, whose praise is therefore not of men, but of God: and this baptism Christ preferred and recommended at his farewell o his disciples: in reverence and duty to whom, to say nothing of the abuse of water baptism, we decline the use thereof. Mark i. 8. Luke iii. 16. John i. 17. Acts i. 5. Rom. xiv. 17. Rom. ii. 28, 29. 1 Cor. i. 17. 2 Cor. xii. 9.

6. "Concerning breaking bread, &c.] Because we also disuse the outward ceremony of breaking bread and drinking wine, which is commonly called the Lord's supper, we are therefore rendered deniers and contemners of the Lord's supper: Whereas the inward and spiritual grace thereby signified, viz. That bread which came down from heaven, which Christ prefers to the bread the fathers ate in the wilderness, which did not keep them from death, and that cup which he promised to drink new with his disciples in his Father's kingdom, we not only believe, but reverently partake of, to our unspeakable comfort. This is rightly and truly the communion of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, who said, 'Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.' For it is the Spirit that quickens, the flesh profits nothing. It is also his promise to all those who open at his knocks, That he will come in, and sup with them; which inward and spiritual coming, we have both known and testified to, feeling the blessed effects thereof in our souls. And knowing that the outward breaking of bread and drinking of wine, in the way commonly practised, is no more than it is declared to be, viz. 'An outward and visible sign;' why then, should any contend about it, and render us unchristian, for disusing what themselves allow to be but 'an outward and visible sign?' None can reasonably believe it to be an essential part of religion, as is the bread from heaven; of which the outward is, at best, but a signification: but the wine that Christ promised to drink new with his disciples, is such an essential, that without it none have, nor can have eternal life. Mat. xxvi. 29. Mark xiv. 25. John vi. 41, 50, 51, 58, 63. Rev. iii. 20.

7. "Concerning the light of Christ.] Because we assert the sufficiency of the light within, it being the light of Christ, viz. That if men live up to the teaching thereof, in all manner of faithfulness and obedience, they shall not abide in darkness, but have the light of life and salvation, and the blood of Christ shall cleanse them from all sin; our adversaries from thence conceive, that we undervalue the rule of Holy Scriptures and all outward means, as having no need thereof, since we have such a means and rule within us; and that this leaves us without any certain rule, and exposeth us to many blasphemies, &c. Whereas the light within, or Christ by his light inwardly teaching, was never taught by us in opposition to, or contempt of, any outward means that God, in his wisdom and providence, affords us for our edification and comfort, no more than did that blessed apostle, who said, 'Ye need not that any man teach you, but as the same anointing teacheth you all things, and is truth, and is no lie.'

8. "Concerning the Father, the Word, and the Spirit.] Because we have been very cautious in expressing our faith concerning that great mystery, especially in such school terms and philosophical distinctions as are unscriptural, if not unfounded, the tendency whereof hath been to raise frivolous controversies and animosities amongst men, we

have, by those that desire to lessen our Christian reputation, been represented as deniers of the trinity at large.

"Whereas we ever believed, and as constantly maintained the truth of that blessed Holy Scripture. Three, that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word and the Spirit, and that these three are one; the which, we both sincerely and reverently believe, according to 1 John v. 7. And this is sufficient for us to believe and know, and hath a tendency to edification and holiness, when the contrary centers only in imaginations and strife, and in persecution where it runs high and to parties, as may be read in bloody characters in the ecclesiastical histories.

9. "Concerning works.] Because we make evangelical obedience a condition to salvation; and works wrought in us by the Spirit, to be an evidence of faith; and holiness of life, to be both necessary and rewardable; it hath been insinuated against us, as if we hoped to be saved by our own works, and so make them the meritorious cause of our salvation, and that consequently we are popish.

"Whereas we know, that it is not by works of righteousness that we can do, but by his own free grace is he pleased to accept of us through faith in, and obedience to, his blessed Son the Lord Jesus Christ. Heb. v. 9. and xii. 14.

10. "Of Christ's being our example.] Because in some cases we have said the Lord Jesus was our great example, and that his obedience to his Father doth not excuse ours; but as by keeping his commandments, he abode in his Father's love, so must we follow his example of obedience, and so abide in his love; some have been so ignorant, or that which is worse, as to venture to say for us, or in our name, that we believe our Lord Jesus Christ was, in all things, but an example.

"Whereas we confess him to be so much more than an example, that we believe him to be our most acceptable sacrifice to God his Father, who for his sake, will look upon fallen man that hath justly merited the wrath of God, upon his return by repentance, faith and obedience, as if he had never sinned at all. 1 John ii. 12. Rom. iii. 26. and x. 9, 10. Heb. v. 9.

11. "Concerning freedom from sin.] Because we have urged the necessity of a perfect freedom from sin, and a thorough sanctification in body, soul and spirit, whilst on this side the grave, by the operation of the holy and perfect Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ, according to the testimony of Holy Scripture; we are made so presumptuous, as to assert the fulness of all perfection and happiness to be attainable in this life: whereas we are not only sensible of those human infirmities that attend us, whilst clothed with flesh and blood, but know that here we can only know in part, and see in part: the perfection of wisdom, glory and happiness, being reserved for another and better world. John viii. 24, 25. Heb. xiii. 20, 21. Heb. vi.

12. "Concerning worship to God.] Because we say with the apostle, that men ought to pray, preach, sing, &c., with the Spirit, and that without the preparation and assistance of it, no man can rightly worship God, all worship without it being formal and carnal, from hence ignorance or envy suggests against us, that if God will not compel us by his Spirit, he must go without his worship.

"Whereas nothing can be more absurd, since without it no man can truly call Jesus Lord: besides, it is our duty to wait upon him, who hath promised, not to compel, but to fill them with renewings of strength, who so wait upon him, by which they are made capable to worship him acceptably, be it in praying, preaching, or praising of God: and how warrantable our practice herein is from Holy Scripture, see Psalm xxv. 5. xxxvii. 7. xxvii. 14. cxxx. 5, 6. Hosea xii. 6.

13. "Of God and Christ being in man.] Because we say, as do the Holy Scriptures, that God is light, and that Christ is light, and that God is in Christ, and that Christ by his light, lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and dwelleth in them and with them that obey him, in his inward and spiritual manifestations; people have been told by our adversaries, that we believe every man has whole God and whole Christ in him, and consequently so many Gods and Christs, as men.

"Whereas we assert nothing herein, but in the language of the Holy Ghost in the Scriptures of Truth; and mean no more by it, than that as God is in Christ, so Christ by his Spirit and light, dwelleth in the hearts of his people, to comfort and consolate them; as he doth in wicked men, to reprove and condemn them, as well as to call, enlighten and instruct them; that out of that state of condemnation they may come, and by believing in him, may experience their hearts cured of the maladies which sin hath brought upon them, in order to complete salvation from sin here, and from wrath to come hereafter. 2 Cor. v. 9. 1 John i. 5.

14. "Of Christ's coming both in flesh and Spirit.] Because the tendency, generally speaking, of our ministry, is to press people to the inward and spiritual appearance of Christ, by his Spirit and grace in their hearts, to give them a true sight and sense of, and sorrow for, sin, to amendment of life, and practice of holiness: and because we have

often opposed that doctrine of being actually justified by the merits of Christ, whilst actual sinners against God, and living in the pollutions of this wicked world: we are, by our adversaries rendered such as either deny or undervalue the coming of Christ without us, and the force and efficacy of his death and sufferings, as a propitiation for the sins of the whole world.

"Whereas we do, and hope we ever shall, as we always did, confess to the glory of God the Father, and the honour of his dear and beloved Son, that he, to wit, Jesus Christ took our nature upon him, and was like us in all things, sin excepted; that he was born of the virgin Mary, went about amongst men doing good, and working many miracles; that he was betrayed by Judas into the hands of the chief priests, &c. that he suffered death under Pontius Pilate, the Roman governor, being crucified between two thieves, and was buried in the sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea; rose again the third day from the dead, and ascended into heaven, and sits at God's right hand, in the power and majesty of his Father; and that by him, God the Father, will one day judge the whole world, both of quick and dead, according to their works.

15. "Concerning the resurrection.] Because from the authority of Holy Scripture, as well as right reason, we deny the resurrection of the same gross and corruptible body, and are neither over inquisitive, nor critical about what bodies we shall have at the resurrection, leaving it to the Lord, to give us such bodies as he pleases, and with that we are well pleased and satisfied, and wish all others were so too; from hence we are made not only deniers of the resurrection of any body at all, however spiritual or glorified, but eternal rewards too.

"Whereas, if it were true, as it is notoriously false, we were, indeed, of all men, most miserable: but, blessed be God, it is so far from being true, that we most steadfastly believe, that as our Lord Jesus Christ was raised from the dead, by the power of the Father, and was the first fruits of the resurrection, so every man in his own order, shall arise; they that have done well, to the resurrection of eternal life; but they that have done evil, to everlasting condemnation.

"And because we are a people, whose education hath not afforded us an accuracy of language, some passages may perhaps have been mis-expressed, or improperly worded: as for instance, one of us hath denied in his book, the soul to be finite, by which he plainly meant mortal or final, to die or have an end, which finis signifies, from whence finite comes; our uncharitable opposers have concluded, we hold the soul to be infinite, and consequently God: whereas the words before and after, as well as the nature of the things, show plainly, he only meant that it is not finite; that is, not terminable, or that which shall come to an end.

"And also, because we have not declared ourselves about matters of faith, in the many and critical words that man's wisdom teacheth, but in the words which the Holy Ghost teacheth, we have been esteemed either ignorant or equivocal and unsound: whereas it is really matter of conscience to us, to deliver our belief in such words as the Holy Spirit, in Scripture, teacheth; and if we add more for illustration, it is from an experience of the work of the same Spirit in ourselves, which seems to us the truest way of expounding Scripture, in what concerns saving knowledge.

16. "Concerning separation.] Because we are separated from the public communion and worship, it is too generally concluded, that we deny the doctrines received by the church, and consequently introduce a new religion: whereas we differ least, where we are thought to differ most: for setting aside some school terms, we hold the substance of those doctrines believed by the church of England, as to God, Christ, Spirit, Scripture, repentance, sanctification, remission of sin, holy living, and the resurrection of the just and unjust to eternal rewards and punishments. But that wherein we differ most, is about worship and conversation, and the inward qualification of the soul by the work of God's Spirit thereon, in pursuance of these good and generally received doctrines. For it is the Spirit of God only that convinces and converts the soul, and makes those who were dead in trespasses and sins, and in the lusts, pleasures and fashions of this world, alive to God; that is, sensible of his mind and will, and of their duty to do them; and brings to know God and his attributes, by the power of them upon their own souls; and leads to worship God rightly, which is in his Spirit and in Truth, with hearts sanctified by the Truth, which is a living and acceptable worship, and stands in power, not formality, nor in the traditions and prescriptions of men, in synods and convocations, but in the Holy Spirit.

"First, in showing us our real wants, and then in helping our infirmities with sighs and groans, and sometimes words, to pray for a suitable supply, for which we in our meetings wait upon God, to quicken and prepare us, that we may worship him acceptably and profitably, for they go together. Now, because we are satisfied that all worship to God and exhortations to men, as praying, praising and

preaching, and every other religious duty, ought to be spiritually performed; and finding so little of it among professors of Christianity; the Spirit of God having not that rule and guidance of them, in their lives and worship, which it ought to have; and seeing them too generally satisfied with a ministry and worship of man's making, being not qualified, nor led by God's Spirit thereunto; we cannot find that comfort and edification our souls crave and want, under so cold a ministry and worship. And for this cause, and no presumptuous contempt, or selfish separation, or worldly interests, are we, and stand we at this day, a separate people from the public communion; and in this we can comfortably appeal and recommend ourselves to God, the great and last Judge of the acts and deeds of the sons of men.

"Lastly, because at the time of our Friends first appearing in this age, there were a sect of people, newly sprung up, and truly called Ranters, who were the reverse to the Quakers, for they feared and quaked at nothing, but made a mock at fearing of God, and at sin, and at hell; who pretended that love made fear needless, and that nothing was sin, but to them that thought it so; and that none should be damned at last; whose extravagant practices exactly corresponded with their evil principles; from hence, some ignorantly, and too many maliciously involved us and ours with them; and many of their exorbitances were thereby placed to our account, though without the least reason, truth or justice.

"And because some who were convinced of God's Truth, afterwards dishonoured their profession, through their unfaithfulness to it; and some, out of weakness perhaps, may have improperly worded what they intended to say, the whole body of our Friends have been made criminal, and the religion or principles we profess, have been condemned, and represented to the world as heresy and blasphemy; an usage so unjust, that doubtless our adversaries would think it intolerable to be so treated by us.

"But as we desire not to render evil for evil, our great Bishop having taught us another lesson and better practices, so we desire God Almighty to forgive our causeless enemies, for his Son's sake, as we most freely and heartily forgive them: believing some may be zealously affected for their educational form of religion, and zealous against us for our separation; and we are the more inclined to judge so, because many of us were once in the same way, and had such thoughts of those that were gone before us. But it hath pleased the Father of mercies, to do by many of us, as he did by Saul, that zealous, though mistaken persecutor of the sincere followers of Jesus Christ, Acts ix. 3, 4, 5, 6. For as we heard an unusual inward, but powerful voice, so we also had a more inward, clear and distinguishing sight, by the illumination of that light which was more than natural, and shined into our dark and sinful hearts, 2 Cor. iv. 6, 7.; letting us see them, as they really were in God's sight, which naturally affected us with deep sorrow and true humiliation; making us willing to be any thing he would have us be, provided we might have some sense of his love and favour toward us. And blessed be his holy and excellent name, we can without vanity, say, generally speaking, we were not disobedient to that heavenly vision, Acts xxvi. 19, we had of him, ourselves, the world, and that profession of religion, where we had our education. And since by that sight God gave us, we saw he was pure and holy, and that without holiness none ever could, or can see him, to their joy, and that we were unfit to approach his holy altar; yea, the whole world lay in wickedness; and that profession of religion where we had our education, was so far from having the power of godliness, that for the most part it wanted the right form; from such, therefore, we had a Divine authority to turn away, 2 Tim. iii. 5. Which we did, not in a vaunting mind, but with great sorrow; wanting to know where the great Shepherd of the sheep fed his flock, Can. i. 7. For we desired not to be of those that turned aside from the footsteps of the flocks of the companions. Nor was it affectation to popularity, singularity or novelty, that induced us to a separation; but a fervent desire to know the Lord, and the work of his translating power upon our souls, being in earnest for heaven, though for it we lost all our earthly enjoyments. Heb. xi. 14, 15, 16.

"In this solitary and seeking state, it pleased the Lord to meet with us, and gather us into families or religious societies, according to Psalm lxviii. 6. And though it hath been a dear separation to us, considering it cost us the loss of all things, and the great sufferings and afflictions that have attended us in this despised way, which men have called heresy, yet the Lord hath blessed us in it, with the enjoyment of his blessed presence, to our unspeakable joy and comfort.

"To conclude, as it hath pleased the Lord to bless us, in the way we have hitherto been helped to walk, with that great blessing which ushered in the birth of our blessed Lord into the world, viz. 'Glory to God, peace on earth, and good-will to men:' so we earnestly desire the same upon all our neighbours: for though we may not be all of one mind in some doc-

trinal parts of religion, we must of necessity be all of one sentiment in the great and general duty of holiness, or else we can never see God. And if that is our principal aim and endeavour, we shall less fall out by the way, about words, forms, and the outside of tihngs: but universal charity, which is the most excellent way, and without which the best of creeds is but as a sounding brass, &c.; will silence controversy, and blot out all ignominious characters; remembering that the great Judge, at the last day, will determine us, not according to our names, but natures; not our profession, but our lives; not our bare belief, though of unquestionable truths, but works; for God will bring every work to judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good or evil, Eccles. xii. 14."

Near the end of 1698, several clergymen of Norfolk, in consequence of a meeting held by some Friends near the residence of one of them, which produced an increase of members in that neighbourhood, challenged the Friends to a public dispute at West Deerham, in that county. These clergymen had collected a number of books written by Friends, from which they endeavoured to draw conclusions injurious to the character of the Society; but not being able to gain the expected advantage in that way, they resorted to an expedient more congenial to the former age than to their own. They published two tracts, vilifying the people called Quakers, and charging them with blasphemy against God, Jesus Christ, and the holy Scriptures, and with contempt of civil magistrates. These tracts were presented to some of the members of parliament, to prejudice them against the Society and prepare the way for ulterior measures. But these calumnies were not permitted to pass without reply. William Penn briefly noticed them in his "Testimony to the Truth," above mentioned. George Whitehead also answered them, refuting their unfounded assertions, and exposing the ungenerous designs of their authors. Friends took care to present copies of this answer to the members of parliament, to counteract the efforts of these clerical opponents. But as an antidote to these malignant attempts, while this answer was passing through its stages of preparation and the press, William Penn issued the following brief remonstrance, bespeaking the patience of their rulers, till they were better informed.

"It does not surprise us to be evilly entreated, and especially by those that have an interest in doing it. But if conscience prevailed more than contention, and charity over-ruled prejudice, we might hope for fairer quarter from our adversaries.

"But such is our unhappiness, that nothing less will satisfy them, than breaking in upon the indulgence that we enjoy; if they could persuade the government to second their attempts to a new persecution. In order to which, we perceive they have been hard at work, to pervert our books, violate our sense, abuse our practice, and ridicule our persons; knowing very well with whom they have to do, and that the patience of our profession is their security in abusing it.

"However, if it has weight enough with our superiors to expect a fresh defence of our principles and practices, we shall, with God's assistance, be ready for their satisfaction once more, to justify both, against the insults of our restless adversaries: who, otherwise, we take leave to say, would not deserve our notice, since we have already repeatedly answered their objections in print, and think it our duty as well as wisdom, to use the liberty the government has favoured us with, in as peaceable and inoffensive a manner as may be."

These envious priests and their coadjutor Francis Bugg, managed to get up two petitions to parliament, one from Norfolk, and the other from Suffolk; in which the petitioners complained of the increase of this Society and the danger thence arising, not only to the common Christianity of the nation, but to the civil government; taking care to intimate a belief, that many Romish emissaries under the disguise of Quakers, were disseminating their principles among weak Protestants; and earnestly soliciting the parliament to enter into a strict examination of their principles and practices, in order that they might be censured or suppressed, as they should deserve; and that the true Christian religion might be preserved from popish superstitions or enthusiastic innovations. Thomas Ellwood produced a reply, which, in conjunction with the labours of William Penn, George Whitehead and others, was so far effectual that when the petitions were submitted for presentation to the members from those counties, they had the prudence and magnanimity to suppress them; notwithstanding the attendance of two clergymen to promote their introduction.

This appears to have been one of the expiring efforts of a mercenary priesthood, to revive the persecuting statutes of a former age. But the monarch on the throne, and those who managed the national concerns, were possessed of much more liberal and tolerant principles, than their predecessors. And it is no more than justice to William Penn and his brethren, to remark that their

labours, both oral and written, together with their firmness in maintaining their principles, contributed in no inconsiderable degree, to that salutary change.

The following epistle, written about this time, is worthy of a place in these memoirs;

"*Worminghurst, 4th of Third month,* 1699.

"For the Friends, brethren and sisters of the Yearly Meeting at Bristol, for this present year.

"My dearly beloved friends and brethren in the Lord.—Dear and precious is the fellowship of the Lord's people to me, and hath ever been since the first day I knew his precious truth, and tasted of the power and virtue of it in my soul. And though I am providentially hindered of a personal presence and enjoyment of you, (which was as well my design, as desire) yet my spirit is with you, and my life has a feeling with yours, in the heavenly spirit in which my heart loves, remembers, and embraces you, ye worthies and faithful. O! The Lord God of my life shed abroad of his refreshing and confirming power among you, and by his beloved and only begotten Son, preside in the midst of you, that the Divine oracle being opened in you, all may be comforted and edified to his praise, that hath called and chosen you in this the day of his love, to be a people to him, to bear his name and show forth the excellency of his power, wisdom and goodness, to the sons and daughters of men. O! Let none carnally or carelessly hold forth his glorious name, but in fear, watchfulness, prayer, and obedience, long-suffering, patience, self-denial, and love unfeigned. So let them adorn their holy profession; then shall Truth's righteousness go forth as brightness, and her salvation as the lamp that burns; and envy shall be confounded, and ignorance rebuked, and the blind shall see, and the wicked be disappointed. For it is an evil day in several respects, and calls for faithfulness and diligence, and blessed shall they be that are not offended in him, notwithstanding the many contradictions of sinners; nor are weary of well doing, as though the Lord were slack concerning his precious promises to his people.

"So, my dear friends of all ranks and degrees, in gifts and attainments, stations and services, in and for the Lord's blessed truth, let us mind our daily particular duty, and the Lord will be sure to give every one of us our daily bread; he will not miss one. Faithfulness never was disregarded or unrewarded of him. It is the cold and indifferent that shall dwell in a dry land, but the willing and obedient shall both eat and inherit the good of the good land. And let all such as enjoy the Lord's bounty, and feed at a full table, eat and drink worthily, which is in fear; and remember poor Joseph in his afflictions, and not wax high and wanton, lest they forget the rock from whence they were hewn, and the pit from whence they were dug, as if they bore the root, and not the root them. But let such remember and sympathize with the suffering seed of God in the world, that travailed for them, and in it travail for its resurrection in all; that others thereby with them may come to know the glorious liberty of the sons of God.

"Fathers and elders, young men and little children in the Truth, and church of Christ, among you, the God of peace that raised up Jesus from the dead (both within and without you, and being risen and exalted, has in measure drawn you, with many thousands after him, even the Lamb, slain from the foundation of the world, that was dead, and is alive, for we feel it, and shall live forever, and we in and with him, as in his light, the just man's path, we walk to the end, be with all your spirits together and asunder, and bind you up in his bundle of life, love and power, to his service and glory, and your everlasting joy. So says, and prays in love that has lived through the fire, and through the water, over sea and land, to you, and all God's heritage,

"Your tenderly affectioned and faithful friend and brother,

"William Penn."

CHAPTER XXVII.

About fifteen years had now passed away since William Penn left his province in America. In the year to which we have arrived, he found his way open to return. On his former visit, we may remember, he left his family behind; but he now resolved upon taking his wife and children with him; expecting in all probability to spend the remainder of his days in Pennsylvania.

In the course of this year, 1699, and probably while he was preparing for his American voyage, he wrote the following tract, which is a valuable compendium of Christian morality, deserving the serious perusal of every person, especially those in the early walks of life.

SECTION I.

"*The advice of William Penn to his children, relating to their civil and religious conduct.*

"My dear children,

"Not knowing how long it may please God to continue me amongst you, I am willing to embrace this opportunity of leaving you my

advice and counsel, with respect to your Christian and civil capacity and duty in this world: and I both beseech you and charge you, by the relation you have to me, and the affection I have always shown to you, and indeed received from you, that you lay up the same in your hearts, as well as your heads, with a wise and religious care.

"I will begin with that which is the beginning of all true wisdom and happiness, the holy fear of God.

"Children, fear God; that is to say, have an holy awe upon your minds to avoid that which is evil, and a strict care to embrace and do that which is good. The measure and standard of which knowledge and duty, is the light of Christ in your consciences, by which, as in John iii. 20, 21., you may clearly see if your deeds, aye and your words and thoughts too, are wrought in God or not; for thoughts are the deeds of the mind, for which you must be judged. I say with this Divine light of Christ in your consciences, you may bring your thoughts, words and works, to judgment in yourselves, and have a right true sound and unerring sense of your duty towards God and man. And as you come to obey this blessed light in its holy convictions, it will lead you out of the world's dark and degenerate ways and works, and bring you unto Christ's way and life, and to be of the number of his true self-denying followers, to take up your cross for his sake, who bore his for yours; and to become the children of the light, putting it on, as your holy armour; by which you may see and resist the fiery darts of satan's temptations, and overcome him in all his assaults.

"I would a little explain this to you. Christ is called light, John i. 9, chapter iii. 19, 20, 21, and chapter viii. 12. Eph. v. 8, 13, 14. 1 Thes. v. 5. First Epistle of John i. 5, 6, 7. Rev. xxi. 23., because he gives man a sight of his sin. And he is also called the quickening Spirit; and the Lord from heaven, as 1 Cor. xv. 45, 47, who is called and calls himself the Light of the world, John viii. 12, and why is he called the Spirit? Because he gives man spiritual life. And John xvi. 8. Christ promised to send his Spirit to convince the world of their sins: wherefore that which convinces you and all people of their sins, is the Spirit of Christ. This is highly prized, Rom. viii. as you may read in that great and sweet chapter, for the children of God are led by it. This reveals the things of God, that appertain to man's salvation and happiness, as 1 Cor. ii. 10, 11, 12. It is the earnest God gives his people. 2 Cor. v. 5. It is the great end and benefit and blessing of the coming of Christ, viz. The shining forth of this light and pouring forth of this spirit. Yea, Christ is not received by them that resist his light and Spirit in their hearts; nor can they have the benefit of his birth, life, death, resurrection, intercession, &c., who rebel against the light. God sent his Son to bless us, in turning us from the evil of our ways: therefore have a care of evil, for that turns you away from God; and wherein you have done evil, do so no more: but be ye turned, my dear children, from evil, in thought, as well as in word and deed, or that will turn you from God, your Creator, and Christ whom he has given you for your Redeemer; who redeems and saves his people from their sins. Tit. ii. 14., not in their sins. Read Acts ii. and Heb. viii. and the Christian dispensation will appear to be that of the Spirit, which sin quencheth, hardens the heart against, and bolts the door upon. This holy Divine principle is called grace too, 1 Tit. ii. 11, 12., there you will see the nature and office of it, and its blessed effects upon those that were taught of it in the primitive days. And why grace? Because it is God's love and not our desert, his goodwill, his kindness. 'He so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son into the world, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life;' and this holy Son is declared in John i. 14, 16, to be full of grace and truth, and that of his grace we receive grace for grace, that is, we receive of him the fulness, what measure of grace we need. And the Lord told Paul in his great trials, when ready to stagger about the sufficiency of the grace he had received, to deliver him, 'My grace is sufficient for thee.' O children, love the grace, hearken to this grace, it will teach you, it will sanctify you, it will lead you to the rest and kingdom of God, as it taught the saints of old first, what to deny, viz: 'To deny ungodliness and worldly lusts;' and then what to do, viz: 'to live soberly, righteously and godly in this present world.' And he who is full of grace, is full of light, and he who is full of light is the quickening Spirit, who gives a manifestation of his Spirit to every one to profit with. 1 Cor. xii. 7. And he that is the quickening Spirit is the Truth. I am the way, the truth and the life, said he, to his poor followers, John xiv. 6. And if the Truth make you free, said he to the Jews, then are you free indeed. John viii. 32, 36. And this Truth sheds abroad itself in man, and begets truth in the inward parts, and makes false, rebellious, hypocritical man, a true man to God again. Truth in the inward parts is of great price with the Lord. And why is it called Truth? Because it tells man the truth of his spiritual state; it shows him his state, deals plainly with him, and sets his

sins in order before him. So that my dear children, the light, spirit, grace and truth are not divers principles, but divers words or denominations given to one eternal power and heavenly Spirit in you, though not of you, but of God, according to the manifestation or operation thereof in the servants of God of old time: light to discover and give discerning: Spirit to quicken and enliven: grace, to wit, the love of God: Truth, because it tells man the truth of his condition, and redeems him from the errors of his ways; that as darkness, death, sin and error are the same, so light, spirit, grace and Truth are the same.

"This is that which is come by Christ, and a measure of this light, spirit, grace and truth, is given to every man and woman to see their way to go by. This is that, which distinguishes Friends from all other societies, as they are found walking in the same, which leads out of the vain honours, compliments, lusts and pleasures of the world.

"O my dear children, this is the pearl of price, part with all for it, but never part with it for all the world. This is the Gospel leaven, to leaven you, that is, sanctify and season you in body, soul and spirit, to God, your heavenly Father's use and service, and your own lasting comfort. Yea, this is the Divine and incorruptible Seed of the kingdom; of which all truly regenerate men and women, christians of Christ's making, are born. Receive it into your hearts, give it room there, let it take deep root in you, and you will be fruitful unto God in every good word and work. As you take heed to it and the holy enlightenings and motions of it, you will have a perfect discerning of the spirit of this world, in all its appearances in yourselves and others; the motions, temptations and workings of it, as to pride, vanity, covetousness, revenge, uncleanness, hypocrisy and every evil way; you will see the world in all its shapes and features, and you will be able to judge the world by it, and the spirit of the world in all its appearances: you will see as I have done that there is much to deny, much to suffer and much to do: and you will see that there is no power or virtue, but in the light, spirit, grace and truth of Christ, to carry you through the world to God's glory and your everlasting peace. Yea, you will see what religion is from above, and what is from below; what is of God's working, and of man's making and forcing; also what ministry is of his Spirit and giving, and what of man's studying, framing and imposing. You will, I say, discern the rise, nature, tokens and fruits of the true from the false ministry, and what worship is spiritual, and what carnal; and what honour is of God, and what that honour is, which is from below, of men, yea, fallen men, which the Jews and the world so generally love, and which is spoken against in John v. 44. You will see the vain and evil communication, that corrupts good manners; the snares of much company and business, and especially the danger of the friendship of this present evil world. And you will also see, that the testimony unto which the eternal God hath brought our poor Friends, as to religion, worship, truth-speaking, ministry, plainness, simplicity, and moderation in apparel, furniture, food, salutation, as you may read in their writings, from the very beginning, is a true and heavenly testimony of his mind, will, work and dispensation in this last age of the world to mankind, being the revival of true primitive Christianity: where your most tender father prays that you may be kept, and charges you to watch that you may be preserved in the faith and practice of that blessed testimony; and count it no small mercy from God, and honour to you, that you come of parents who counted nothing too dear or near to part with, nor too great to do or suffer, that they might approve themselves to God, and testify their love to his most precious Truth in the inward parts, in their generation.

"I do also charge you, my dear children, to retain in your remembrance those worthy ancients in the work of Christ, who remained alive to your day and memory, and yet remain to your knowledge; more especially that man of God and prince in Israel, the first-born and begotten of our day and age of truth, and the first and the great early instrument of God amongst us, George Fox. And what you have heard, seen and observed, of those heavenly worthies, their holy wisdom, zeal, love, labours and sufferings, and particular tenderness to you, treasure up for your children after you, and tell them what you have heard, seen and known, of the servants and work of God, and progress thereof, as an holy, exemplary, and edifying tradition unto them. And be sure, that you forsake not the assembling yourselves with God's people, as the manner of some was, Heb. x. 25., and is at this day, especially among young people, the children of some Friends, whom the love of this present evil world hath hurt and cooled in their love to God and his Truth. But do you keep close to meetings, both of worship and business of the church, when of an age and capacity proper for it; and that not out of novelty, formality, or to be seen of men, but in pure fear, love and conscience to God your Creator, as the public, just and avowed testimony of your duty and homage to him. In which be exemplary both by timely coming

and a reverent and serious deportment during the assembly; in which, be not weary or think the time long till it be over, as some did of the sabbaths of old; but let your eye be to him whom you come to wait upon and serve, and do what you do as to him, and he will be your refreshment and reward; for you shall return with the seals and pledges of his love, mercy and blessings.

"Above all things, my dear children, as to your communion and fellowship with Friends, be careful to keep the unity of the faith in the bond of peace. Have a care of reflectors, detractors and backbiters, who undervalue and undermine brethren behind their backs, or slight the good and wholesome order of Truth, for preserving things quiet, sweet and honourable in the church. Have a care of novelties and airy changeable people, the conceited, censorious and puffed up; who at last have always shown themselves to be clouds without rain, and wells without water; who will rather disturb and break the peace and fellowship of the church, where they dwell, than not have their wills and ways take place. I charge you in the fear of the living God, that you carefully beware of all such: mark them as the apostle says, Rom. xvi. 17, and have no fellowship with them; but to advise, exhort, entreat and finally reprove them. Eph. v. 11. For God is and will be with his people in this holy dispensation which we are now under, and which is amongst us, unto the end of days: it shall grow and increase in gifts, graces, power and lustre, for it is the last and unchangeable one: and blessed are your eyes, if they see it, and your ears if they hear it, and your hearts if they understand it; which I pray that you may to God's glory and your everlasting comfort.

"Having thus expressed myself to you, my dear children, as to the things of God, his Truth and kingdom, I refer you to his light, grace, Spirit and Truth within you, and to the Holy Scriptures of Truth without you, which from my youth I loved to read, and were ever blessed to me, and which I charge you to read daily; the Old Testament for history chiefly, the Psalms for meditation and devotion, the prophets for comfort and hope, but especially the New Testament for doctrine, faith and worship: for they were given forth by holy men of God in divers ages, as they were moved of the holy Spirit; and they are the declared and revealed mind and will of the holy God to mankind, under divers dispensations, and they are certainly able to make the man of God perfect, through faith unto salvation; being a true and clear testimony to the salvation that is of God, through Christ the second Adam, the light of the world, the quickening Spirit, who is full of grace and truth; whose light, grace, Spirit and Truth bear witness to them in every sensible soul, as they frequently, plainly and solemnly bear testimony to the light, spirit, grace and truth, both in himself and in and to his people, to their sanctification, justification, redemption and consolation; and in all men to their visitation, reproof and conviction of their evil ways. I say, having thus expressed myself in general, I refer you, my dear children, to the light and Spirit of Jesus, that is within you, and to the Scriptures of Truth without you, and such other testimonies to the one same eternal Truth as have been borne in our day; and shall now descend to particulars, that you may more directly apply what I have said in general both as to your religious and civil direction in your pilgrimage upon earth.

SECTION II.

"I will begin here also, with the beginning of time, the morning: so soon as you wake, retire your minds into a pure silence, from all thoughts and ideas of worldly things, and in that frame wait upon God, to feel his good presence, to lift up your hearts to him, and commit your whole self into his blessed care and protection. Then rise, if well, immediately: being dressed, read a chapter or more in the Scriptures, and afterwards dispose yourselves for the business of the day; ever remembering that God is present, the overseer of all your thoughts, words and actions; and demean yourselves, my dear children, accordingly; and do not you dare to do that in his holy all-seeing presence, which you would be ashamed a man, yea a child, should see you do. As you have intervals, from your lawful occasions, delight to step home, within yourselves, I mean, and commune with your own hearts, and be still; and as Nebuchadnezzar said on another occasion, you shall find and enjoy one like the Son of God, with you and in you; a treasure the world knows not of, but which is the aim, end and diadem of the children of God. This will bear you up against all temptations, and carry you sweetly and evenly through your day's business, supporting you under disappointments, and moderating your satisfaction in success and prosperity. The evening being come, read again the holy Scripture, and have your times of retirement before you close your eyes, as in the morning; that so the Lord may be the Alpha and Omega of every day of your lives. And if God bless you with families, remember good Joshua's resolution, 'But as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord.'

"Fear God: show it in desire, refraining and doing: keep the inward watch; keep a clear soul and a light heart. Mind an inward sense, upon doing anything; when you read the Scripture, remark the most notable places, as your spirits are most touched and affected, in a common-place book, with that sense or opening which you receive; for they come not by study or in the will of man, no more than the Scripture did; and they may be lost by carelessness, and the over growing thoughts and business of this life; so in perusing any other good or profitable book; yet rather meditate than read much. For the spirit of a man knows the things of a man, and with that spirit, by observation of the tempers and actions of men you see in the world, and looking into your own spirit and meditating thereupon, you will have a deep and strong judgment of men and things. For from what may be, what should be, and what is most probable or likely to be, you can hardly miss in your judgment of human affairs; and you have a better spirit than your own, in reserve for a time of need, to pass the final judgment in important matters.

"In conversation, mark well what others say or do, and hide your own mind, at least till last; and then open it as sparingly as the matter will let you. A just observance and reflection, upon men and things, give wisdom; these are the great books of learning seldom read. The laborious bee draws honey from every flower. Be always on your watch, but especially in company: then be sure to have your wits about you, and your armour on; speak last and little, but to the point. Interrupt none; anticipate none: 'Be quick to hear, slow to speak.' It gives time to understand, and ripens an answer. Affect not words, but matter, and chiefly to be pertinent and plain: truest eloquence is plainest, and brief speaking, I mean brevity and clearness, to make yourselves easily understood by every body, and in as few words as the matter will admit of, is the best.

"Prefer the aged, the virtuous and the knowing, and choose those that excel for your company and friendship, but despise not others. Return no answer to anger, unless with much meekness, which often turns it away: but rarely make replies, less rejoinders; for these add fuel to the fire. It is a wrong time to vindicate yourselves, the true ear being then never open to hear it. Men are not themselves, and know not well what spirits they are of: silence, to passion, prejudice and mockery, is the best answer, and often conquers what resistance inflames.

"Learn and teach your children fair writing, and the most useful parts of mathematics, and some business when young, whatever else they are taught. Cast up your income and live on half; if you can, on one third, reserving the rest for casualties, charities, portions. Be plain in clothes, furniture and food, but clean, and then the coarser the better, the rest is folly and a snare. Therefore, next to sin, avoid daintiness and choiceness about your persons and houses. For if it be not an evil in itself, it is a temptation to it; and may be accounted a nest for sin to brood in. Avoid differences; what are not avoidable, refer, and keep awards strictly and without grudgings; read Prov. xviii. 17, 18. xxv. 8. Mat. v. 38 to 41. 1 Cor. i. 10 to 13. It is good counsel.

"Be sure to draw your affairs into as narrow a compass as you can, and into method and proportion, time and other requisites proper for them. Have very few acquaintances and fewer intimates, but of the best in their kind. Keep your own secrets, and do not covet others, but if trusted, never reveal them, unless mischievous to some body; nor then, before warning the party to desist and repent. Trust no man with the main chance, and avoid to be trusted. Make few resolutions, but keep them strictly. Prefer elders and strangers on all occasions; be rather last than first in conveniency and respect; but first in all virtues.

"Have a care of trusting to after games, for then there is but one throw for all; and precipices are ill places to build upon. Wisdom gains time, is before hand, and teaches to choose seasonably and pertinently; therefore ever strike while the iron is hot. But if you lose an opportunity, it differs in this from a relapse; less caution and more resolution and industry must recover it.

"Above all, remember your Creator: remember yourselves and your families, when you have them, in the youthful time and fore part of your life; for good methods and habits obtained then, will make you easy and happy the rest of your days. Every estate has its snare: youth and middle age, pleasure and ambition; old age, avarice. Remember, I tell you, that man is a slave where either prevails. Beware of the pernicious lusts of the eye and the flesh, and the pride of life, which are not of the Father, but of the world. Get higher and nobler objects, for your immortal part, my dear children, and be not tied to things without you; for then you can never have the true and free enjoyment of yourselves, to better things; no more than a slave, in Algiers, has of his house or family in London. Be free, live at home, in yourselves I mean, where greater treasures lie hidden, than in the Indies. The pomp, honour and luxury of the world, are cheats, and the

unthinking and inconsiderate are taken by them. But the retired man is upon higher ground; he sees and is aware of the trick, contemns the folly and bemoans the deluded. This very consideration, doubtless, produced those two passions in the two greatest gentiles of their time, Democritus and Heraclitus; the one laughing, the other weeping, for the madness of the world, to see so excellent and reasonable a creature as man, so meanly trifling and lavishly employed.

"Choose God's trades before men's: Adam was a gardener, Cain a ploughman, and Abel a grazier or shepherd: these began with the world, and have least of snare and most of use. When Cain became a murderer, as a witty man said, he turned a builder of cities, and quitted his husbandry: mechanics, as handicrafts, are also commendable, but they are but a second brood and younger brothers. If grace employ you not, let nature and useful arts; but avoid curiosity there also, for it devours much time to no profit. I have seen the ceiling of a room, that cost half as much as the house; a folly and sin too.

"Have but few books, but let them be well chosen and well read, whether of religious or civil subjects. Shun fantastic opinions: measure both religion and learning by practice; reduce all to that, for that brings a real benefit to you, the rest is a thief and a snare. And indeed, reading many books is but taking off the mind too much from meditation. Reading yourselves and nature, in the dealings and conduct of men, is the truest human wisdom. The spirit of a man knows the things of man, and more true knowledge comes by meditation and just reflection, than by reading; much reading is an oppression of the mind, and extinguishes the natural candle; which is the reason of so many senseless scholars in the world.

"Do not that which you blame in another. Do not that to another which you would not another should do to you. But above all, do not that in God's sight which you would not man should see you do.

"That you may order all things profitably, divide your day: a share of time for your retirement and worship of God; a proportion for your business; in which remember to ply that first which is first to be done; so much time for yourselves, be it for study, walking, visits, &c. In this be first, and let your friends know it, and you will cut off many impertinences and interruptions, and save a treasure of time to yourselves, which people most unaccountably lavish away. And to be more exact, for much lies in this, keep a short journal of your time, though a day require but a line; many advantages flow from it.

"Keep close to the meetings of God's people; and wait diligently at them, to feel the heavenly life in your hearts. Look for that more than words in ministry, and you will profit most. Above all look to the Lord, but despise not instruments, man or woman, young or old, rich or poor, learned or unlearned.

"Avoid discontented persons, unless to inform or reprove them. Abhor detraction, the sin of fallen angels, and the worst of fallen men. Excuse faults in others, own them in yourselves, and forgive them against yourselves, as you would have your heavenly Father and Judge forgive you. Read Prov. xvii. 9. and Mat. vi. 14, 15. Christ returns and dwells upon that passage of his prayer, above all the rest, forgiveness, the hardest lesson to man, who of all other creatures most needs it.

"Be natural; love one another; and remember, that to be void of natural affection, is a mark of apostacy set by the apostle, 2 Tim. iii. 3. Let not time, I charge you, wear out nature. It may wear out kindred according to custom, but it is an ill one, therefore follow it not. It is a great fault in families at this day: have a care of it, and shun that unnatural carelessness. Live as near as you can, visit often, correspond oftener, and communicate with kind hearts to one another, in proportion to what the Lord gives you; and do not be close, nor hoard up from one another as if you had no right or claim in one another, and did not descend of one most tender father and mother.

"What I write is to yours, as well as you, if God gives you children. And in case a prodigal should ever appear among them, make not his folly an excuse to be strange or close, and so to expose such an one to more evil. But show bowels, as John did to the young man that fell into ill company, whom with love he reclaimed, after His example that sends his sun and rain upon all.

"Love silence, even in the mind; for thoughts are to that, as words to the body, troublesome; much speaking, as much thinking, spends, and in many thoughts, as well as words, there is sin. True silence is the rest of the mind, and is to the spirit, what sleep is to the body, nourishment and refreshment. It is a great virtue; it covers folly, keeps secrets, avoids disputes, and prevents sin.

"The wisdom of nations lies in their proverbs, which are brief and pithy; collect and learn them, they are notable measures and directions for human life; you have much in little; they save time in speaking; and upon occasion, may be the fullest and safest answers.

"Never meddle with other folks' business,

and less with the public, unless called to the one by the parties concerned, in which move cautiously and uprightly; and required to the other by the Lord in a testimony for his name and Truth; remembering that old, but most true and excellent proverb, He lives happily who lives hiddenly or privately, for he lives quietly. It is a treasure to them that have it: study it, get it, keep it; too many miss it who might have it: the world knows not the value of it. It doubles man's life, by giving him twice the time to himself, that a large acquaintance or much business will allow him.

"Have a care of resentment, or taking things amiss, a natural, ready and most dangerous passion; but be apter to remit than resent, it is more christian and wise. For as softness often conquers, where rough opposition fortifies; so resentment, seldom knowing any bounds, makes many times greater faults than it finds; for some people have out-resented their wrong so far, that they made themselves more faults by it, by which they cancel the debt through a boundless passion, overthrow their interest and advantage, and become debtor to the offender.

"Rejoice not at the calamity of any, though they be your enemies. Envy none; it is God who maketh rich and poor, great and small, high and low.

"Be entreatable. Never aggravate. Never revile or give ill names. It is unmannerly as well as unchristian. Remember Mat. v. 22, where it is said, 'He that calls his brother fool, is in danger of hell-fire.'

"Be not morose or conceited; one is rude, the other troublesome and nauseous. Avoid questions and strife; it shows a busy and contentious disposition.

"Add no credit to a report upon conjecture, nor report to the hurt of any. Beware of jealousy, except it be godly, for it devours love and friendship; it breaks fellowship, and destroys the peace of the mind. It is a groundless and evil surmise.

"Be not too credulous; read Prov. xiv. 15. Caution is a medium, I recommend it. Speak not of religion, neither use the name of God, in a familiar manner.

"Meddle not with government; never speak of it, let others say or do as they please. But read such books of law as relate to the office of a justice, a coroner, sheriff and constable; also the doctor and student; some book of clerkship, and a treatise of wills, to enable you about your own private business only, or a poor neighbour's. For it is a charge I leave with you and yours, meddle not with the public, neither business nor money; but understand how to avoid it, and defend yourselves, upon occasion, against it. For much knowledge brings sorrow, and much doing more. Therefore know God, know yourselves; love home, know your own business and mind it, and you have more time and peace than your neighbours.

"If you incline to marry, then marry your inclination rather than your interest: I mean what you love, rather than what is rich. But love for virtue, temper, education and person, before wealth or quality, and be sure you are beloved again. In all which, be not hasty, but serious; lay it before the Lord, proceed in his fear, and be you well advised. And when married, according to the way of God's people, used among Friends, out of whom only choose; strictly keep covenant. Avoid occasion of misunderstanding; allow for weaknesses, and variety of constitution and disposition; and take care of showing the least disgust or misunderstanding to others, especially your children. Never lie down with any displeasure in your minds, but avoid occasions of dispute and offence. Overlook and cover failings. Seek the Lord for one another; wait upon him together, morning and evening, in his holy fear, which will renew and confirm your love and covenant: give way to nothing that would in the least violate it: use all means of true endearment, that you may recommend and please one another; remembering that your relation and union is the figure of Christ's to his church; therefore, let the authority of love only bear sway your whole life.

"If God give you children, love them with wisdom, correct them with affection: never strike in passion, and suit the correction to their age as well as fault. Convince them of their error before you chastise them, and try them, if they show remorse, before severity; never use that but in case of obstinacy or impenitency. Punish them more by their understandings than the rod, and show them the folly, shame and undutifulness of their faults, rather with a grieved than an angry countenance, and you will sooner affect their natures, and with a nobler sense, than a servile and rude chastisement can produce. I know the methods of some are severe corrections for faults, and artificial praises when they do well, and sometimes rewards. But this course awakens passions worse than their faults; for one begets base fear, if not hatred; the other pride and vain-glory, both which should be avoided in a religious education of youth; for they equally vary from it, and deprave nature. There should be the greatest care imaginable, what impressions are given to children. That method which earliest awakens their understandings to love,

duty, sobriety, and just and honourable things, is to be preferred. Education is the stamp parents give their children; they pass for what they breed them, or less value perhaps, all their days. The world is in nothing more wanting and reprovable, both in precept and example; they do with their children as with their souls, put them out at livery for so much a year. They will trust their estates or shops with none but themselves, but for their souls and posterity they have less solicitude. But do you breed your children yourselves; I mean as to their morals, and be their bishops and teachers in the principles of conversation: as they are instructed, so they are likely to be qualified, and your posterity by the precepts and examples which they receive from yours. And were mankind herein more cautious, they would better discharge their duty to God and posterity; and their children would owe them more for their education than for their inheritances. Be not unequal in your love to your children, at least in the appearances of it; it is both unjust and indiscreet: it lessens love to parents, and provokes envy among children. Let them wear the same clothes, eat of the same dish, have the same allowance as to time and expense. Breed them to some employment, and give all equal. Teach them also frugality, and they will not want substance for their posterity. A little beginning, with industry and thrift, will make an estate; but there is a great difference between saving and sordidness. Be not scanty any more than superfluous; but rather make bold with yourselves, than be strait to others; therefore let your charity temper your frugality and theirs.

"What I have written to you, I have written to your children and theirs.

"Servants you will have, but remember, the fewer the better, and those rather aged than young; you must make them such, or dispose of them often. Change is not good, therefore choose well, and the rather because of your children; for children, thinking they can take more liberty with servants than with their parents, often choose the servants company, and if they are idle, wanton, ill examples, children are in great danger of being perverted. Let them therefore be Friends, and such as are well recommended: let them know their business as well as their wages; and as they do the one, pay them honestly the other. Though servants, yet remember they are brethren in Christ, and that you also are but stewards, and must account to God. Wherefore let your moderation appear unto them, and that will provoke them to diligence for love rather than fear, which is the truest and best motive to service. In short, as you find them, so keep, use and reward them, or dismiss them.

"Distrust is of the nature of jealousy, and must be warily entertained upon good grounds, or it is injurious to others, and instead of being safe, is troublesome to you. If you trust little, you will have but little cause to distrust. Yet I have often been whispered to in myself of persons and things, at first sight and motion, that hardly ever failed to be true; though by neglecting the sense, or suffering myself to be argued or importuned from it, I have more than once failed of my expectation. Have therefore a most tender and nice regard to those first and unpremeditated sensations.

"For your conduct in your business, and in the whole course of your life, though what I have said to you, and recommended you to, might be sufficient; yet I will be more particular as to those good and gracious qualifications, with which I pray God Almighty to season and accomplish you, to his glory and your temporal and eternal felicity.

SECTION III.

"Be humble: it becomes a creature; a depending and borrowed being, that lives not of itself, but breathes in another's air with another's breath, and is accountable for every moment of time, and can call nothing its own, but is absolutely a tenant at will of the great Lord of heaven and earth. And of this excellent quality you cannot be wanting, if you dwell in the holy fear of the omnipresent and all seeing God: for that will show you your vileness and his excellency, your meanness and his majesty, and withal, the sense of his love to such poor worms, in the testimonies he gives of his daily care, mercy and goodness; that you cannot but be abased, laid low and humbled. I say, the fear and love of God beget humility, and humility fits you for God and men. You cannot step well amiss, if this virtue dwell richly in you; for then God will teach you. The humble he teacheth his ways, and they are all pleasant and peaceable to his children: yea, he 'giveth grace to the humble, but resisteth the proud.' 'He regardeth the proud afar off.' They shall not come near him, nor will he hear them in the day of their distress. Humility seeks not the last word, nor the first place. She offends none, but prefers others, and thinks lowly of herself; is not rough or self-conceited, high, loud or domineering; blessed are they that enjoy her. 'Learn of me,' said Christ, 'for I am meek and lowly in heart.' He washed his disciples' feet. Indeed himself was the greatest

pattern of it. Humility goes before honour. There is nothing shines more clearly through christianity than humility. Of this the holy Author of it is the greatest instance. He was humble in his incarnation; for he that thought it no robbery to be equal with God, humbled himself to become a man; and many ways made himself of no reputation. As first, in his birth or descent: it was not of the princes of Judah, but of a virgin of low degree, the espoused of a carpenter; and so she acknowledges in her heavenly anthem, or ejaculation, speaking of the great honour God had done her; 'My spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour, for he hath regarded the low estate of his hand-maiden; he hath put down the mighty from their seats, and exalted them of low degree.' Secondly, he was humble in his life. He kept no court but in deserts and mountains, and in solitary places; neither was he served in state, his attendants being mechanics. By the miracles he wrought, we may understand the food he eat, viz. barley bread and fish; and it is not to be thought there was any curiosity in dressing them. We have reason to believe his apparel was as moderate as his table. Thirdly, he was humble in his sufferings and death: he took all affronts patiently, and in our nature triumphed over revenge: he was despised, spit upon, buffeted, whipt, and finally crucified between thieves, as the greatest malefactor; yet he never reviled them, but answered all in silence and submission, pitying, loving, and dying for those by whom he was ignominiously put to death. O mirror of humility! let your eyes be continually upon it, that you may see yourselves by it. Indeed his whole life was one continued great act of self-denial: and because he needed it not for himself, he must needs do it for us; thereby leaving us an example that we should follow his steps; and as he was, we should be, in this world, according to the beloved disciple, 1 John ii. 6. What he did for us, was not to excuse, but to excite our humility. For as he is like God, we must be like him; and that the froward, the contentious, the revengeful, the striker, the duelist, &c., cannot be said to be of that number, is very evident. The more to illustrate this virtue, I would have you to consider the folly and danger of pride, its opposite. This it was that threw the angels out of heaven, man out of paradise, destroyed cities and nations, was one of the sins of Sodom, the destruction of Assyria and Israel, and the reason given by God for his great vengeance upon Moab and Ammon. Besides, pride is the vainest passion that can rule in man, because he has nothing of his own to be proud of; and to be proud of another's shows want of wit and honesty too. He not only did not make himself, but is born the nakedest and most helpless of almost all creatures. Nor can he add to his days or stature, or so much as make one hair of his head white or black. He is so absolutely in the power of another, that, as I have often said, he is at best but a tenant at will of the great Lord of all, holding life, health, substance, and every thing at his sovereign disposal; and the more man enjoys, the less reason he has to be proud, because he is the more indebted and engaged to thankfulness and humility.

"Wherefore avoid pride as you would avoid the devil; remembering you must die, and consequently those things must die with you which could be any temptation to pride; and that there is a judgment follows, at which you must give an account, both for what you have enjoyed and done.

"From humility springs meekness. Of all the rare qualities of wisdom, learning, valour, &c., with which Moses was endued, he was denominated by his meekness: this gave the rest a lustre they must otherwise have wanted. The difference is not great between these excellent graces; yet the Scripture observes some. God will teach the humble his way, and guide the meek in judgment. It seems to be humility perfectly digested, and from a virtue become a nature. A meek man is one that is not easily provoked, yet easily grieved; not peevish or testy, but soft, gentle, and inoffensive. O blessed will you be, my dear children, if this grace adorn you! There are divers great and precious promises to the meek, in Scripture. God will clothe the meek with salvation; and blessed are they, for they shall inherit the earth. Christ presses it in his own example, 'Learn of me, for I am meek,' &c., and requires his to become as little children, in order to salvation, Mat. xviii. 3. A meek and quiet spirit is of great price with the Lord, 1 Pet. iii. 4. It is a fruit of the spirit, Gal. v. 22, 23, exhorted to in Eph. iv. 2. Col. iii. 12. Tit. iii. 2, and many places more to the same effect.

"Patience is an effect of a meek spirit and flows from it. It is a bearing and suffering disposition; not choleric or soon moved to wrath, or vindictive; but ready to hear and endure too, rather than be swift and hasty in judgment or action. Job is as much famed for this, as was Moses for the other virtue: without it there is no running the christian race, or obtaining the heavenly crown; without it there can be no experience of the work of God, Rom. v. 3, 4, 5. For patience, saith the apostle, worketh experience; nor hope of an eternal recompense, for experience work-

eth that hope. Therefore, says James, 'Let patience have its perfect work.' It is made the saints' excellency; here is the patience of the saints, Rev. xiii. 10. It is joined with the kingdom of Christ, Rev. i. 9. Read Luke xxi. 19. 'In patience possess your souls.' 'Be patient towards all men;' which shows the excellency and necessity of patience, as that does the true dignity of a man. It is wise, and will give you great advantage over those you converse with, on all accounts. For passion blinds men's eyes, and betrays men's weakness; patience sees the advantage and improves it. Patience inquires, deliberates and brings to a mature judgment. Through your civil as well as christian course, you cannot act wisely and safely without it; therefore I recommend this blessed virtue to you.

"Show mercy whenever it is in your power, that is, forgive, pity and help, for so it signifies. Mercy is one of the attributes of God. It is exalted in Scripture above all his works, and is a noble part of his image in man. God hath recommended it. 'Keep mercy and judgment and wait on the Lord.' God hath shown it to man, and made it his duty. He hath showed thee O man what is good, and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy and to walk humbly, or to humble thyself to walk with thy God: a short but ample expression of God's love and man's duty; happy are you if you mind it. In this you see mercy is one of the noblest virtues. Christ has a blessing for them that have it, 'Blessed are the merciful, for they shall find mercy;' a strong motive indeed. In Luke vi. 35, 36, he commands it. 'Be you merciful as your Father is merciful.' He bid the Jews, that were so over-righteous, but so very unmerciful, learn what this meaneth; 'I will have mercy and not sacrifice.' In his parable of the lord and his servants, he shows what will be the end of the unmerciful steward, that having been forgiven much by his master, would not forgive a little to his fellow-servant. Mercy is a great part of God's law, Exod. xxiii. 4, 5. It is a material part of God's true fast, Isa. lviii. 6, 7. It is a main part of God's covenant, Jer. xxxi. 34. Heb. viii. 12. And the reason and rule of the last judgment, Mat. xxv. 31, to the end; pray read it. It is a part of the undefiled religion, Jam. i. 27, iii. 17. Read Prov. xiv. 21, 22. But the merciful man's mercy reaches further, even to his beast; then surely to man, his fellow-creature, he shall not want it. Wherefore, I charge you, oppress no body, man or beast. Take no advantage upon the unhappy, pity the afflicted, make their case your own, and that of their wives and poor innocent children the condition of yours, and you cannot want sympathy, bowels, forgiveness, nor a disposition to help and succour them to your ability. Remember, it is the way for you to be forgiven and helped in time of trial. Read the Lord's prayer. Remember the nature and goodness of Joseph to his brethren; follow the example of the good Samaritan, and let Edom's unkindness to Jacob's stock, and the heathen's to Israel, be a warning to you.

"Charity is a near neighbour to mercy: it is generally taken to consist in this, not to be censorious, and to relieve the poor. For the first, remember you must be judged. And for the last, remember you are but stewards. 'Judge not, therefore, lest you be judged.' Be clear yourselves before you fling the stone. Get the beam out of your own eye; it is humbling doctrine, but safe. Judge, therefore, at your own peril: see it be righteous judgment, as you will answer it to the great Judge. This part of charity also excludes whisperings, backbiting, talebearing, evil surmising, most pernicious follies and evils, of which beware. Read 1 Cor. xiii. For the other part of charity, relieving the poor, it is a debt you owe to God: you have all you have or may enjoy, with the rent-charge upon it. The saying is, that 'He who gives to the poor, lends to the Lord:' but it may be said, not improperly, the Lord lends to us to give to the poor: they are at least partners by Providence with you, and have a right you must not defraud them of. You have this privilege, indeed, when, what, and to whom; and yet, if you heed your Guide, and observe the object, you will have a rule for that too.

"I recommend little children, widows, infirm and aged persons, chiefly to you: spare something out of your own belly rather than let theirs go pinched. Avoid that great sin of needless expense on your persons and on your houses, while the poor are hungry and naked. My bowels have often been moved, to see the very aged and infirm people, but especially poor helpless children, lie all night in bitter weather, at the thresholds of doors, in the open streets, for want of better lodging. I have made this reflection, if you were so exposed, how hard would it be to endure? The difference between our condition and theirs, has drawn from me humble thanks to God, and great compassion and some supply to those poor creatures. Once more, be good to the poor: what do I say? be just to them, and you will be good to yourselves. Think it your duty, and do it religiously. Let the moving passage, Mat. xxv. 35. to the end, live in your minds: I was hungry and thirsty, and naked, sick and in prison, and you administered unto me, and the blessing

that followed: also what he said to another sort, 'I was hungry and thirsty, and naked, and sick, and in prison, and you administered not unto me;' for a dreadful sentence follows to the hard hearted world. Wo be to them that take the poor's pledge, Ezek. xviii. 12, 13, or eat up the poor's right. O devour not their part! less lay it out in vanity, or lay it up in bags, for it will curse the rest. Hear what the Psalmist says, 'Blessed is he that considereth the poor, the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble: The Lord will preserve and keep him alive, and he shall be blessed upon the earth: And thou wilt not deliver him into the will of his enemies. The Lord will strengthen him upon the bed of languishing: Thou wilt make all his bed in his sickness.' This is the reward of being faithful stewards and treasurers for the poor of the earth. Have a care of excuses, they are, I know, ready at hand: but 'Withhold not good from them to whom it is due, when it is in the power of thine hand to do it. Say not unto thy neighbour go, and come again, and to-morrow I will give, when thou hast it by thee.' Also bear in mind Christ's doctrine, 'Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee, turn not thou away.' But above all, remember the poor woman, that gave her mite; which Christ preferred above all, because she gave all, but it was to God's treasury.

"Liberality or bounty is a noble quality in man, entertained of few, yet praised of all; but the covetous dislike it, because it reproaches their sordidness. In this she differs from charity, that she has sometimes other objects, and exceeds in proportion. For she will cast her eye on those that do not absolutely want, as well as those that do; and always outdoes necessities and services. She finds out virtue in a low degree, and exalts it. She eases their burden who labour hard to live: many kind and generous spells such find at her hand, that do not quite want, whom she thinks worthy. The decayed are sure to hear of her: she takes one child and puts out another, to lighten the loads of over-charged parents, more to the fatherless. She shows the value of services in her rewards, and is never debtor to kindnesses, but will be creditor on all accounts. Where another gives sixpence, the liberal man gives his shilling; and returns double the tokens he receives. But liberality keeps temper too; she is not extravagant any more than she is sordid; for she hates niggard's feasts as much as niggard's fasts; and as she is free, and not starched, so she is plentiful, but not superfluous and extravagant. You will hear of her in all histories, especially in Scripture, the wisest as well as best of books; her excellency and her reward are there. She is commanded and commended; 'The righteous showeth mercy and giveth, and the good man is merciful and ever lendeth.' He shows favour and lendeth, and disperseth abroad. There is that scattereth, and yet increaseth; and there is that withholdeth more than is meet, but it tendeth to poverty. The liberal soul shall be fat; the bountiful eye shall be blessed. The churl and liberal man are described, and a promise to the latter, that his liberality shall uphold him, Isa. xxxii. 78. Christ makes it a part of his religion and the way to be the children of the highest, to lend and not receive again, and this to enemies as well as friends; yea to the unthankful and to the evil; no exception is made, no excuse admitted. The apostle Paul, 2 Cor. ix. 5–10, enjoins it, threatens the strait-handed, and promises the open-hearted a liberal reward.

"Wheresoever, therefore, my dear children, liberality is required of you, God enabling you, sow not sparingly nor grudgingly, but with a cheerful mind, and you shall not go without your reward; though that ought not to be your motive. But avoid ostentation, for that is using virtue to vanity, which will run you to profuseness, and that to want; which begets greediness, and that avarice, the contrary extreme. As men may go westward till they come east, and travel till they and those they left behind them, stand antipodes, up and down.

"Justice or righteousness, is another attribute of God, of large extent in the life and duty of man. Be just therefore in all things, to all. To God as your Creator; render to him that which is his, your heart, for that acknowledgment he has reserved to himself, by which only you are entitled to the comforts of this and a better life. And if he has your hearts, you have him for your treasure, and with him all things requisite to your felicity. Render also to Cæsar that which is his, lawful subjection; not for fear only, but conscience sake. To parents, a filial love and obedience. To one another, natural affection. To all people, in doing as you would be done by. Hurt no man's name or person. Covet no man's property in any sort. Consider well of David's tenderness to Saul, when he sought his life, to excite your duty; and Ahab's unjust covetousness and murder of Naboth, to provoke your abhorrence of injustice. David, though anointed king, took no advantages; he believed, and therefore did not make haste, but left it to God, to conclude Saul's reign, for he would

not hasten it. A right method and a good end, my dear children; God has shown it you, and requires it of you.

"Remember the tenth commandment, it was God who gave it, and will judge you by it. It comprehends restitution as well as acquisition, and especially the poor man's wages. Samuel is a great and good example of righteousness, 1 Sam. xii. 3. He challenged the whole house of Israel, to say whom he had oppressed or defrauded? The like did the apostle to the Corinthians, 2 Cor. vii. 2. He exhorted the Christians to be careful that they did not defraud, 1 Thes. iv. 6, for this reason, that God was the avenger of the injured. But as bad as it was, there must be no going to law amongst Christians, 1 Cor. vi. 7. To your utmost power, therefore, owe no one any thing but love, and that in prudence as well as righteousness. Justice gives you reputation, and adds a blessing to your substance; it is the best security you can have for it.

"I will close this head, with a few Scriptures to each branch. To your superiors; 'Submit to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake.' 'Obey those that have rule over you.' 'Speak not evil of dignities.' 'My son, fear thou the Lord and the king, and meddle not with them that are given to change.' To your parents; 'Honour your father and your mother, that your days may be long in the land, which the Lord your God shall give you.' 'Children, obey your parents,' it is the first commandment with promise, Eph. vi. 1, 2. Great judgments follow those that disobey this law, and defraud their parents of their due: 'Whoso robbeth his father or his mother, and saith it is no transgression, the same is the companion of a destroyer.' Or such would destroy their parents if they could. It is charged by the prophet Ezekiel upon Jerusalem, as a mark of her wicked state; 'In thee have thy princes set light by father and mother, oppressed strangers, and vexed the fatherless and widows.' To thy neighbour; hear what God's servants taught: 'To do justice and judgment, is more acceptable to the Lord than sacrifice.' Diverse weights and measures are alike abomination unto the Lord, Levit. xix. 36. Deut. xxv. 13 to 16 inclusive. Prov. xi. 1, xx. 10, 23. Read Prov. xxii. 16, 22, 23, xxiii. 10, 23. Peruse the sixth of Micah; also Zech. viii. 16, 17. And especially the fifteenth Psalm, as a short but full measure of life, to give acceptance with God.

"I have said but little to you of distributing justice, or being just in power or government; for I should desire you may never be concerned therein, unless it were upon your own principles, and then the less the better, unless God require it from you. But if it ever be your lot, know no man after the flesh; know neither rich nor poor, great nor small, nor kindred, nor stranger; but judge the cause, according to your understanding and conscience, and that upon deliberate inquiry and information. Read Exod. xxiii. from 1 to 10. Deut. i. 16, 17, xvi. 19, 20, xxiv. 17. 2 Sam. xxiii. 3. Jer. xxii. 3, 4. Prov. xxiv. 23. Lam. iii. 35, 36. Hos. xii. 6. Amos viii. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Zeph. ii. 3, iii. 1, 3. Zech. vii. 9, 10. Jer. v. 4, 5, 6, viii. 6, 7. Which show both God's commands and complaints, and man's duty in authority; which as I said before, avoid industriously at all times, for privacy is freed from the clamour, danger, incumbrance and temptation, that attend stations in government: never meddle with it, but for God's sake.

"Integrity is a great and commendable virtue. A man of integrity, is a true man, a bold man, and a steady man; he is to be trusted and relied upon. No bribes can corrupt him, no fear daunt him; his word is slow in coming, but sure. He shines brightest in the fire, and his friend hears of him most when he most needs him. His courage grows with danger, and conquers opposition by constancy. As he cannot be flattered or frighted into that which he dislikes, so he hates flattery and temporizing in others. He runs with truth, and not with the times; with right, and not with might. His rule is straight; soon seen but seldom followed: it has done great things. It was integrity preferred Abel's offering, translated Enoch, saved Noah, raised Abraham to be God's friend, and father of a great nation, rescued Lot out of Sodom, blessed and increased Jacob, kept and exalted Joseph, upheld and restored Job, honoured Samuel before Israel, crowned David over all difficulties, and gave Solomon peace and glory, while he kept it; it was this preserved Mordecai and his people, and so signally defended Daniel among the lions, and the children in the flames, that it drew from the greatest king upon earth, and an heathen too, a most pathetical confession to the power and wisdom of the God that saved them, and whom they served. Thus is the Scripture fulfilled, 'The integrity of the upright shall guide them.' O my dear children, fear, love and obey this great, holy and unchangeable God, and you shall be happily guided and preserved through your pilgrimage to everlasting glory.

"Gratitude or thankfulness, is another virtue of great lustre, and so esteemed with God and all good men: it is an owning of benefits received, to their honour and service who

confer them. It is indeed a noble sort of justice, and might, in a sense, be referred as a branch to that head; with this difference, that since benefits exceed justice, the tie is very strong to be grateful; and consequently there is something exceedingly base and reproachful in ingratitude. So that, though you are not obliged by legal bonds or judgments, to restitution with due interest, your virtue, honour and humanity, are naturally pledges for your thankfulness; and by how much the less you are under external ties, esteem your inward ties so much the stronger. Those who can break them, would know no bounds: for make it a rule to you, the ungrateful would be unjust too, but for fear of the law. Always own therefore the benefits you receive, and then choose when and how you may most honour or serve those that conferred them. Some have lived to need the favours they have done; and should they be put to ask, where they ought to be invited? No matter if they have nothing to show for it, they show enough when they show themselves to those they have obliged: and such see enough to induce their gratitude, when they see their benefactors in adversity; the less law the more grace and the stronger tie. It is an evangelical virtue, and works, as faith does, only by love: in this it exactly resembles a Christian state; 'We are not under the law, but under grace,' and it is by grace, and not by merit, 'that we are saved.' But are our obligations the less to God, that he heaps his favours so undeservedly upon us? Surely no. It is the like here; that which we receive is not owed or compelled, but freely given, so no tie; it is of choice, a voluntary goodness without bargain or condition: but has this therefore no security? Yes, certainly, the greatest; a judgment written and acknowledged in the mind. He is his friend's to the altar with a good conscience: but how long? As long as he lives. The characters of gratitude, like those of friendship, are only defaced by death, else indelible. 'A friend loveth at all times,' says Solomon. And 'thine own friend, and thy father's friend, forsake thou not.' It is injustice which makes gratitude a precept. There are three sorts of men who can hardly be grateful; the fearful man, for in danger he loses his heart, with which he should help his friend: the proud man, for he takes that virtue for a reproach: he who unwillingly remembers he owes any thing to God, will not readily remember he is beholden to man. History lays it to the charge of some of this sort of great men, who being uneasy to see the authors of their greatness, have not been quiet till they have accomplished the ruin of those who raised them. Lastly, the covetous man is as ill at it as the other two. His gold has spoiled his memory, and will not let him be grateful, though perhaps he owes the best part, at least the beginning of it, to another's favour. As there is nothing more unworthy in a man than ingratitude, so nothing in man is so frequently reproached in Scripture. How often does God put the Jews in mind of their forgetfulness and unthankfulness for the mercies and favours they received from him; read Deut. xxxii. 15. Jesurun waxed fat, and kicked against God, grew unmindful, forgot and forsook his Rock, who had done mighty things for him. Thus Moses, Deut. xxxi. 16, 17. Also Judges x. 11, 12, 13. And 1 Sam. viii. 8. David likewise in his lxxviii. cv. cvi. Psalms, gives an history of God's love to Israel, and their ingratitude. It is made a mark of apostacy from Christianity by the apostle, 2 Tim. iii. 2.

"Diligence is another virtue useful and laudable among men; it is a discreet and understanding application of one's self to business; and avoids the extremes of idleness and drudgery. It gives great advantages to men: it loses no time, it conquers difficulties, recovers disappointments, gives despatch, supplies want of parts; and is to them what a pond is to a spring; though it has no water of itself, it will keep what it gets, and is never dry. Though that has the heels, this has the wind; and often wins the prize. Nor does it only concern handicrafts and bodily affairs; the mind is also engaged, and grows foul, rusty and distempered without it. It belongs to you, throughout your whole man; be no more sauntering in your minds than in your bodies. And if you would have the full benefit of this virtue, do not baulk it by a confused mind. Shun diversions; think only of the present business, till that be done. Be busy to purpose; for a busy man and a man of business, are two different things. Lay your matters right, and diligence succeeds in them, else pains is lost. How laborious are some to no purpose? Consider your end well, suit your means to it, and then diligently employ them, and you arrive where you would be, with God's blessing. Solomon praises diligence very highly. First, it is the way to wealth: 'The diligent hand makes rich. The soul of the diligent shall be made fat.' There is a promise to it, and one of another sort to the sluggard. Secondly, it prefers men. 'Seest thou a man diligent in his business, he shall stand before kings.' Thirdly, it preserves an estate: 'Be thou diligent to know the state of thy flocks, and look well to thy herds; for riches are not forever.' There is no living upon the principal, you must be diligent to

preserve what you have, whether it be acquisition or inheritance; else it will consume. In short the wise man advises, 'Whatsoever thy hand finds to do, do it with thy might.' As it mends a temporal state, no spiritual one can be gotten or kept without it. Moses earnestly presses it upon the Israelites, Deut. iv. 9. and vi. 7. The apostle Paul commends it in the Corinthians, and Titus to them for that reason, 2 Cor. viii. 7, 22. So he does Timothy to the Philippians on the same account, and urges them to work out their salvation. Peter also exhorts the churches to that purpose: 'Wherefore the rather brethren, says he, give diligence to make your calling and election sure: for if you do these things you shall never fall.' Wherefore, beloved, seeing that you look for such things; the end of the world and last judgment; be diligent that you may be found of him in peace, without spot and blameless. Thus diligence is an approved virtue: but remember that is a reasonable pursuit or execution of honest purposes, and not an overcharging or oppressive prosecution, to mind or body, of most lawful enterprises. Abuse it not therefore to ambition or avarice. Let necessity, charity and conveniency govern it, and it will be well employed, and you may expect prosperous returns.

"Frugality is a virtue too, and not of little use in life, the better way to be rich, for it has less toil and temptation. It is proverbial, a penny saved is a penny got. It has a significant moral; for this way of getting is more in your own power and less subject to hazard, as well as snares, free of envy, void of suits, and is beforehand with calamities. Many get who cannot keep, and for want of frugality spend what they get, and so come to want what they have spent. But have a care of the extreme: want not with abundance, for that is avarice, even to sordidness. It is fit that you consider children, age and casualties, but never pretend these things to palliate and gratify covetousness. As I would have you liberal but not prodigal, and diligent but not drudging; so I would have you frugal but not sordid. If you can, lay up one half of your income for those uses, in which let charity have at least the second consideration; but no Judas's, for that was in the wrong place.

"Temperance I must earnestly recommend to you, throughout the whole course of your life: it is numbered amongst the fruits of the Spirit, Gal. 22, 23, and is a great and requisite virtue. Properly and strictly speaking, it refers to diet; but in general may be considered as having relation to all the affections and practices of men. I will therefore begin with it in regard to food, the sense in which it is customarily taken. Eat to live, and not live to eat, for that is below a beast. Avoid curiosities and provocations; let your chiefest sauce be a good stomach, which temperance will help you to get. You cannot be too plain in your diet, so you are clean; nor too sparing, so you have enough for nature. For that which keeps the body low, makes the spirit clear, as silence makes it strong. It conduces to good digestion, that to good rest, and that to a firm constitution. Much less feast any, except the poor; as Christ taught, Luke xiv. 12, 13. Entertainments are rarely without sin; but receive strangers readily. As in diet so in apparel, observe I charge you an exemplary plainness. Choose your clothes for their usefulness not the fashion, and for covering and not finery, or to please a vain mind in yourselves or others: they are fallen souls that think clothes can give beauty to man. 'The life is more than raiment.' Man cannot mend God's work, who can give neither life nor parts. They show little esteem for the wisdom and power of their Creator, who under-rate his workmanship (I was a going to say his image) to a tailor's invention: gross folly and profanity! But do you, my dear children, call to mind who they were of old, that Jesus said, took so much care about what they should eat, drink and put on. Were they not gentiles, heathens, a people without God in the world? Read Mat. vi., and when you have done that, peruse those excellent passages of the apostle Paul and Peter, 1 Tim. ii. 9, 10, and 1 Pet. iii. 3, 5, where, if you find the exhortation to women only, conclude it was to the effeminate, and a shame then for men to use such arts and cost upon their persons. Follow you the example of those primitive Christians, and not voluptuous gentiles, who perverted the very order of things: For they set lust above nature, and the means above the end, and preferred vanity to conveniency: a wanton excess that has no sense of God's mercies, and therefore cannot make a right use of them, and less yield the returns they deserve. In short, these intemperances are great enemies to health and to posterity; for they disease the body, rob children, and disappoint charity, and are of evil example; very catching, as well as pernicious evils. Nor do they end there: they are succeeded by other vices, which made the apostle put them together in his epistle to the Galatians, v. 20, 21. The evil fruits of this part of intemperance are so many and great, that upon a serious reflection, I believe there is not a country, town or family, almost, that does not labour under the mischief of it. I recommend to your perusal the first part of, 'No Cross no Crown,' and of the 'Address to Pro-

testants', in which I am more particular in my censure of it. But the virtue of temperance does not only regard eating, drinking and apparel; but furniture, attendance, expense, gain, parsimony, business, diversion, company, speech, sleeping, watchings, and every passion of the mind, love, anger, pleasure, joy, sorrow, resentment, are all concerned in it. Therefore bound your desires, learn your wills subjection, take Christ for your example as well as guide. It was he who led and taught a life of faith in Providence, and told his disciples the danger of the cares and pleasures of this world; they choked the seed of the kingdom, stifled and extinguished virtue in the soul, and rendered man barren of good fruit. His sermon upon the mount is one continued Divine authority in favour of universal temperance. The apostle, well aware of the necessity of this virtue, gave the Corinthians a seasonable caution. 'Know ye not, says he, that they which run in a race, run all, but one receiveth the prize? So run that ye may obtain.' 'And every man that striveth for mastery,' or seeketh victory, 'is temperate in all things:' he acts discreetly and with a right judgment. 'Now, they do it to obtain a corruptible crown, but we an incorruptible. I therefore so run as not uncertainly; so fight I, not as one that beateth the air: but I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection; lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should become a castaway.' In another chapter he presses temperance almost to indifferency: 'But this I say, brethren, the time is short: It remaineth then, that both they that have wives, be as though they had none; and those that weep as though they wept not; and they that rejoice, as though they rejoiced not; and they that use this world as not abusing it.' And all this is not without reason: he gives a very good one for it. 'For, saith he, the fashion of the world passeth away: but I would have you without carefulness.' It was for this cause he pressed it so hard upon Titus to warn the elders of that time to be sober, grave, temperate; not eager, violent, obstinate, tenacious, or inordinate in any sort. He makes it an indispensable duty in pastors of churches, that they be not self-willed, soon angry, given to wine or filthy lucre, but lovers of hospitality, of good men, sober, just, holy, temperate. And why so? Because against these excellent virtues there is no law.

"I will shut up this head, being touched upon in divers places of this advice, with this one most comprehensive passage of the apostle, 'Let your moderation be known unto all men, for the Lord is at hand.' As if he had said, Take heed! Look to your ways! Have a care what ye do! For the Lord is near you, even at the door; he sees you, he marks your steps, tells your wanderings, and he will judge you. Let this excellent, this home and close sentence live in your minds: let it ever dwell upon your spirits, my beloved children, and influence all your actions, aye, your affections and thoughts. It is a noble measure, sufficient to regulate the whole; they that have it are easy as well as safe. No extreme prevails; the world is kept at arm's-end; and such have power over their own spirits, which gives them the truest enjoyment of themselves and what they have. A dominion greater than that of empires. O may this virtue be yours! You have grace from God for that end, and it is sufficient: employ it, and you cannot miss of temperance, nor therein of the truest happiness in all your conduct.

"William Penn."

As my object is to give an account of the life and religious labours of William Penn, and not the history of his province, I have made but little mention of the events which occurred there during his absence. A transient notice will now be proper.

After the recall of governor Blackwell, in the twelfth month, 1689, the charge of the government again devolved upon Thomas Lloyd; who, although a man of excellent abilities and unquestionable integrity, does not appear to have possessed either the talents or the influence of William Penn. Difficulties and jealousies arose among the members of the government. The representatives from the province and those from the territories or three lower counties, being supposed to have separate interests to promote, could not cordially unite. The proprietary had taken abundance of pains to form an intimate connection between the province and territories, both in the legislative and executive capacities. But the members from the territories, seeing themselves likely to be outnumbered by those from the province, and consequently thrown into the minority upon all questions in which their separate interests were involved, demanded concessions for their security, which were considered unreasonable, and consequently refused. These jealousies at length, in the early part of 1691, rose to such a height as to occasion a rupture between them, which resulted in the establishment of two separate governments. To this separation, William Penn gave a very reluctant assent. This we may fairly consider as a consequence of his absence; for we find that he retained the confidence and affection of both parties. He had penetration enough to discover the ill consequences likely to result both to his in-

terest and theirs, from these animosities. The unpleasant news reached him soon after the commencement of his troubles arising from the accusation of Preston and Fuller. He did not fail to apprise his friends in America of his apprehensions on their account, and to urge upon them the necessity of cultivating a better temper; but the people of the territories appear to have been too jealous of their rights and too tenacious of their opinions, to be diverted from their purpose by his influence or authority, while residing on the other side of the Atlantic.

In 1691, the province of Pennsylvania was agitated in a manner, which must have caused greater pain to the sensitive mind of William Penn, than the dissentions between the province and territories. The latter arose from questions of worldly interest; but the new disturbance arose in the bosom of his own Society. George Keith, who for between twenty and thirty years, had been an approved member and minister in the Society, became about that time a subject of much exercise to his friends. He began to differ with them on points of discipline, proposing alterations which Friends were not free to adopt. Finding his influence in the Society less than he seems to have supposed due to his talents and service, he gave way to a captious and acrimonious spirit. He began to question the soundness of the ministers on some doctrinal points, and falling under the government of his passions rather than his understanding, indulged in very harsh and vituperative language, towards Friends of the fairest character; and at length charged the meeting of ministers with coming together to cloak heresies and deceit; asserting that there were more abominable doctrines among the Quakers, than among any other profession of Protestants.

This opposition to Friends was not confined to questions of doctrine or discipline, but extended to the measures of civil government. A large part of the original settlers in Pennsylvania, being of the same religious profession with the founder, many of the executive and judicial offices were exercised by members of this Society. George Keith indulged his spleen by representing the conduct of these Friends in bringing robbers to justice, as a violation of their principles.* His opposition to the measures and officers of the government, rendered him at length an object of judicial inquiry. He and another were presented by the grand jury of Philadelphia, as the authors of a defamatory publication; for which on conviction they were fined five pounds each; but the fines were not levied.

News of the disturbances occasioned by him and his party, were soon carried to the mother country; and those who were inimical to Friends, the province or the proprietary, took care to circulate them with the usual exaggerations. The account of his trial was circulated with such colouring as to give it the appearance of a religious persecution. It was industriously reported at court, Westminster hall, and the parliament house, and excited much odium against William Penn and the Society of Friends. It was laid hold of as an evidence of their unfitness for the exercise of political power, and William Penn himself does not appear to have approved of this prosecution. The magistrates published a declaration, exculpating themselves from the charge of religious persecution; showing that they had not proceeded against George Keith and his adherents without ample provocation; and giving an opinion that such conduct, if not restrained, tended to sedition and the subversion of the existing government.

Although King William seemed to have entertained a friendship for William Penn, yet the general complexion of his court was averse to the adherents of James; and this aversion to the political friends of the exiled monarch, would naturally extend to his personal friends also, of which number William Penn was avowedly one. This circumstance, together with the exaggerated reports which were circulated respecting the disorders and mal-administration existing in the province and territories, prevailed with the king and council to adopt the resolution of depriving William Penn of his authority there. In pursuance of this resolution, a commission was issued, bearing date the 21st of October 1692, to Benjamin Fletcher, governor of New-York, authorizing him to assume the government of Pennsylvania, and the territories thereto belonging. This, as far as can be ascertained, was a simple act of power; without even the colour of law or legal procedure. In the commission no notice was

* In the year 1691, one Babit and a few others, stole a small sloop from a wharf in Philadelphia, and going down the river, committed a number of robberies. Information being given to the magistrates there, three of them issued a warrant for their apprehension; in consequence of which, they were taken and brought to justice. The magistrates who granted this warrant being Friends, George Keith and his adherents, made their comments on this proceeding as inconsistent with their avowed principles in regard to war, and dressed it in the most odious garb which their imbittered imaginations could supply. Yet the most they could make of it was, that a Peter Boss and a few others, took them without gun, sword or spear.

taken of William Penn or the charter of Charles II.

The commission of governor Fletcher was not received by him until the spring of the following year; at which time he notified Thomas Lloyd of his appointment, and soon afterwards repaired to Philadelphia, to engage in the concerns of his new government. Official information of the change was not given to the constituted authorities of Pennsylvania, by the king, yet upon the arrival of colonel Fletcher, the government was surrendered to him without opposition; but Friends, who held the offices of magistrates, generally refused to accept from him the renewal of their commissions. It is not probable that the government at home gave William Penn notice of their proceedings, and he was probably ignorant of them till the information reached him from the western side of the Atlantic. He afterwards wrote to some of them, giving them to understand that he apprehended they had too tamely given up his rights, yet without censuring them, as he supposed their intentions were good. He also wrote to colonel Fletcher, warning him of the illegality of his appointment, and reminding him of his particular obligations to him. A letter in reply to the former of these, from six of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, dated 18th of eleventh month, 1693–4, stated their wish that his letter to colonel Fletcher had come sooner to hand; as they understood it would probably have prevented his taking the part he did, and thus saved them as well as him the trouble and loss which had fallen upon them.

The administration of governor Fletcher, was not marked by any event of such permanent interest as to demand particular recital. He appears to have been, or at least to have become, convinced that the exclusion of William Penn from the government was an unjust assumption of power; and that his own exercise of that authority was likely to be of very short duration.

In the year 1694, William Penn was restored to the government, of which he had been unjustly divested, by letters patent, dated the 20th of August. In this document, the disorders assigned as the cause of the royal assumption of authority there, are attributed to the absence of the proprietor. There, an intimation at least is given that his prudence and authority, if present, would have prevented the disorders complained of.

It has been intimated, by more historians than one, that William Penn promised King William, upon the restoration of his government, that the province should contribute to the general defence of the colonies. Such a promise seems to imply a dereliction of his avowed principles in relation to war; and if generally known, must have seriously affected his character as a member and minister in the Society of Friends. This supposed engagement, was probably inferred from an expression in the letters patent, which revoked the commission of governor Fletcher. It is there stated that he had given assurance that he would take care of the government of the province and territories, and as far as in him lay, provide for their safety and security. Had he been a military man, such an assurance might have been understood to imply, that he would promote such measures of defence as the usual policy of the world is accustomed to provide. But he had provided for the security of the province, in the early part of his administration, by conciliating the good will of the natives. We know not in what terms he expressed himself, when he gave this assurance to the king, and we have no reason to suppose that any engagement, inconsistent with his well known principles, was made or implied. We are told that in a letter from Bristol, 5th of ninth month, 1695, he blamed the province for refusing to send money to New-York, for what he called a common defence. If this letter alludes, as supposed by Proud, to the application of governor Fletcher, in his message to the assembly in the third month, 1694, it is unfair to suppose that the defence intended was a military one. The governor had proposed a supply of such articles as would be likely to secure the continual friendship of the Indians, in the neighbourhood of Albany. That was the kind of defence which was most congenial to the policy as well as the principles of William Penn.

Thomas Lloyd, who was, during several years, the deputy of William Penn, in the government of Pennsylvania, having died in the seventh month 1694; the appointment upon William Penn's restoration, was conferred upon William Markham, who held it till the arrival of the governor himself, in 1699. Little remarkable seems to have occurred under his administration to attract the historian's notice. It may be proper however to observe, that in 1696, three hundred pounds were remitted from the province to governor Fletcher of New-York, to be applied to the relief of the Indians in the neighbourhood of Albany; and that in the following year a letter was received by governor Markham, informing him that the money had been expended in food and clothing for them as directed.

In the sixth month 1699, William Penn with his wife and family embarked for Pennsylvania; and from on board the ship, while

lying at the Isle of Wight, he addressed the following farewell epistle to his friends whereever scattered in England, Ireland, Scotland, Holland, Germany or other parts of Europe.

"My dearly beloved, and highly esteemed in Christ, our heavenly head; the living and good Shepherd of the sheep, by whom we have been found out, (one of a family, and two of a tribe,) and made one holy flock and family unto him, in this day of his spiritual and glorious appearance: grace, mercy and peace, yea, his peace, which the world can neither give you, nor take from you, be plentifully multiplied amongst you from day to day; that an holy, harmless, and faithful people you may be, yielding to the Lord the fruits of his goodness, by a circumspect and self-denying conversation to the end.

"And now, my dear friends, whom I know and love, and you also whom I truly love, though I do not know personally, nor may be so known of some of you, since it has pleased the good and all-wise God to order my course from you, so that I cannot visit you, as I have often desired before I left you, this therefore is to be my brotherly farewell unto you. And surely my soul is bowed in humble petitions to Israel's God, the true, and living and powerful God, that it may be well with you all here and for ever. And, my dear brethren, this is certain, if you do well, you shall fare well; and in the end of all your trials, troubles, and temptations, it shall be said unto you, Well done good and faithful servants, enter ye into the joy of the Lord. O it is this which crowns the work: not saying but doing: we must not only begin, but end well; and hold out to the end: not be of those who are weary of well-doing, but who follow the Lord fully, as Caleb and Joshua did in old time, and are famed for it. So that though God has appeared to us, and given us many and undeniable testimonies that it was he, and not another, who reached our hearts, and touched our consciences, and brought us to confession, yea, and forsaking too, of that which offended him, in great measure, blessed be his name, yet we are not to stop, or take up our rest here; we must watch still, pray still, fight still, that good fight of faith, till we have overcome the enemy of our souls. And even then must we watch and pray, and that to the end of our days; that we may not lose that crown of glory, which God, the righteous judge, shall give to all those that love his appearance, overcome, and persevere to the end. For be assured we shall reap if we faint not; but we shall faint, if we wait not upon God, who alone is the strength of his people.

"This, my dear friends, is that which lies with greatest stress upon my spirit; watch to your daily preservation, and be not satisfied unless you feel it. Sufficient is the day for the evil thereof, said our blessed Lord. God is not wanting: he who long stood at the door of our hearts, under our impenitency in times past, till his locks were wet with the dew, and his hair with the drops of the night, till we were wakened out of our carnal security, and came to judgment in ourselves, unto unfeigned repentance, to be sure he is not weary of waiting to be gracious now to his poor people; especially if they are poor in spirit, and hungering and thirsting after righteousness; and are not filled, overlaid, and choked with the cares and incumbrances of this world. No, he was ever good unto Israel, yea, unto all that are of an upright and clean heart. Wherefore, brethren, let your eye be to the Lord, and wait often upon him; walk with him, and dwell with him, and he will walk and dwell with you. And then no weapon formed against you, be it in particular, or in general, shall prosper; that is, not finally. It may perhaps try you, and bruise your heel, as it did your Lord and master's but it shall never finally prevail against you, if you keep the eye of your mind to him, and have faith in him, who saved Daniel in the lion's den, and Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, in the fiery furnace, and has upheld us to this day under various afflictions.

"And though Balaams there are, who may be hired by the Balaks of our age, to curse our Israel-family of God, of which some of us have been very sensible, yet this we know, the Son of God is among us, who commands the fire and the water, and the winds, as well now as then. And there is no enchantment against Jacob, nor divination against Israel, that can prosper. And who knows but even some of these present Balaams may yet live to say, before they die, as others of them have done since we were a people, 'How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob!' 'How pleasant is thy dwelling place, O Israel!' But then friends, we must keep our tents, we must be a retired and a peculiar people, and dwell alone. We must keep above the world, and clear of the spirit of it, and those many trifles, cares and troubles that abound in it, with which many have visibly wounded and pierced their own souls.

"Beware of this in the name of the Lord, and do not tempt God; it is in Christ ye have peace, in the world is the trouble: keep therefore in him who has called himself, and we have found him so, the way, Truth, and life; and you shall live, because he lives: he the root, you the branches, by whom you will be kept green and fruitful, bringing forth the fruits

and graces of the holy Spirit in all your converse, and commerce, that it may be seen and said, God is with you and amongst you. O let humility, charity, meekness and self-denial, shine amongst you! so will you come to sit, as did the primitive Christians, in heavenly places in Christ Jesus, and be preserved through the noise, snares, and hurry of this present evil world.

"Much I could say, for my heart is open, and full too of Divine love and matter to you; but time fails me; therefore feel me, my dear friends, in that love of God which is over sea and land; where distance cannot separate, or time decay, nor many waters quench. In which love I embrace and salute you all, with the kiss of our heavenly fellowship, which the Lord hath given us in the blessed Truth. And my strong desires are to him, that we may maintain our blessed relation by the same means, by which we came at first into it, viz. 'The true fear and love of God;' which did not only make us careful not to offend him, but also to be willing to forsake all things that came in competition with him, or our duty to him.

"Oh let this chaste fear and first love abound amongst you, my beloved, in Christ, our blessed light and life; or you will decay, wither, and die to God, and your good beginnings; which God Almighty forbid.

"I know there is a serious and diligent people amongst you, who do not only know when good comes from the hand of the Lord, but wait upon him for it, and that daily; that their souls may be strengthened in the way and work of the Lord: and these can no more live without his presence, his mystical and hidden manna, in their spiritual journey to the eternal Canaan of God, than outward Israel was able to live without manna in the wilderness, in their journey to their temporal Canaan. And I beseech my God and my Father, and your God and your Father, my dear brethren, to attend all these holy waiters upon him with the good things of his house, and daily make them glad in his holy house of prayer.

"But the condition of some, who pretend to follow Christ, yet are afar off, affects my spirit; for they know little of these enjoyments, and hardly eat so much as the crumbs which fall from Christ's table, and seem to satisfy themselves with a meer convincement of the Truth, or at best, with a bare confession to it. Who taking up with a formal going to meetings, and hearing what others have to say, of the work and goodness of God in and to them, shun the daily cross of Christ; whereby they should die daily to their earthly wills and vain affections, and overcome the world, the flesh, and the devil. Oh! these are still their own, and not the Lord's; and gird themselves, and go whither, and do what they list! For which cause they are lean, barren, and unfruitful to God, and to their own souls; and worship him in the form only, and not the power of godliness; such must needs be weak in faith, ready to slip and start aside at every windy doctrine, or sensual temptation.

"Oh! My dear friends, let me prevail with you in this my farewell to you, to turn your minds inward, and wait to feel your Redeemer, and meet him in the way of his righteous judgments; for there is no redemption but through judgment, nor conversion, but through righteousness. Come and be baptized by Christ; he will baptize you with his fire and Holy Ghost. He will scour and rinse you; for, believe me, his fan is still in his hand and he will if you will let him, thoroughly purge his floor, viz. your hearts, and make all things clean and new there, by his Spirit and power. So will you come to find your interest in Christ, as you feel his workmanship and interest in and over you. And as you thus come to be related to Christ, the heavenly Head, by knowing him to be head in you, so will you come to be related to his body, the church, and see your proper membership and service therein; which I pray God effect, to his glory, and your comfort.

"And now to the whole family and flock of God, in this European part of the world, of the same communion, according to the dispensation of God, be they high or low, young or old, rich or poor, wise or simple, strong or weak, male or female, bond or free, I send this parting salutation, of my most dear love in the Truth; beseeching you all to have me and mine in your remembrance, not only when upon the mighty waters, but when in the solitary deserts of America, if it please the Lord to bring us safe thither; for I am not above the love and prayers of my dear brethren, knowing I need them, and have often found, by good experience, that they avail much with the Lord.

"I must leave you, but I can never forget you; for my love to you has been even as David's and Jonathan's, above the love of women: and suffer me to say, that, to my power, I have from the first endeavoured to serve you and my poor country too, and that at my own charges, with an upright mind, however mis-understood and treated by some whom I heartily forgive. Accept you my services, and ever love and remember, my dear friends and brethren, your old, true, and affectionate friend, brother, and servant, in Christ Jesus. WILLIAM PENN.

"Cowes, Isle of Wight, weighing anchor, the 3d of the seventh month, 1699."

They sailed on the 9th of seventh month, and were nearly three months before they reached their intended port. But this detention upon the ocean, preserved them from exposure to a very fatal malady which prevailed that autumn in Philadelphia.

There were six or seven, and sometimes eight who died in a day of the prevailing disease, and that for several weeks in succession; which out of the number then composing the population of Philadelphia, must have been a very awful mortality. Thomas Story, who was in the city and attended the Yearly Meeting there* during the prevalence of that distemper, informs us that there were few, if any houses free from sickness. "Great," says he, "was the majesty and hand of the Lord. Great was the fear that fell upon all flesh. I saw no lofty or airy countenance, nor heard any vain jesting to move men to laughter; nor witty repartee, to raise mirth; nor extravagant feasting, to excite the lusts and desires of the flesh above measure. But every face gathered paleness, and many hearts were humbled, and countenances fallen and sunk, as such that waited every moment to be summoned to the bar, and numbered to the grave. But the just appeared with open face, and walked upright in the streets, and rejoiced in secret, in that perfect love that casteth out all fear; and sang praises to Him who liveth and reigneth, and is worthy for ever, being resigned unto his holy will in all things; saying, Let it be as thou wilt, in time and in eternity, now and forevermore! Nor love of the world, nor fear of death, could hinder their resignation, abridge their confidence, or cloud their enjoyments in the Lord."

Whether medical writers have given an accurate description of this disease, I cannot tell; but from the imperfect accounts which we have in general history, it appears probably that this was the same disorder which has several times raged in that city and other parts of the United States, within a few years past; and which is known by the name of the Yellow Fever. It appears that it was very fatal in some of the West Indian islands about the time of its first visit to Philadelphia.

After a voyage of nearly three months, the vessel in which William Penn and his family were, arrived in the Delaware. Passing up the river into the neighbourhood of Chester, he went in his barge to the shore, on the southern side of Chester creek, where he met with his particular friend Thomas Story, who had then nearly completed a general visit to Friends on the American continent. They lodged there together, and on the following day, which was the first of the tenth month, they crossed Chester creek to the town in a boat; where a circumstance occurred which must have given him considerable uneasiness at the time; and furnished matter for the tongue of slander.

As they were about landing, some officious young men, desirous of honouring the governor's arrival, undertook contrary to the express orders of some of the magistrates, to fire a salute. They had two small cannon, which they discharged, and being in haste to make a third report, one of them darted in a cartridge before the gun was sponged, which instantly exploded, and shattered his left hand to pieces. A surgeon being called, the arm was amputated.

After a short stay at Chester, William Penn returned to the ship, and proceeded to Philadelphia. The people there, welcomed his arrival with great joy, which was heightened by the information that he expected to spend the rest of his life among them.

Notwithstanding the winter set in with great severity, soon after their arrival, we find William Penn visited Friends and attended the meetings in various places in the vicinity of Philadelphia.

He met the assembly not long after his arrival, and strongly represented to them the odium to which the government of Pennsylvania was exposed, on account of their supposed connivance at piracy and illicit trade. For some time previous to his leaving England, rumours had been extensively circulated there, in which the people of Pennsylvania were represented as giving encouragement to those practices. Of these reports and the scandal which they occasioned, he took care duly to apprize the authorities of the province; in consequence of which a proclamation was issued in 1698, by the deputy governor and his council, requiring the magistrates and officers of the province and territories, to enforce the laws of trade and navigation, and to execute those against piracy, where occasion was given. The assembly enacted two laws to prevent practices of that character, and measures were taken to clear the government from all unjust imputations of that nature. These bills being despatched the assembly broke up and the members returned home.

After the separation of the legislature, William Penn retired to his mansion at Penns-

* Previous to the time of this meeting, some Friends of Burlington, wrote to Friends in Philadelphia, suggesting the expediency of adjourning the Yearly Meeting to a cooler season of the year. But it was answered, that until the meeting convened they had no power to adjourn; but thought it would be well that such only should come as were concerned in the service of the meetings.

bury, the usual place of his residence. The affairs of the government must have occupied great part of his care and attention, for many things had got out of order. But there were two subjects which particularly claimed his consideration: viz. the instruction and civilization of the Indians; and the improvement of the negroes. He had devoted considerable attention to the former while in America before, and during his absence the subject does not appear to have been entirely neglected.

In regard to the negroes, it may be observed, that neither their slavery nor the trade in their persons, had at that time, attracted much attention, from Christian philanthropists. The English engaged in that abominable traffic during the reign of Elizabeth; and a few slaves were carried into Virginia as early as 1620. But the nature of this traffic was very imperfectly understood. Those who were interested in its continuance, would of course endeavour to conceal its enormities. In the first settlement of Pennsylvania, a few slaves were introduced. The great amount of labour inseparable from the opening of a wilderness, created a demand for labourers; and the supposition seems to have been admitted, without much examination, that the removal of these people from a land of pagan darkness, to one illumined with the light of Christianity, was an improvement of their condition. Such it would, no doubt, have been, if their removal and subsequent treatment had been conducted upon Christian principles. But slavery and the slave trade seem to have been at all times conducted upon selfish principles, and the profits of the labour of the slaves have been more regarded than their moral and religious improvement. That Friends of reputable characters, should fall into a practice which is now seen to be glaringly unchristian, appears surprising; yet this was the case, both in the West Indies, and on the American continent. But though Friends incautiously fell into this practice, yet there were some, who at an early day, saw the necessity of endeavouring to imbue the minds of the negroes with the love of virtue, and to lead them in the way of holiness.

When George Fox was in the island of Barbadoes, in 1671, he held a number of meetings among them, in which he admonished them to justice, sobriety, chastity and piety. He also exhorted the masters to treat them kindly, to endeavour to train them up in the fear of God, and after a time of servitude, to make them free. In his letter to the governor and council of that island, he reminded them that they would be answerable at the great day of final retribution, for the use which they made of their power over these people. In an epistle to Friends in the ministry, who were gone to America, written about a month before his death, he exhorted them to keep up meetings among the negroes, and with the Indian kings.

Thomas Story, in his account of his travels in North Carolina in 1698, relates some instances of tender religious impressions made on the minds of negro slaves, in the families of Friends; from which it appears that considerable notice of them had been taken by some Friends who were travelling in the work of the Gospel.

In 1688, the Friends from Crisheim in Germany, who were settled at Germantown, made a communication to the Yearly Meeting then held at Burlington, giving it as their sentiment that the buying, selling and holding of men in slavery was inconsistent with the Christian religion. But no action of that meeting ensued at that time. In the year 1696, that meeting discouraged the further importation of slaves, and recommended measures for their moral improvement.

At the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia, which occurred in the first month 1700, William Penn opened his concern, which he informed them had long engaged his mind, for the benefit and welfare of the Indians and negroes; pressingly exhorting Friends to discharge their duty to those people; more particularly in relation to the improvement of their minds. Advising that they should, as frequently as possible, enjoy the advantage of attending religious meetings, and receiving instruction in the principles of the Christian religion. In consequence of this communication, a meeting was appointed particularly for the negroes, to be held once a month. Measures were also adopted for having meetings more frequently with the Indians, William Penn taking upon himself the charge of regulating the manner, and procuring interpreters.

It was mentioned in a former chapter, that the three lower counties, in 1691, separated from the province, and that William Penn, then in retirement on account of the accusations of Preston and Fuller, was induced to give a reluctant assent to this separation. When the government of the province and territories was conferred upon colonel Fletcher, he reunited them, apparently without consulting their choice on the subject. The legislative assembly, thus composed of members from the province and territories, was convened at Philadelphia, in the third month, 1700. In the commencement of the session, William Penn sent them information, that as he understood they were not satisfied with the charter which was granted by his deputy, in 1696, he was prepared to offer them another.

This information was given at the opening of the session, for the double purpose of proving his readiness to oblige them, and of giving time to consider the subject deliberately.

His next object was to secure, by legislative enactments, the improvement in the condition and treatment of the negroes and Indians, in the province; which he had previously laboured to effect within the limits of his own religious Society. In pursuance of this object he presented soon afterwards, a bill for regulating the morals and marriages of the negroes, and another for the regulation of their trials and punishment, substituting the judgment of the law for the will of the master. A third, was also laid before the assembly, for preventing abuses upon the Indians. Of these bills he had the mortification to find the first and last rejected, the reasons for which, are not transmitted to us in the history of the time. What portion of the members of the assembly belonged to the Society of Friends is uncertain; but the council of the governor consisting altogether of Friends, had united with him in proposing these bills, and the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia, had sanctioned the principle of them. Hence we may very rationally conclude that this rejection was the effect of an influence, extraneous to his own Society. The assembly after a short session was dissolved by the governor.

When William Penn was released from his attendance on the legislature, he took the opportunity of renewing his friendly intercourse with the Indians. For this purpose he visited them in the forests, and received them in return at his mansion at Pennsbury.

It may be readily supposed that he frequently visited the meetings of Friends, both in his own province, and in its vicinity. A few memorials of those visits remain. It is related that one day on his way to the meeting at Haverford, he overtook a little girl on foot who was going to the same meeting. Being on horse back, he invited her to get up behind him, which she did. Being without shoes or stockings her naked feet hung dangling by the side of the horse, and in this way they went on to the meeting. Though he was then the governor and proprietor of Pennsylvania, he did not think it beneath him to assist a little barefooted girl on her way to meeting. We also hear of his being at a meeting in New-Jersey. An account is likewise given of his going to a meeting at Third-haven on the eastern shore of Maryland, in company with Lord Baltimore and his lady. But that must have been in the following year, for the circumstance is related by John Richardson, who did not land in America till the beginning of 1701.

Another legislative assembly was convoked in the autumn of the same year 1700, to meet at New-Castle. One of the objects to which their attention was called by the governor, was the adjustment of the new charter or frame of government, which the former assembly had left unfinished. He also advised them to revise the laws formerly enacted, whilst he was among them, and expunge, alter or enlarge, as they might see proper; and he promised to afford them, during their deliberations, all the assistance in his power.

They made, however, very little progress, before the jealousies and surmisings which had formerly rent the territories from the province, began to appear. The members from the lower counties, perceiving that the growing population and wealth of the province, must inevitably at no distant day render the balance of power very unequal, and fearing or professing to fear, that an improper advantage would be taken, demanded that no greater number of representatives should at any subsequent time, be sent from the province than from the territories. This proposal being rejected by the provincial members, a separation seemed in danger of taking place. But both parties agreed to consult the governor upon the subject; and he suggested an expedient, to which they all agreed; viz; that in all legislative acts in which the interests or privileges of the territories were separately involved, the concurrence of two-thirds of the members from the lower counties, as well as a majority of those from the province should be required.

This question being settled, another almost immediately arose. It was agreed that provision should be made for defraying the expense of government; but the adjustment of the mode and the proportion to be paid by the different sections, was the difficulty. Several plans were proposed and rejected, the members from the territories, and those from the province, uniformly taking opposite sides. As there were then only three counties in the province, this division of their votes produced an exact equilibrium. But again the wisdom and discretion of William Penn, brought the contending parties to an agreement.*

In the early part of 1701, a circumstance occurred that appeared for a short time not unlikely to test the safety of the pacific principles upon which William Penn conducted

* Of two thousand pounds then agreed to be raised, the sums paid by the respective counties, were, Philadelphia one thousand and twenty-five, Chester three hundred and twenty-five, Bucks two hundred and twenty-five, New-Castle one hundred and eighty, Kent one hundred and thirty-nine, Sussex one hundred and six.

his government. It appears that some commotions had arisen in East Jersey, in consequence of the insolent behaviour of a criminal in one of the courts. To what extent the commotion arose is not clearly stated, but the influence of the constituted authorities was not competent to its immediate suppression. Upon receiving information of this event, William Penn hastened to Philadelphia, not to engage a military force, as a governor acting upon the usual policy of the world, would probably have done; but he there selected twelve of the most respectable members of his own Society, with whom he set out for the scene of disorder. From the kind of companions whom he selected in this enterprise, we may readily discover that it was by moral and religious, rather than physical force, he expected to suppress the insurrection. Happily he had no occasion to exercise either, for while on the way, he received information that the difficulty was adjusted.

In the spring of the same year a number of Indians came to Philadelphia, to renew their friendship with the English. The principal of these were the king of the Susquehanna or Conestogo Indians; the king of the Shawanese; the chief of the Ganawese, a tribe residing near the head of Potomac; and the brother to the emperor of the Five Nations. These were accompanied by a number of others, amounting together to about forty.

William Penn and his council concluded with those Indians a treaty of peace and friendship, of which the following is a summary.

That there should be forever thereafter a firm and lasting peace between William Penn, his heirs and successors, and all the Christian inhabitants of the province, and the said Indian chiefs, their successors, and the nations of Indians whom they represented. That the said chiefs should not at any time commit any injury, or suffer the Indians under their control to commit any injury upon the persons or property of the inhabitants of the province, and that William Penn, his heirs and successors, should not permit the English inhabiting the province to commit any act of hostility or violence upon the Indians. That the Indians while residing near to or among the English inhabitants, should be obedient to the laws of the government, and be entitled to the benefit and protection of those laws. That the said Indians should not at any time abet or assist other Indians who were not in amity with the crown of Great Britain and government of Pennsylvania. That neither of the contracting parties should give credit to any reports of hostile designs on the part of the other, until they had taken the proper means to become fully informed of the truth of such reports. That the said Indians should not introduce any foreign Indians into any part of the province, without the consent of William Penn or his successors. That to prevent abuses in the trade with the Indians, no person should be permitted to prosecute any traffic with them but such as should be approved by William Penn or his representative. That the Indians should not sell their peltry or furs to any person out of the province; and that William Penn and his sucessors should be always prepared to supply the Indians with goods at a reasonable rate. The Conestogo Indians confirmed a sale previously made of a tract of land in the vicinity of the Susquehanna river.

Finally, William Penn engaged on behalf of himself and his successors, that they would show themselves true friends and brothers to the Indians, and assist them with their advice and direction; the Indians conducting themselves peaceably and submitting to the laws of the province.

As a pledge for the faithful observance of every part of this treaty, the Indians presented the governor with five parcels of skins; and he in return presented them with a quantity of goods and merchandise.

It appears that notwithstanding the solicitude manifested by William Penn, from his first intercourse with the Indians of Pennsylvania, to prevent his people from taking a fraudulent advantage of their ignorance and simplicity, still great abuses were practised; for soon after the above mentioned treaty was ratified, we find he brought the subject before the council, urging the adoption of some effectual measures for preventing and redressing those evils. It was therefore resolved, that the trade with them should be carried on by a company with a joint stock, under certain regulations and restrictions, more particularly in regard to the sale of spirituous liquors; which company should use all reasonable endeavours to impress upon the Indians a proper sense of the value of the Christian religion; by setting before them an example of probity and candour, both in conduct and commerce. And that care should be taken to instruct them in the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. The plan thus digested, appears to have been afterwards acted upon as far as they found it practicable.

In the beginning of the sixth month, the assembly was convened on an occasion which must have been very unpleasant to William Penn. A letter had been received from the king, demanding three hundred and fifty pounds sterling, to be employed in fortifying the frontiers of New-York.

This demand was probably considered by the king as nothing more than a requisition for the performance of the engagement which William Penn is said to have made when his government was restored to him. The subject must have been an embarrassing one. He could not, consistently with his religious principles, advocate a compliance with this demand; and yet it was not his province to reject it upon his own responsibility. He therefore, when he had convened the assembly, laid the subject before them, and left it for their decision. It is evident, from the proceedings which followed, that the members would gladly have excused themselves from acting upon the case. They at length agreed upon an address to the governor, replete with expressions of loyalty to the king, and requesting that he might be assured of their readiness to comply with all his demands, as far as their circumstances and religious persuasions would permit; but excusing themselves from a present compliance with this requisition, on account of the infancy of the colony and the great expense the inhabitants had incurred in the formation of their settlements. To these reasons for delay, they added the consideration, that the other colonies had hitherto done nothing in furtherance of the object in view.* This address was received by the governor without comment; and the assembly, at their own request, dissolved the next day.

During the time which William Penn had passed in America, he had applied himself industriously to the affairs of the government; endeavouring to rectify the disorders which had crept into the province; always preferring the good of the country and its inhabitants, to his own private interest; rather remitting than strictly exacting his lawful revenues; so that under his paternal administration, the people of the province were advancing in prosperity, and accumulating the necessaries and comforts of life. But the ambition of rulers and the intrigues of their enemies, raised another storm, which in a short time separated William Penn for ever from his province.

The growing wealth and population of the American colonies, began before this time to excite the jealousy of the government at home, and the project appears to have been formed soon after the revolution, to purchase the proprietorship of the more important ones, if not of all, and vest their government in the crown. A bill was, at this time, actually before the house of lords, for changing the colonial governments into regal ones. The excuse for this intended assumption of power, was the national advantage to be derived from it, on one hand, and the pretended abuses existing among them on the other. The friends of William Penn and others interested in the affairs of Pennsylvania, represented to parliament the hardship of his case, and solicited a suspension of their proceedings, until he could return and answer for himself. Letters were also despatched, giving him information of the measures in progress and urging his immediate return.

Painful as the prospect of abandoning the colony, in which he had expected to spend the evening of his day, unquestionably was, there appeared no alternative. The experiment which he had attempted, of maintaining a government upon Christian principles, and making the settlement of the country subservient to the civilization of the original inhabitants, was in danger of being totally frustrated. A military government might be reasonably expected, in case the bill in question should be completed; and very possibly the barbarous contests with the natives which marked the early settlements in Virginia and New England, would be renewed upon the banks of the Delaware.

Having decided upon a voyage to Europe, William Penn again convened the assembly at Philadelphia, to whom on the 15th of seventh month, he delivered the following address:

The Governor's Speech to the Assembly at Philadelphia.

"Friends,

"You cannot be more concerned than I am at the frequency of your service in assembly, since I am very sensible of the trouble and charge it contracts upon the country: but the motives being considered, and that you must have met of course in the next month, I hope you will not think it an hardship now. The reason that hastens your sessions, is the necessity I am under, through the endeavours of the enemies of the prosperity of this country, to go for England, where, taking advantage of my absence, some have attempted by false or unreasonable charges to undermine our government, and thereby the true value of our labours and property; government having been our first encouragement. I con-

*It may be observed, that the British nation was not then engaged in war. The people of Pennsylvania probably took very little interest in the dispute respecting the Spanish succession, which then agitated the European courts. The assembly could therefore advance a political argument for deferring their decision, without particularly adverting to their religious scruples in relation to war.

fess I cannot think of such a voyage without great reluctancy of mind, having promised myself the quietness of a wilderness, and that I might stay so long at least with you, as to render every body entirely easy and safe. For my heart is among you, as well as my body, whatever some people may please to think, and no unkindness or disappointment shall, with submission to God's providence, ever be able to alter my love to the country, and resolution to return and settle my family and posterity in it; but having reason to believe I can at this time best serve you and myself on that side of the water, neither the rudeness of the season, nor tender circumstances of my family can overrule my inclinations to undertake it.

"Think therefore, since all men are mortal, of some suitable expedient and provision for your safety, as well in your privileges as property, and you will find me ready to comply with whatsoever may render us happy by a nearer union of our interests.

"Review again your laws; propose new ones that may better your circumstances, and what you do, do it quickly, remembering that the Parliament sits the end of the next month, and that the sooner I am there, the safer I hope we shall be here.

"I must recommend to your serious thoughts and care, the king's letter to me for the assistance of New York, with three hundred and fifty pounds sterling, as a frontier government; and therefore exposed to a much greater expense in proportion to other colonies, which I called the last assembly to take into their consideration, and they were pleased for the reasons then given to refer to this.*

"I am also to tell you the good news of the governor of New York; the happy issue of his conferences with the Five Nations of Indians; that he hath not only made peace with them, for the king's subjects of that colony, but, as I had by some letters before desired him, for those of all other governments under the crown of England, on the continent of America, as also the nations of Indians within those respective colonies: which certainly merits our acknowledgments.

"I have done when I have told you, that unanimity and despatch are the life of business, and that I desire and expect from you, for your own sakes, since it may so much contribute to the disappointment of those that too long have sought the ruin of our young country."

To this they returned the following answer:

The Assembly's Address to the Governor.

"May it please the proprietary and governor,

"We have this day in our assembly read thy speech, delivered yesterday, in council; and having duly considered the same, cannot but be under a deep sense of sorrow for thy purpose of so speedily leaving us; and at the same time taking notice of thy paternal regard to us and our posterity, the freeholders of this province and territories annexed, in thy loving and kind expressions, of being ready to comply with whatsoever expedient and provisions we shall offer for our safety, as well in privileges as property, and what else may render us happy in a nearer union of our interests; not doubting the performance of what thou hast been so lovingly pleased to promise, do in much humility, and as a token of our gratitude, return unto thee the unfeigned thanks of this house.

"Subscribed by order of the House,

"Joseph Growdon, Speaker."

It is not necessary to enter into a detail of the proceedings of this assembly. Suffice it to observe, that the jealousies of the lower counties again appeared; but were so far allayed by the mildness and firmness of the governor, that the members agreed to proceed with those from the province, in the settlement of the business for which they were convened. The charter of privileges was completed and signed, to the general satisfaction of the parties concerned.

As the first and last clauses of this charter manifest the care of William Penn, to secure the inhabitants of the province and territories in the full enjoyment of their conscientious rights, I shall transcribe them for the information of my readers.

1. Because no people can be truly happy, though under the greatest enjoyment of civil liberties, if abridged of the freedom of their consciences, as to religious profession and worship; and Almighty God being the only Lord of conscience, Father of lights and Spirits, and the Author as well as object, of all Divine knowledge, faith and worship, who only doth enlighten the mind, and persuade and convince the understandings of people, I do hereby grant and declare, that no person or persons, inhabiting this province or territo-

* The letter we may remember, required this sum towards the erection of fortifications, and the reference here made to it, has been construed as recommending a compliance. The recommendation, however, is that they would seriously consider the subject. The result is certainly left to them. As the succeeding paragraph states that the governor of New York had made peace with the neighbouring Indians, the assembly might very consistently have made an appropriation for securing and perpetuating that peace, by presents to them. Such a course seems to be obliquely intimated in the passage before us.

ries, who shall confess and acknowledge one Almighty God, the creator, upholder and ruler of the world; and profess him or themselves obliged to live quietly under the civil government, shall be, in any case molested or prejudiced, in his or their person or estate, because of his or their conscientious persuasion or practice, nor be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place or ministry, contrary to his or their minds, or to do or suffer, any other act or thing, contrary to their religious persuasion.

And because the happiness of mankind depends so much upon the enjoying of liberty of their consciences, as aforesaid, I do hereby solemnly declare, promise and grant, for me, my heirs and assigns, that the first article of this charter, relating to liberty of conscience, and every part and clause therein, according to the true intent and meaning thereof, shall be kept and remain without any alteration, inviolably forever.

The news that William Penn was going to England, soon brought a number of Indians to visit him. Some of these visits were received at Pennsbury, probably before the meeting of the assembly, and one, at least, at Philadelphia, during the session.

John Richardson, who was then in Pennsylvania, upon a religious visit, has left us a brief account of an interview between William Penn and the Indians at Pennsbury. The conference was conducted with great sobriety and decorum. One of the chiefs speaking of their covenants, which they were then reviving, told them, that they never first broke their covenants with any people; for, striking his hand upon his head, he said they did not make them there; but said, striking his hand on his breast, they made them there. After the proper business was finished, William Penn presented them with some articles of clothing, and before they left him, assured them that if any differences should arise between them and any of his people, it need not be the cause of war; for that justice should be done in such cases; that animosities might be prevented on both sides forever.

Of the visit made during the session of the assembly, but little is now known, though the interview is said to have been very interesting. It appears to have been in the presence of the council.

William Penn told them, the assembly was then about enacting a law, according to the desire of the Indians, to prevent their being abused by the sale of rum among them; and he requested them to unite their utmost efforts with those of the government, to secure its due execution.

Observing to them at the same time, that this was likely to be his last interview with them, at least until his return, he assured them he had always loved them, and been kind to them, and should always continue so to be, not from policy or to promote his own interest, but from a real affection; and he desired them, in his absence, to cultivate friendship with those whom he should leave in authority behind him; for they would always, in some degree, continue their friendship to them as he had ever done. Lastly, he told them, that he had charged the members of council, and he then repeated the charge, that they should in all respects be kind to them, and entertain them with all courtesy and demonstrations of good will, as he had always done. The members then promised that they would faithfully observe the charge. Some presents were then made to the Indians, after which they withdrew.

Preparations being made for his voyage, and the vessel nearly ready to sail, he appointed a council of state, consisting of ten persons, of whom Thomas Story was one; he likewise presented the citizens of Philadelphia with a charter, constituting it a city, with the necessary powers for its government; and lastly, he constituted Andrew Hamilton, who was sometime governor both of East and West New Jersey, his deputy governor for the province and territories.

On the 31st of eighth month, 1701, he embarked with his wife and family, and arrived safely at Portsmouth, about the middle of the tenth month following.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

There can be no doubt that William Penn, upon his arrival in England, paid all the needful attention to the subject, which occasioned his voyage; yet we do not find that any considerable efforts on his part were required. The attention of the government was sufficiently engrossed by objects of greater interest to the nation, and the death of the king which occurred on the 8th of first month, 1701–2, produced a sensible change in the situation of William Penn, in relation to the government at home. His well known friendship for the unfortunate and bigotted James, as we have had ample reason to observe, without any participation in the arbitrary measures of the court, rendered him an object of suspicion, during the reign of William. But upon the accession of Ann, the second daughter of James, those jealousies disappeared, and he became once more an acceptable visiter at court. Amidst these changes of influence and power, the bill for converting the colonial

into regal governments, was suffered to fall into oblivion.

The new queen having, soon after her accession, publicly declared her resolution to maintain the toleration in favour of dissenters, an address on the occasion was prepared at the Yearly Meeting of London, in the spring of 1702, and a number of Friends, of whom William Penn was one, were appointed to present it. He delivered it to the queen, who spoke to him very kindly on the subject, and renewed the assurance of her protection.

Though the bill for converting the colonial governments into regal ones, was dropped, as already mentioned, another was enacted, requiring the royal assent to the appointment of deputy governors. This indicates a disposition to render them more dependent upon the crown, than they had hitherto been. It was probably with a view of being at hand to counteract any measures on the part of the government, injurious to the interests of the colonies, that William Penn took lodgings for himself and family at Kensington, where he appears to have resided during the year 1702.

About this time a bill was introduced into Parliament, "to prevent occasional conformity," on which he wrote a small tract entitled, "Considerations upon the bill against occasional conformity." He also wrote near the same time, a second part to his "Reflections and Maxims relating to the conduct of human life."

In the year 1703, he wrote a preface to a book, published by Daniel Philips, and entitled, "Vindiciæ Veritatis," being a defence of the principles of Friends, in answer to a treatise by John Stillingfleet, a clergyman in Lincolnshire. Also a preface to the writings of Charles Marshall, entitled "Zion's travellers comforted;" and in the following year, he wrote a preface to the works of John Whitehead.

In 1705, he addressed a short epistle to his friends, as follows:

"My dear friends,

"Hold all your meetings in that which set them up, the heavenly power of God, both ministers and hearers, and live under it, and not above it, and the Lord will give you dominion over that which seeks to draw you again into captivity to the spirit of this world, under divers appearances; that the Truth may shine through you in righteousness and holiness, in self-denial, long suffering, patience, and brotherly kindness, so shall you approve yourselves the redeemed of the Lord, and his living witnesses in and to an evil generation. So prays your friend and brother, through the many tribulations that lead to the rest and kingdom of God.

"William Penn."

In the same year he visited the meetings of Friends in the western parts of England, where he had good service, and his testimony was effectual to the information of many.

In 1706, he removed with his family to a house near Brentford, about eight miles from London, where he resided several years. It is probable there were few if any other Friends in the neighbourhood, for a meeting was then appointed to be held there, once a month, partly for the accommodation of his family and partly with a view to general service.

In the year 1707, he had the unhappiness to be involved in a law-suit with the executors of Philip Ford, a person who had been entrusted with the management of his estates in Ireland. The demands which were made in behalf of that man, appeared to him so unreasonable and exorbitant, that he thought himself bound both in justice and conscience to resist them. The circumstances of the case are involved in considerable obscurity. But I shall present the best view of it which I have been able to obtain.

It appears he had treated Ford with great kindness, and supposing him bound by a sense of gratitude, entrusted more to his integrity than prudence would justify, and that he had signed papers presented to him without sufficiently scrutinizing their contents. About the time of the war in Ireland, when William and James were contending for the mastery of the island, Ford made, or professed to have made, considerable advances on William Penn's account. The heavy expenses which the latter had incurred in the management of his province had embarrassed his circumstances, so that instead of paying these advances, he mortgaged his property in Pennsylvania, as security for the debt. But Ford managed to procure an absolute conveyance of the province, and gave an informal defeasance in return. During the life of Ford this transaction remained a secret, but after his death, his executors claimed not only the proprietorship but the government of the province. The latter claim was however abandoned, as it was not included in the conveyance. William Penn insisted that the transaction was a mortgage, not a conveyance, and instituted a suit in chancery for opening and liquidating Ford's accounts, whose demand amounted to about twelve thousand pounds sterling. He considered two-thirds of this charge to be unjust, being made up by computing compound interest, and by exorbitant commis-

sions. The chancellor seems to have been convinced that the account was not fairly stated, but the settlements which had been sanctioned at several times by William Penn, rendered it improper in his view to open the accounts. While this suit was pending in chancery, the representatives of Ford instituted a suit in the king's bench for arrears of rent, upon a lease of the province, made by Phillip Ford to the proprietary, and obtained a verdict for three thousand pounds. Execution was issued, and an officer sent to arrest William Penn while he was attending a public meeting. But the baliff permitted him to stay the meeting, upon the assurance of Henry Gouldney and others, that he would surrender himself when it was over. This was accordingly done, and he in consequence, was obliged to live for several months within the rules of the Fleet. A compromise was at length effected, and the sum of seven thousand pounds accepted in lieu of the sums demanded. The money was chiefly advanced by his friends, and a mortgage on the province for six thousand six hundred pounds, was given as security.* The imposition practised by this unworthy confidant, may be in part computed from the fact, that he received seventeen thousand pounds of William Penn's money, and disbursed on his own account, only sixteen thousand pounds, and yet brought his employer twelve thousand pounds in debt for interest and services.

After this troublesome affair was adjusted, he again travelled through some of the western parts of England, in the work of the ministry, as his health and strength would admit. He likewise visited the counties of Berks, Buckingham, Surrey and other places.

In the same year, 1709, he wrote an account of the life and writings of Bulstrode Whitelock, prefixed to his memorials of English affairs, to the end of the reign of King James I., now published from his original manuscripts.

About this time we find the first notice of the failure of his physical powers. The numerous perplexities through which he had recently passed, together with necessary decays of nature, were producing their visible effects on his once athletic constitution. The air in the vicinity of London was found unfavourable to his declining powers, and he removed to Rushcomb, in Buckinghamshire, where he fixed his residence for the rest of his life. His removal to Rushcomb occurred in 1710, and it appears probable that he travelled but little from home after his settlement there. We only hear of his being once at a Monthly Meeting in Reading, and once in London subsequent to this time.

In the year 1711, the works of John Banks, an ancient friend of his, and a valuable minister, being ready for the press, he dictated a preface, to an amanuensis; walking at the time about the room with his cane, and occasionally giving answers to other matters. This was the last essay which he published.†

As I have now arrived nearly at the close of William Penn's active life, a brief review of the affairs of Pennsylvania, so far as he was connected with them, during the time which had elapsed since his return to England, will be taken.

After the departure of the proprietary, the jealousies between the province and territories, which he found so much trouble in controlling, effectually prevented their union, so that they never afterwards acted in joint legislation; and in 1703, it was finally settled to form two independent legislative assemblies. The administration of governor Hamilton was of short duration, being terminated by his death in the twelfth month, 1702.

The person appointed as successor to Andrew Hamilton, was John Evans, a young man of twenty-six years, who arrived in Pennsylvania in the twelfth month, 1703. The appointment of so young a man to such an important station, is of itself a sufficient indication of the difficulty experienced in finding one properly qualified, who was willing to occupy that troublesome station. He was recommended to James Logan, secretary for the province, on whose talents and fidelity William Penn placed great reliance, and under whose direction, the new deputy promised to place himself. He was accompanied by William Penn junior, whom his father was anxious to detach from the dissipations of Europe, and engage in the business of the province.

The administration of governor Evans, was an unhappy one. Dissentions soon arose between him and the leading men in the province, which were productive of acrimonious actions and feelings not toward him alone, but extending in some measure to William Penn himself. From a number of his actions which are recorded, there can be no doubt that the proprietary was misinformed of his

* This debt was afterwards paid by the commissioners appointed to superintend the interest of the mortgages, out of funds derived from quit rents and the sale of land.

† This preface, is contained in the beginning of Vol. II. of the Friends' Library. It may be proper to mention, that the John Wilkinson mentioned in that preface, was not the one who caused the separation, but one who remained faithful to the end of his days.

character, or that his character underwent an unfavourable change after his appointment. There is also reason to believe, that the influx of emigrants, of a class less moral and religious than those who accompanied William Penn in 1682, had somewhat deteriorated the general tone of morals in the province. After a turbulent administration of about five years, governor Evans was removed, and Charles Gookin appointed in his place.

Governor Gookin was a man of years and experience, from whose temper and abilities considerable hopes were entertained of a satisfactory and harmonious administration. He was the bearer of a letter from William Penn to his friends in Pennsylvania, dated the 28th of seventh month, 1708, in which he expressed the warmth of his love for them, as in times that were past, and earnestly exhorted them to humility, and a deep and constant care to experience an establishment on the ancient foundation; to cry aloud to the Lord in faith and courage, for his renewing and refreshing power; that by a blameless life, they might manifest the Divine work upon their hearts, and be the means of leading others into the fold of rest. He entreated them to promote the collection of his dues there, to enable him to discharge the debt then recently contracted, so that he might reputably and speedily return to Pennsylvania; which he was anxious to do. And he added that if the Lord should bring him and his family safely to them, he should hardly be induced upon any consideration to leave them again; for he was desirous of settling his minor children among them, greatly preferring that they should be planters in Pennsylvania, rather than merchants in their native land.

From this letter we may clearly infer, that his continuance in England was chiefly, if not entirely owing to pecuniary embarrassment; and that the difficulty of procuring a deputy who was competent to manage the complicated concerns of the government, and the discordant propensities of the new settlers, rendered him very solicitous to try what his own presence and influence could accomplish.

The new governor arrived at Philadelphia on the 1st of first month, 1709, when the assembly for the province was in session. That body immediately presented an address, in which they very injudiciously claimed a redress of grievances, arising as they alleged, from the maladministration of his predecessor. As many of these grievances were such as the new governor had no power to redress, this reference to them upon his arrival, gave no very favourable prospect of future harmony. His answer was mild yet firm, and he assured them that he was disposed to do what lay in his power to render them as happy as possible. But he observed that the way to escape from all apprehension of grievances, was to lay aside former animosities, and apply themselves to the promotion of the public good.

Dissentions soon arose between the governor and the assembly, which greatly impeded the public business, and were the source of much painful anxiety to William Penn. James Logan, secretary of the province, a firm and faithful friend of the proprietary, became an object of manifest aversion to the assembly. They even issued a warrant signed by the speaker, for apprehending and committing him to jail, when on the eve of embarking for England, but a supersedeas from the governor prevented its execution. He prosecuted his voyage, and satisfied his friend and benefactor of the correctness and integrity of his conduct.

The despatches, which reached William Penn through the instrumentality of James Logan, or through other channels, put him into full possession of the turbulent spirit which distracted the province. Roused by a clear perception of the evils necessarily resulting from the prevalence of these dispositions and the scandal which they occasioned, he addressed to the assembly, the following energetic expostulation.

"London, 29th Fourth month, 1710.

"My old friends,

"It is a mournful consideration, and the cause of deep affliction to me, that I am forced, by the oppressions and disappointments, which have fallen to my share in this life, to speak to the people of that province, in a language, I once hoped, I should never have occasion to use. But the many troubles and oppositions, I have met with from thence, oblige me, in plainness and freedom, to expostulate with you, concerning the causes of them.

"When it pleased God to open a way for me to settle that colony, I had reason to expect a solid comfort from the services done to many hundreds of people; and it is no small satisfaction to me, that I have not been disappointed in seeing them prosper, and growing up to a flourishing country, blessed with liberty, ease and plenty, beyond what many of themselves could expect; and wanting nothing to make them happy, but what, with a right temper of mind and prudent conduct, they might give themselves. But, alas! as to my part, instead of reaping the like advantages, some of the greatest of my troubles have arisen from thence; the many combats I have engaged in; the great

pains and incredible expense, for your welfare and ease, to the decay of my former estate; of which (however some there would represent it) I too sensibly feel the effects; with the undeserved opposition I have met with from thence, sink me into sorrow; that, if not supported by a superior hand, might have overwhelmed me long ago. And I cannot but think it hard measure, that while that has proved a land of freedom and flourishing, it should become to me, by whose means it was principally made a country, the cause of grief, trouble and poverty.

"For this reason I must desire you all, even of all professions and degrees, for although all have not been engaged in the measures that have been taken, yet every man who has an interest there, is, or must be, concerned in them, by their effects; I must, therefore, I say, desire you all, in a serious and true weightiness of mind, to consider what you are, or have been, doing; why matters must be carried on with these divisions and contentions, and what real causes have been given, on my side, for that opposition to me and my interest, which I have met with; as if I were an enemy, and not a friend, after all I have done and spent, both here and there. I am sure, I know not of any cause whatsoever. Were I sensible you really wanted any thing of me in the relation between us, that would make you happier, I should readily grant it, if any reasonable man would say it were fit for you to demand; provided you would also take such measures as were fit for me to join with.

"Before any one family had transported themselves thither, I earnestly endeavoured to form such a model of government, as might make all concerned in it, easy; which nevertheless was subject to be altered, as there should be occasion. Soon after we got over, that model appeared, in some parts of it, to be very inconvenient, if not impracticable; the number of members, both in the council and assembly, was much too large; some other matters also proved inconsistent with the king's charter to me; so that, according to the power reserved for an alteration, there was a necessity to make one, in which, if the lower counties were brought in, it was well known, at that time, to be on a view of advantage to the province itself, as well as to the people of those counties, and to the general satisfaction of those concerned, without the least apprehension of any irregularity in the method.

"Upon this they had another charter passed, *nemine contradicente;* which I always desired might be continued, while you yourselves would keep up to it, and put it in practice; and many there know how much it was against my will, that, upon my last going over, it was vacated. But after this was laid aside (which indeed was begun by yourselves, in Colonel Fletcher's time) I, according to my engagement, left another, with all the privileges, that were found convenient for your good government; and, if any part of it has been, in any case, infringed, it was never by my approbation. I desired it might be enjoyed fully. But though privileges ought to be tenderly preserved, they should not, on the other hand, be asserted under that name, to a licentiousness: the design of government is to preserve good order; which may be equally broken in upon by the turbulent endeavours of the people, as well as the overstraining of power, in a governor. I designed the people should be secured of an annual fixed election and assembly; and that they should have the same privileges in it, that any other assembly has, in the queen's dominions; among all which this is one constant rule, as in the parliament here, that they should sit on their own adjournments; but to strain this expression to a power, to meet, at all times during the year, without the governor's concurrence, would be to distort government, to break the due proportion of the parts of it, to establish confusion in the place of necessary order, and make the legislative the executive part of government. Yet, for obtaining this power, I perceive, much time and money have been spent, and great struggles have been made, not only for this, but some other things, that cannot at all be for the advantage of the people to be possessed of; particularly the appointing of judges; because the administration might, by such means, be so clogged, that it would be difficult, if possible, under our circumstances, at some times, to support it. As for my own part, as I desire nothing more than the tranquility and prosperity of the province and government, in all its branches. Could I see that any of these things, that have been contended for, would certainly promote these ends, it would be a matter of indifference to me how they were settled. But seeing the frame of every government ought to be regular in itself, well-proportioned and subordinate, in its parts, and every branch of it invested with sufficient power to discharge its respective duty, for the support of the whole, I have cause to believe that nothing could be more destructive to it, than to take so much of the provision and executive part of the government, out of the governor's hands, and lodge it in an uncertain collective body; and more especially since our government is dependent, and I am answerable to the crown,

if the administration should fail, and a stop be put to the course of justice. On these considerations I cannot think it prudent in the people, to crave these powers; because not only I, but they themselves, would be in danger of suffering by it. Could I believe otherwise, I should not be against granting any thing of this kind, that were asked of me with any degree of common prudence and civility. But, instead of finding cause to believe that the contentions which have been raised about these matters, have proceeded only from mistakes of judgment, with an earnest desire, notwithstanding, at the bottom, to serve the public (which, I hope, has still been the inducement of several concerned in them) I have had but too sorrowful a view and sight to complain of the manner in which I have been treated. The attacks on my reputation, the many indignities put upon me, in papers sent over hither, into the hands of those who could not be expected to make the most discreet and charitable use of them; the secret insinuations against my justice, besides the attempt made upon my estate; resolves past in the assemblies, for turning my quit-rents, never sold by me, to the support of government; my lands entered upon, without any regular method; my manors invaded, (under pretence I had not duly surveyed them) and both these by persons principally concerned in these attempts against me here; a right to my overplus land unjustly claimed by the possessors of the tracts in which they are found; my private estate continually exhausting, for the support of that government, both here and there; and no provision made for it by that country; to all which I cannot but add, the violence that has been particularly shown to my secretary; of which (though I shall, by no means, protect him in any thing, he can be justly charged with, but suffer him to stand or fall by his own actions,) I cannot but thus far take notice, that, from all the charges I have seen or heard of, against him, I have cause to believe, that had he been as much in opposition to me, as he has been understood to stand for me, he might have met with a milder treatment from his prosecutors; and to think that any man should be the more exposed there, on my account, and, instead of finding favour, meet with enmity, for his being engaged in my service, is a melancholy consideration! In short, when I reflect, on all these heads, of which I have so much cause to complain, and, at the same time, think of the hardships I and my suffering family have been reduced to, in no small measure owing to my endeavours for, and disappointments from, that province, I cannot but mourn the unhappiness of my portion, dealt to me from those, of whom I had reason to expect much better and different things; nor can I but lament the unhappiness, that too many of them are bringing on themselves, who, instead of pursuing the amicable ways of peace, love and unity, which I, at first, hoped to find in that retirement, are cherishing a spirit of contention and opposition; and, blind to their own interest, are oversetting that foundation, on which your happiness might be built.

"Friends, the eyes of many are upon you; the people of many nations of Europe look on that country, as a land of ease and quiet, wishing to themselves, in vain, the same blessings which they conceive you enjoy: but, to see the use you make of them, is no less the cause of surprise to others, while such bitter complaints and reflections are seen to come from you, of which it is difficult to conceive even the sense or meaning. Where are the distresses, grievances and oppressions, that the papers sent from thence, so often say, you languish under! while others have cause to believe, you have hitherto lived, or might live, the happiest of any, in the queen's dominions?

"Is it such a grievous oppression, that the courts are established by my power, founded on the king's charter, without a law of your making, when upon the same plan you propose? If this disturb any, take the advice of other able lawyers on the main, without tying me up to the opinion of principally one man, whom I cannot think so very proper to direct in my affairs (for I believe the late assembly have had but that one lawyer amongst them) and I am freely content you should have any law, that, by proper judges, should be found suitable. Is it your oppression that the officers' fees are not settled by an act of assembly? No man can be a greater enemy to extortion, than myself: do, therefore, allow such fees as may reasonably encourage fit persons to undertake these offices, and you shall soon have (and should have always cheerfully had) mine, and I hope my lieutenant's concurrence and approbation. Is it such an oppression, that licences for public houses have not been settled, as has been proposed? It is a certain sign you are strangers to oppression, and know nothing but the name, when you so highly bestow it on matters so inconsiderable; but that businesss, I find, is adjusted. Could I know any real oppression, you lie under, that is in my power to remedy (and what I wish you would take proper measures to remedy, if you truly feel any such) I would be as ready, on my part, to remove them, as you to desire it; but according to the best judgment I can make of the complaints I have seen (and you once thought

I had a pretty good one) I must, in a deep sense of sorrow, say, that I fear the kind hand of Providence, that has so long favoured and protected you, will, by the ingratitude of many there to the great mercies of God, hitherto shown them, be at length provoked to convince them of their unworthiness; and, by changing into calamities the blessings that so little care has been taken by the public to deserve, reduce those who have been so clamorous and causelessly discontented, to a true but smarting sense of their duty. I write not this with a design to include all; I doubt not, many of you have been burdened at, and can, by no means join in, the measures that have been taken; but while such things appear under the name of an assembly that ought to represent the whole, I cannot but speak more generally than I would desire, though I am not insensible what methods may be used to obtain the weight of such a name.

"I have already been tedious, and shall now, therefore, briefly say, that the opposition I have met with from thence must, at length, force me to consider more closely of my own private and sinking circumstances, in relation to that province. In the mean time, I desire you all seriously to weigh what I have written, together with your duty to yourselves, to me, and to the world, who have their eyes upon you, and are witnesses of my early and earnest care for you. I must think there is a regard due to me, that has not of late been paid; pray, consider of it fully, and think soberly, what you have to desire of me, on the one hand, and ought to perform to me, on the other; for, from the next assembly, I shall expect to know what you resolve, and what I may depend on. If I must continue my regards to you, let me be engaged to it by a like disposition in you towards me. But if a plurality after this shall think they owe me none, or no more than for some years I have met with, let it, on a fair election, be so declared, and I shall then, without further suspense, know what I have to rely upon. God give you his wisdom and fear to direct you, that yet our poor country may be blessed with peace, love and industry, and we may once more meet good friends, and live so to the end; our relation, in the truth, having but the same true interest.

"I am, with great truth and most sincere regard, your real friend, as well as just proprietor and governor,

"WILLIAM PENN."

It does not appear that any reply was returned by the assembly to this epistle. But the effect upon the people of the province seems to have been electric. The measures to which he alluded in the penultimate paragraph, most probably alarmed them. To be transferred from the paternal government of the benevolent father of his country, to that of the crown, even when Anne held the sceptre, was not likely to diminish the grievances of which they so loudly complained. The consequence was, that at the ensuing election, an entirely new set of members was returned to the assembly; and a degree of harmony between them and the governor, which had been unknown for several years, marked the progress of the session; and this state of things continued with little interruption, during the short time in which William Penn was capable of taking an active part in these concerns.

It may be proper to mention, though not immediately connected with the biography of William Penn, that during the administration of Governor Gookin, an effort was made by the legislature of Pennsylvania, to check the importation of African slaves. The Yearly Meeting of Friends, as noted in a former chapter, in the year 1696, had expressed its disapprobation of the traffic; and it does not appear that the people of Pennsylvania were ever deeply engaged in it. But the effort now made to restrain it by legislative authority was overruled by the mother country. The encouragement of that abominable commerce, was then a part of the settled policy of Great Britain. In the treaty of Utrecht, a stipulation was made, securing to the South Sea Company, the privilege of importing annually, from 1713 to 1743, four thousand eight hundred negroes, into the Spanish West Indies.

In the year 1712, William Penn agreed with the ministers of the crown, upon a sale of his interest in the province and territories, to which he had devoted so large a part of his laborious life. His pecuniary difficulties and the impossibility of giving his personal attention to their concerns, were probably the moving causes of this measure. The sum to be paid was twelve thousand pounds;* one thousand of which were actually paid. But before the documents for making a legal

* The smallness of this sum, is no inconsiderable evidence, that the original grant, in 1681, was not considered or intended as the payment of a debt amounting to sixteen thousand pounds. For notwithstanding the quantity of land which had been sold, the proprietary rights which remained in 1712, were unquestionably of much greater value at that time than the whole wilderness province was in 1681; particularly, as the Indian claims to the most valuable parts of the province had been extinguished by amicable purchase.

transfer, were completed, he was attacked with a disease of an apoplectic character, which left him with a memory so far impaired, that he was judged incompetent to their execution.

He had, in the same year, three attacks of this distemper, the last of which appeared at the time, likely to close his earthly career. He at length revived, but his understanding and memory were so completely prostrated, that he was never afterwards capable of public action.

In the following year, 1713, an intimate friend, who spent a few days at his house, relates that he found him pretty well in health, and cheerful of disposition, but defective in memory, so that though he could relate many past transactions, yet he could not readily recollect the names of absent persons; nor could he deliver his words so readily as formerly: yet he uttered many sensible and savoury expressions, which rendered his company still acceptable, and manifested the religious settlement and stability of his mind.

In the spring of 1714, the same Friend, paying another visit, found him but little changed since the former year. The Friend went with him in his chariot to meeting at Reading, where he spoke several sensible sentences, but was not able to say much. At parting, he took leave of his friends with much tenderness and affection.

In the autumn, or beginning of winter, of the same year, he was visited by his intimate friend, Thomas Story, who was then just returned from America. He found his memory almost gone, and the use of his understanding suspended; so that he was not so conversable as formerly, but as near the Truth in the love of it as before. He was then incapable of any business, and yet as sensible of the enjoyment of the Truth as at any time in his life.

"When I went," says he, "to his house, I thought myself strong enough to see him in that condition; but when I entered the room, and perceived the great defect of his expressions for want of memory, it greatly bowed my spirit, under a consideration of the uncertainty of all human qualifications; and what the finest of men are soon reduced to, by a disorder of the organs of that body with which the soul is connected and acts, during this present state of being. When these are a little obstructed in their various functions, a man of the clearest parts and finest expression, becomes scarcely intelligible. Nevertheless, no insanity or lunacy at all appeared in his actions; and his mind was in an innocent state, as appeared by his very loving deportment to all that came near him. And that he had a good sense of truth was plain, by some very clear sentences he spoke in the life and power of truth, in an evening meeting we had there; wherein we were greatly comforted, so that I was ready to think this was a sort of sequestration of him from all the concerns of this life, which so much oppressed him; not in judgment, but in mercy, that he might not be oppressed thereby to the end."

In 1715, the annual visit of the first-mentioned Friend was repeated. His memory was found to be still more defective, but his love of the Truth and sense of religious enjoyment apparently continued; for he frequently went in his chariot to the meeting at Reading, and there sometimes uttered short, but sound and savoury expressions.

In the year 1716, the same Friend and another paid him a visit. He seemed glad to see them, though he could not remember their names; yet it appeared by his answers that he knew their persons. He was then much weaker than in the former year, but still at times expressed himself sensibly. When they were about going away, he took leave of them in these words. "My love is with you; the Lord preserve you, and remember me in the everlasting covenant."

In the summer of 1717, the same Friend found his understanding so much impaired, that he scarcely knew his old acquaintances; he was almost too weak to walk without assistance; and he could hardly express himself intelligibly. Thus his powers of body and mind suffered a gradual decline for about six years.

On the 24th of fifth month, 1718, Thomas Story paid him a visit and remained with him till the 27th, when he left him and proceeded to Bristol; at which place he received a letter from Hannah Penn, informing him of the decease of her husband, who departed on the 30th. No symptoms of the disorder of which he died, were observable when Thomas Story left him three days before.

We find by what little remains of the closing years of this remarkable man, that as he was made willing in his youthful days, to purchase the pearl of great price, the consolation which flows from the Divine presence and a conscience void of offence toward God and toward man, whatever it might cost, so in his closing period, when his mind was incapable of enjoyment from any other source, the consolations of religion continued unabated. Thus, though a cloud was permitted to cover his understanding, yet as regards his everlasting prospects, his sun went down in brightness.

The account given by Thomas Story relative to his funeral, is in the following words:

"On the 1st of sixth month, we arrived at Rushcomb late in the evening, where we found the widow and most of the family together. Our coming occasioned a fresh remembrance of the deceased, and also a renewed flood of many tears from all eyes. A solid time we had, but few words among us for some time; for it was a deep baptizing season, and the Lord was near at that time.

"Here I staid till the 5th, and that day accompanied the corpse to the grave, at Jordan's meeting-place, in the county of Bucks, where we had a large meeting of Friends and others, from many places. And as the Lord had made choice of him, in the days of his youth, for great and good services, and had been with him in many dangers and difficulties of various kinds; so he did not leave him in his last moments, but honoured the occasion with his blessed presence, and gave us a happy season of his goodness, to the general satisfaction of all, the meeting being well spoken of by strangers afterwards."

Having now traced the course of William Penn from his youth to the close of his earthly pilgrimage, a few lines may with propriety be added, in relation to the great outlines of his character.

That he possessed extraordinary powers of mind, is sufficiently proved by the numerous valuable works which he left behind him. And that he was zealously devoted to the promotion of pure and undefiled religion, is clearly demonstrated by his extensive and continual labours, either in the ministry of the word or by his pen. Of his cotemporaries, there were probably none who enjoyed more favourable opportunities, or possessed better qualifications, to judge of his religious character than Thomas Story. He introduces his acquaintance with him in the year 1693, in the following terms. "We had the satisfaction to meet with our eminent and honourable Friend, William Penn, which was the first time I saw him; and with whom at that time, I contracted so near a friendship, in the life of Truth, and tendering love thereof in many tears, as never wore out to his dying day; and in which his memory still lives, as a sweet odour in my mind, as a faithful servant of the Lord, a man of God indeed in his time." Afterwards, in the following year, when Thomas Story went to London under considerable fear, being then young in the ministry, he found great encouragement from the fatherly care and behaviour of the ministers in general, "but especially of that great minister of the Gospel and faithful servant of Christ, William Penn; who abounded in wisdom, discretion, prudence, love and tenderness of affection, with all sincerity, above most in this generation; and indeed I never knew his equal."

After the death of William Penn, the province of Pennsylvania became subject to considerable contests in relation to the rights of his family. The claims of his heirs were resisted by many of the inhabitants. Those disputes, indeed, may be easily traced to a period antecedent to his decease; but they assumed a more acrimonious character afterwards. Hence arose the proprietary and the popular parties; whose disputes and animosities, have caused some unfounded reflections to be cast upon the memory of the venerable founder; but we are furnished with unquestionable evidence of the regard which Friends of Pennsylvania bore for his integrity and services, by the following testimony issued a few months after his death.

"*A testimony of Friends in Pennsylvania concerning their deceased friend and governor, William Penn.*

"We find ourselves under obligation and concern, both in duty and affection, to give this mark of our love and the honourable regard we bear to the memory of our late worthy governor and well-beloved friend, William Penn; though it may not be our part to attempt so ample and general a testimony as seems justly called for, by his early convincement of the blessed Truth, his noble resignation thereunto, his steadfastness therein, and great services to the church of Christ; as well by incessant labours in word and doctrine, (made more extensive by the many excellent writings he hath published,) as his valiant sufferings for purity of worship, and the testimonies he had received, which to him might be the greater trial and conflict, his birth and station in the world placing him more in the notice of those of high rank amongst men, than was commonly the lot of many others of our worthy elders. Neither can it, we presume, be forgotten, how, when it pleased the Lord to give some ease to his people, this our dear friend employed the interest he then had with success, and devoted his time and purse to serve, not only his friends in their religious liberties, but them and others distressed, or any wanting favour even to the neglect of his own just interest. But these memorials we leave to be made by those of our worthy elders in Great Britain, who have more instances and greater knowledge of those his trials, services, and labours, than many of us can be presumed to be so fully acquainted with.

"Yet it becomes us particularly to say, that as he was our governor, he merited from us

love and true honour, and we cannot but have the same regard to his memory, when we consider the blessings and ease we have enjoyed under his government; and are rightly sensible of his care, affection, and regard, always shown with anxious concern for the safety and prosperity of the people, who many of them, removed from comfortable livings to be adventurers with him—not so much with views of better acquisitions, or greater riches, but the laudable prospect of retired, quiet habitations for themselves and posterity, and the promotion of truth and virtue in the earth. And as his love was great and endeavours constant for the happiness of his friends, countrymen, and fellow-subjects, so was his great tenderness, justice, and love towards the Indians, from first to last, always conspicuous and remarkable. Here we cannot but gratefully and humbly acknowledge to the gracious God of all our mercies, the wonderful preservation of this colony from such injuries and barbarous depredations as have befallen most others; and add that we believe the same love wherewith the Lord had so fully and effectually prevailed on the heart of this our worthy friend, was the chief and durable motive of his affection and kind behaviour towards those people; and was the cause, as he was made a means, of this our peace and preservation; so that his name remains precious, even amongst the heathens.

"More might be truly said of him as he was the proprietary and governor of this province; and we now find it our duty, (incited thereto by the love of our heavenly Father in our souls) to add a few lines concerning him as he was our worthy elder, friend, and brother in the blessed Truth; many of us having been often comforted, edified, and solaced with him in the enjoyment thereof. As was his testimony, so was his conversation,—edifying and lovely, administering grace and knowledge. His behaviour was sweet and engaging, and his condescension great, even to the weakest and meanest; affable and of easy access; tender of every person and thing that had simplicity of truth, or honesty for a foundation.

"It was our comfort to understand that after all his various troubles, trials, and afflictions, when, in an advanced age, infirmity of body, and a distemper which affected his memory in most other things which befell him, yet the love of God remained with him, and his sense thereof was frequently strong and evident, and, we doubt not, the blessing of the Almighty was his Omega.

"So that we have assured hope, those afflictions being put off with his mortal body, immortality is given him by our Lord Jesus, and as he faithfully bore the cross, the crown, which was his hope, and long since in his eye, is his possession; and his soul received into that bliss prepared and appointed for the righteous.

"Signed at the time of our General Meeting, held in Philadelphia, the 16th of first month, 1718–19."

This testimony bears the signatures of fifty Friends, and among them that of David Lloyd, who was speaker of the assembly to which in 1710, that pathetic epistle was addressed.

If William Penn did not accomplish, in the settlement of Pennsylvania, all that his ardent and comprehensive mind originally anticipated, he unquestionably effected more towards establishing the practicability of supporting a government upon strictly Christian principles, than ever was effected by any other man. To disarm by lenient means, the wild and untutored inhabitants of the woods; to obtain possession by fair and honourable purchase, of such an extensive tract of country without exciting a murmur among its original occupants; to bring so many discordant tribes into treaties of friendship and peace; and to establish an intercourse with them, which was maintained on friendly terms as long as the authorities of Pennsylvania adhered to the principles of the founder, was certainly to set an important example to succeeding ages. If we judge from the history of the early settlers in New England and Virginia, we shall probably adopt the conclusion, that there is quite as much difficulty in maintaining the relations of peace with such people as those who occupied the forests of North America, as with the civilized nations of Europe; yet from the experience of William Penn's settlement here, we have ample reason to believe that if the whole continent of North America had been colonized upon the same Christian principles, and the system been steadily maintained, we might at this day have pointed to the western world for a verification of the prophetic declaration, that "nation should not lift up sword against nation, or the people learn war any more."

A JOURNAL

OF THE

LIFE, TRAVELS AND LABOURS,

IN THE WORK OF THE MINISTRY, OF

JOHN GRIFFITH,

LATE OF CHELMSFORD, IN ESSEX, IN GREAT BRITAIN, FORMERLY OF DARBY, IN PENNSYLVANIA.

CHAPTER I.

Birth—character of his parents—early visitations of Divine grace—removal to America—conversion—true baptism—regeneration—his various exercises and view of being called to the ministry—first appearance in that weighty work—remarks on the nature of Gospel ministry.

It has been much upon my mind to write something by way of journal, of my life, travels and experience in the gracious and merciful dealings of the Lord with me, through the course of my pilgrimage in this world; together with some remarks on the state of our Society in my time, interspersed with observations relating to our conduct in various stations of life, but chiefly in a religious sense; to remain, when my body is laid in the dust, a lasting memorial and testimony to the Truth. And as the Lord shall be pleased to open my understanding, it may also afford profitable way-marks to some weary travellers, who are seeking a city that hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God.

I was born on the 21st day of the fifth month, 1713, in Radnorshire, South Wales; being favoured with parents who had the substance of religion in themselves, and were conscientiously concerned to train up their children in the fear of God. The names of my parents were John and Amy Griffith; my mother was educated in society with the people called Quakers, and was a steady, valuable Friend; having at times, a few words by way of testimony, tenderly to drop in religious meetings, which were acceptable to Friends. My father, as I have heard him relate, was convinced of the blessed Truth after he had arrived to man's estate, and found it a great cross to join with the despised Quakers; he being the only one of the family, which was pretty large, who joined in society with that people. But the Lord making hard things easy to him, he gave up in earnest to the heavenly discoveries, and in process of time, had a dispensation of the Gospel of peace and salvation committed to him; wherein he laboured in the parts where he lived, with remarkable sincerity and uprightness; being a truly living minister and a heavenly-minded man, as I well remember, though I left him when I was young, and never saw him again. He finished his course in this world, on the 24th of the second month, in the year 1745; and it is added in the register of the Monthly Meeting to which he belonged, "He was a minister many years, and left a good report behind him among all sorts of people." He was a serviceable instrument in the Lord's hand against undue liberties, which were then creeping in; and was very deeply affected with the declining state of the church in those parts, many having removed to America, which since his decease has become almost a desolation.

Having thus paid a small tribute, which I thought due to the memory of my worthy

parents, I shall proceed to give an account of myself.

I was favoured with the heart-melting visitations of God's love, I think, when about seven or eight years old; and frequently experienced his name to be in the assemblies of his people as precious ointment poured forth; whereby my desires were greatly raised to attend meetings for Divine worship. For although, like Samuel of old, I was as yet unacquainted with the voice of God, neither did I clearly understand from whence that precious consolation which I felt, came; yet I well remember something working powerfully in my tender, weak mind, by way of opposition to that sweet heavenly enjoyment, in order to deprive me thereof, by presenting to my view some transitory delight, and filling my mind with vain, unprofitable and sometimes wicked and blasphemous thoughts, which were a very great affliction to me. Then he who was a liar from the beginning, would suggest that the only way to get over such uneasiness, was to give way to those thoughts, and to be utterly regardless of what passed through my mind. I found the flesh wanted ease, and to save itself, willingly joined with the temptations of satan, whereby I got a kind of present ease; but it was by such gratifications as tended to heap up wrath against the day of wrath, and the revelation of the righteous judgments of God. Notwithstanding the false ease contrived by my soul's enemy, I did at times very sensibly feel as I grew up, this peace disturbed and broken by a sense of God's wrath, revealed from heaven against my unrighteousness; and I was often in great bitterness of spirit, when the chastening of the Lord was upon me for sin. I would at such times enter into covenant with the Lord, promising amendment; but as those promises were made much in my own will, they were soon broken, and that increased the weight of my horror and distress; the Lord in infinite mercy, being pleased to find me out, and to plead with me as in the valley of decision. In writing this, my mind is greatly moved with pity and compassion towards inconsiderate youth, who for the sake of trifling vanities, slight their own mercies, and are subjected to distress of mind. The case is still worse, when by repeated disobedience and rebellion against God's unmerited grace, they have almost stifled his Divine witness in their own hearts, and go on with impunity; for an awakening time will come, soon or late, which must strike all such with horror and amazement. May it be in mercy!

My godly parents were very careful to prevent my falling into evil company; notwithstanding which, without their knowledge, I frequently found such, and joined them in those vanities which are incident to youth, and perhaps was not a whit behind any of them therein. Yet in the cool of the day, I was sharply reproved, nay sometimes, in the very midst of my folly. But by this time I wanted to silence the pure witness against evil in my heart. Oh! I have often since, with deep reverence, thankfully admired the long suffering of a gracious God, in that he did not cut me off, when I wilfully resisted the reproofs of his instruction, which is the way to life, because I wanted to live in the vain pleasures of this perishing world.

When I was about the age of thirteen years, a Friend who had lived some time in Pennsylvania, being in our parts, and frequently at our house, gave a very pleasing account of that country. I having two uncles and an aunt there, some of whom had before written to encourage our going over thither, my inclination grew very strong to go; though my parents, especially my father, was at first very much against it. But I was as one immoveably bent upon going; which when my parents saw, and that an elder brother inclined to go with me, they at length consented, and procured a certificate of our being in unity with Friends. There being a family of Friends, out of the compass of our Monthly Meeting, also going over in the same ship, we were delivered under their care, and in the year 1726, we embarked at Milford-haven, on board the Constantine galley of Bristol, Edward Foy, master. We had a passage of about eight weeks from land to land. We were about eighty or ninety passengers, generally healthy; amongst whom, three children were born whilst on board, and none removed by death. My uncle John Morgan, who lived about twelve miles from the city of Philadelphia, hearing of our arrival, came on board and conducted us to his house, where I continued for some time. My brother being a weaver, settled at my aunt Mary Pennel's, following his trade.

Removing from under my parents' watchful care over me for my good, furnished me with great opportunity to gratify a vain mind, in the foolish amusements of a transitory world, towards which I had too great an inclination. But I have this to say, in order that parents may be encouraged to exert their godly endeavours for the preservation of their children, that I do steadfastly believe, the religious care of my parents over me in my youth, impressed so great an awe upon my mind, that through the blessing of Divine Providence, it was a great means of my preservation from gross enormities; though I had great opportunity of being plunged therein, after I left them. I

hope ever to retain a grateful and thankful remembrance of those gracious preservations, when I consider how narrowly I have escaped those rocks, upon which many have been shipwrecked and ruined.

I was sometimes visited, and in degree awakened to a sense of my undone condition without a Saviour, after my arrival in America, though not so frequently as when I was younger. As I had often, oh, very often! knowingly withstood it, my taste for worldly pleasures being now grown stronger, I was very unwilling to give up to the call of Christ. I could plead abundance of excuses, concluding among other things, that I was but young, and might live a great many years; that if I did take my swing a few years, I might become religious sooner than many others had done, who were brave men in their day. I would, however, to make myself more easy for that time, fully determine to be a very religious good man at one time or other; but it must not be yet. Thus, through the gross darkness which had covered my mind, I, who had no certainty of seeing the light of one day more, was prevailed upon by the subtlety of satan, to run the dreadful hazard of future repentance and amendment of life; and so I became worse and more hardened in evil, though still preserved out of gross pollutions, or what are commonly so esteemed. I was afraid to tell a lie, except to embellish or set off a pleasant or merry tale or story; apprehending it no great crime to tell a lie in jest. I do not remember ever to have sworn an oath, or uttered a curse. Nor was I prevailed upon, in my customary conversation, to depart from the rules of my education, respecting the plain language, thee and thou to one, and you to more than one; all this time preserving a pretty fair character amongst men, as none could charge me with any thing accounted scandalous. I retained much love and regard for those I thought truly religious, especially weighty substantial ministers of the everlasting Gospel; and I believe had a better sense of their spirits and labours, than some of my companions had, and therefore was afraid to despise or speak contemptuously of such, as some of my associates did. In this carnal degenerate state, I commonly in a customary way, attended first-day meetings, and mostly had the liberty of going on other days of the week, when any ministers from distant parts came to visit Abington meeting, to which I belonged: but alas! it was to little or no good purpose, as the labour bestowed upon me, by ministry or otherwise, was like water spilt upon a stone, that soon runs off again without any entrance. I was indeed for some time, like the heath in the desert, not knowing when good came; and if at any time, the seed of God's kingdom fell upon my heart, which was like the highway ground, it was soon taken away, and I presently lost the savour thereof.

When I had arrived to upwards of nineteen years of age, I was, through infinite mercy, never to be forgotten, visited in an extraordinary manner; concerning which, as it was the happy means of turning my mind, in a good degree, from the perishing vanities of an uncertain world, to the God of all sure mercies, I intend to be somewhat particular. One evening being with divers of my companions in vanity, and under no restraint, as the heads of the family were not at home, we carried our frothy vain conversation and foolish rude actions, to a higher degree of wicked madness than I ever was guilty of before, in which I suppose I was as a ringleader. On this account, I felt some sharp lashes of conscience as I went to bed that night; and a thoughtfulness took hold of my mind, that we had not a being in this world for such a purpose, or to spend our time as above mentioned, of which I gave some hint to my bed-fellow; yet this conviction did not sink so deep, but that I pretty soon got to sleep. I had not slept long, before a messenger alarmed me with an account that one of my jolly companions, who was then in the house, and who, I think, had been the best of us, was dying, desiring me to go immediately to him, which I did. I was exceedingly struck with horror of mind, at the thoughts of the manner in which we had spent the evening before, and the sudden stroke that followed upon this poor man. But when I came to his bedside and saw the dreadful agony he was in, my horror was increased beyond all expression, as none of us expected he could live many hours. For my part, I was so deeply plunged into anxiety of mind, that it seemed as if the pains and terrors of hell had laid hold of me already; and I was then in full expectation there was no deliverance for me therefrom; but that I should die before morning, with the weight of the distress which was upon me. This happened on a seventh-day night, and though the young man in time recovered, yet he was not fit to be left next day, which hindered me from going to meeting, where I was exceedingly desirous to go; for by this time I was pretty thoroughly awakened to a sense of duty; and it being a week before the like opportunity presented to me again, it seemed the longest week I had ever known. O how did I long to present myself before the Lord in the assemblies of his people! that I might pour forth my inward cries before him, in a state of sincere repentance and deep contrition of soul; which,

through the effectual operation of his power in my heart, I was then in a condition to do. Now I clearly saw, that repentance is the gift of God, and that his love, wherewith he hath loved us in Christ Jesus our Lord, leads sinners thereinto. The fleshly will being for the present overcome and silenced, there was a giving up with all readiness of mind, to the Lord's requirings. There was not any thing then too near to part with for the real and substantial enjoyment of the Beloved of my soul; for I was brought in degree to experience, that he came "for judgment into this world, that they which see not might see; and that they which see might be made blind." I could no longer look upon my former delights with any satisfaction, but instead thereof, had a glorious view of the beautiful situation of mount Sion, and my face was turned thitherward, and for the joy which was set before me, I was made willing to endure "the cross of Christ, and to despise the shame;" and though I became a wonder and a gazing stock to my former companions, I did not much regard it, knowing I had just cause so to be. My great change struck them with some awe, for I observed they had not the boldness to mock or deride me before my face.

The young man, who was an instrument in the Divine hand for my awakening, and his brother, were both greatly reached and deeply affected for the present, by the above mentioned wonderful visitation, and there was a very visible change in them for a time; but like the seed that fell on the stony ground, they withered away and did not become fruitful to God.

I greatly rejoiced when first-day came, that I might go to meeting; which proved to me indeed a memorable one, there being two public Friends, strangers, sent thither as I thought on my account; for most of what they had to deliver, appeared to me applicable to my state. Now did I in some degree, experience the substance of what was intended by the "baptism of water unto repentance; the washing of water by the word; and being born of water and the spirit." All which would be fully seen and clearly understood by the professors of Christianity, were they rightly acquainted with the "Gospel of Christ; which is the power of God unto salvation." This power inwardly revealed, is alone able to work that change in them, without which, our Lord saith, none shall so much as see the kingdom of God. But alas! being carnal in their minds, a spiritual religion doth not suit them; for as saith the Scripture, "the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." Hence it is, that the professors of the Christian name, retain signs and shadows, whilst the substance is neglected; pleading for the continuance of types, when the antitype is but little regarded. Where this latter is experienced, all shadows and types vanish and come to an end; as did the legal types, when Christ the antitype, came and introduced his dispensation, which is altogether of a spiritual nature. And what is yet more wonderful, and an evidence of great ignorance, is, to find those happy and blessed effects, which are only produced by the baptism of Christ with the Holy Ghost, attributed or annexed to the ceremony of sprinkling a little water by a priest in a child's face: for when that is done, the priest prays "that old Adam in the child may be buried; that the new man may be raised up in him; that all carnal affections may die in him; and that all things belonging to the spirit may live and grow in him." Then he prays, that the element of water may be sanctified to the washing away of sin. The child is then said to be received into the congregation of Christ's flock, and is signed with the sign of the cross: when this is done, they acknowledge the child to be regenerate, and grafted into the body of Christ's church, and return thanks to God, in that he hath been pleased to regenerate that infant with his Holy Spirit, and to receive him for his own by adoption. Concerning a child sprinkled, they say, "who being born in original sin and the wrath of God, is now by the laver of regeneration in baptism, received into the number of the children of God, and heirs of everlasting life." They say, by baptism, viz. sprinkling infants, that they have put on Christ, and that they are made children of God and of the light. They hold children baptized, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved; which seemeth to imply that others are not. Being weary of reciting these palpable errors, I shall proceed with the account of my own progress, in the real experience of this great work of regeneration, or the new birth, which, I well know, is not obtained at so easy a rate as above mentioned.

This administration of water by the Word, continued in a remarkable manner upon me, for about three months, in which I found great satisfaction, as it was accompanied with an heavenly sweetness, like healing balsam to my wounded spirit; my heart being melted before the Lord, as wax is melted before the fire. Great was my delight in reading the Holy Scriptures and other good books; being favoured at that time, to receive much comfort and improvement thereby. But this easy melting dispensation, was to give way

to a more powerful one, that the floor might be thoroughly purged, even the baptism with the Holy Ghost and fire. For the former dispensation of the Lord to my soul, seemed much to resemble John's baptism with water unto repentance, as being the real thing signified thereby, in order to prepare the way of the Lord.

Under this fiery dispensation I was for a time exceedingly distressed, in a sense of the great alteration I found in the state of my mind; attributing it to some cause given by me, that I was thus, as I thought, forsaken. All the former tenderness was gone, and I was as the parched ground. My agonies were so great, that when it was day I wished for night; and when it was night I wished for day. In meetings for worship, where I had enjoyed most satisfaction, I now was under the greatest weight of pain and distress, even to that degree, at times, that I could scarcely forbear crying aloud for mere agony. When meeting was over, I would sometimes walk a considerable way into the woods, that, unheard by any mortal, I might, in mournful accents, give vent to my greatly distressed soul. In this doleful state of mind, the grand adversary was permitted to pour forth floods of temptations. I was almost constantly beset with evil thoughts, which exceedingly grieved me; for though I was in such a dark, distressed condition, my mind was, by this time, too much enlightened to allow of, or join with, wicked and corrupt thoughts: yet I often judged myself, and I believe at times not without cause, being apprehensive, I was not earnest enough in resisting those evil thoughts and temptations. But, oh! I was exceedingly weak in those days; and I am persuaded the Lord, in gracious condescension, looked mercifully at the sincerity of my intention, not marking all my failings, or I could not have stood before him in any degree of acceptance. Very great were my temptations, and deep my distress of mind, for about a year; in which time I was but as a little child in understanding the way and work of God upon me, for my redemption. Yet, He who will not break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax, until he sends forth judgment unto victory, by his invisible power, bore up my head above the raging waves of temptation, so that the enemy found he could not overwhelm me therewith. The Lord taught my hands to war, and my fingers to fight under his banner, through whose blessing and assistance, I found some degree of victory over the beast, viz., that part which hath its life in fleshly gratifications. Then began the false prophet to work with signs and lying wonders, in order to deceive my weak and unskilful understanding: as it is written, "Satan is transformed into an angel of light;" so I found him, at least in appearance. He that goes about seeking whom he may devour, perceiving that I was too much enlightened from above, to be easily drawn into sensuality, craftily attempted my destruction another way, viz., by setting himself up, undiscovered then by me, for a guide in the way of mortification, which I was resolved, through Divine assistance, carefully to walk in, by denying myself in all things which appeared inconsistent with the Divine will. This subtle transformer, taking advantage of the ardency of my mind to press forward in this necessary concern, suggested that my work would be much easier in obtaining a complete victory over evil, were I to refrain for a time from some of the necessaries of life, particularly from eating and taking my natural rest in sleep, except just as much as would preserve life; and that I must constantly keep my hands employed in business, as idleness is the nursery of vice; neither was he wanting to bring Scripture, and passages out of other religious books, to confirm these requirings. I then really believed it was the voice of Christ in my mind commanding these things, and therefore endeavoured to be faithful therein, till my natural strength abated and my body grew much weaker. Greatly distressed I was, when at any time I fell short of what I apprehended to be my duty in these respects, he that required this service being a hard master; though he had power to deceive, yet he could not give me faith that I should overcome. My views in those days were indeed very discouraging, my poor afflicted soul being almost sunk into despair. My friends took notice that I was in uncommon distress. The family in which I then lived, could not be altogether ignorant, though I concealed it as much as I could, of my wandering about in the fields, &c., at nights, and much refraining from food; my deep distress being also very legibly imprinted on my countenance, and they feared, as I afterwards understood, lest I should be tempted to lay violent hands on myself. I was forbidden in myself to tell my condition to any, as that would be seeking relief from without; a very improper and unworthy thing.

Notwithstanding which, the God of all grace, who permitted this uncommon affliction to fall upon me for a trial, and not for my destruction, was pleased, in wonderful kindness, to move upon the heart of a minister belonging to our meeting, to visit me, and to open a way for my deliverance. He strictly inquired concerning my inward con-

dition, informing me that Friends were much concerned about me, as it was very obvious I was under some uncommon temptation. I was at first very unwilling to open my state to him; however he at length prevailed, and took the opportunity to show me that I was under a gross delusion of satan. Being thus, through the Lord's mercy, delivered from the wicked design of my enemy, which undoubtedly was to destroy both soul and body, I had, in reverent thankfulness, to rejoice in his salvation. I then clearly saw, that satan in his religious appearances, is also carefully to be guarded against; as nothing in religion can be acceptable to God, but the genuine product of his unerring Spirit, distinctly heard and understood by the ear of the soul, and the renewed understanding. "My sheep," said Christ, "hear my voice;" which I now began to experience fulfilled; blessed be the Lord for ever! I had many precious openings into the divine mysteries about this time; and when I read the Holy Scriptures, they were opened to my understanding, far beyond what they had ever been before, so that I had very great comfort; my hope being revived and my faith much strengthened, by those things that were written aforetime. I am well assured, by certain experience, that the mysteries couched in those holy writings, cannot be rightly understood, but by the same spirit which inspired the penmen of them: therefore it is vain presumption, for fallen and unregenerate man, by his earthly wisdom and human learning, to attempt unfolding heavenly mysteries. The lip of truth hath signified, that they are hidden from the wise and prudent of this world, and revealed unto the humble dependent babes and sucklings; those who sensibly experience their sufficiency for every good word and work, to proceed immediately from God; and that Christ "is made unto them, wisdom and righteousness, sanctification and redemption." The want of this inward living sense, has been the cause of, and has opened the way for, the great apostacy, darkness and error, which have overspread Christendom, so called. There is no way for its recovery, but by humbly submitting to Christ inwardly revealed, and learning the nature of true religion of him, the great author thereof. I am well assured that forward, active and inventing self must be denied, abased and laid in the dust for ever, and the Lord alone exalted in our hearts, before we can come up in the several duties of religion, with Divine approbation. I saw that the Divine light which began to shine out of my darkness, and separated me therefrom, was the greater light which was to rule the day of God's salvation, and that all the saved of the Lord must carefully walk in this light, wherein there is no occasion of stumbling. I also saw, that when it pleased the Lord in wisdom, for a trial of my faith and patience, to withdraw this holy light, and there was a sitting in darkness, and as in the region of the shadow of death for a time, so that I had no distinct knowledge therefrom what to do; that it was my indispensable duty to stand still, and wait for my sure unerring guide; if at those times, self would arise and be uneasy, it must be brought to the cross, there to be slain. By such experience, I found I was nothing, and that God was all things necessary for soul and body; and that if I was brought into a state of perfect reconciliation with him, I must know all things made new.

About this time I had a distant view of being called into the work of the ministry; my mind being at times wonderfully overshadowed with the universal love of God to mankind, in the glorious Gospel of his Son, to such a degree, that I thought I could, in the strength thereof, give up to spend and to be spent, for the gathering of souls to him, the great Shepherd of Israel; and that I could lift up my voice like a trumpet, to awaken the inhabitants of the earth. But I found all this was only by way of preparation for this important work, and that I had not yet received a commission to engage therein. A fear and care were upon my mind, lest I should presume to enter upon this solemn undertaking without a right call; it appearing to me exceedingly dangerous to speak in the name of the Lord, without a clear evidence in the mind, that he required it of me; which I then fully believed he would do in his own time, which was to be waited for. From this time, until I was really called into the work, I frequently had, but especially in religious meetings, openings of Scripture passages, with lively operations of the Divine power in my mind; and sometimes with so much energy, that I have been almost ready to offer what I had upon my mind, to others. But as, through an holy awe which dwelt upon my heart, I endeavoured to try my offering in the unerring balance of the sanctuary, I found it was too light to be offered, and was thankful to the Lord for his merciful preservation, in that I had been enabled to avoid offering the sacrifice of fools. But when the time really came that it was divinely required of me, the evidence was so indisputably clear, that there was not the least room to doubt; yet through fear and human frailty, I put it off, and did not give way thereto. But oh! how was I condemned in myself! The divine sweetness which had covered my mind in the meeting

was withdrawn, and I was left in a very poor disconsolate state, wherein I was ready to beg forgiveness, and to covenant with the Lord, that if he would be pleased to favour me again in like manner, I would give up to his requiring. At the next first-day meeting, the heavenly power overshadowed me in a wonderful manner, in which it was required of me to kneel down in supplication to the Lord in a few words. I gave way thereto, in the dread of his power, with fear and trembling. After which, my soul was filled with peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, and I could sing, and make sweet melody in my heart to the Lord. As near as I remember, I was twenty-one years of age, the very day I first entered into this great and awful work of the ministry; which was the 21st of the fifth month, old stile, 1734.

I have found my mind engaged to be somewhat particular concerning the manner of my entering into the work of the ministry, to stand by way of caution and proper encouragement to others, who may peruse the same; having in the course of my observation, had cause to fear that some have taken the work of preparation, as before hinted, for the thing itself; and so have proceeded very far, to their own great wounding, and the hurt of others, in bringing forth untimely fruit, which is exceedingly dangerous, and carefully to be avoided. Nothing is a sufficient guard to preserve therefrom, but keeping a single eye, through the divine blessing, awfully considering what a great thing it is for dust and ashes to speak as the apostle Peter directs, viz., "As every man hath received the gift, even so minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God. If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God; if any man minister, let him do it as of the ability which God giveth." The author to the Hebrews saith, that "no man taketh this honour to himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron." So that whatever some may pretend to, and intrude themselves into, unless they are really called of God, they have no share in that honour that cometh from God only.

The church of Christ hath not been without its trouble from false ministers, neither in the primitive times, nor in ours. That excellent Gospel liberty in which all who feel themselves inspired thereunto, whether male or female, may speak or prophecy, one by one, hath been, and still is, abused by false pretenders to divine inspiration; yet the liberty ought to be preserved inviolable, and other means found out to remedy this great inconveniency; which would not be difficult, were the members in a general way spiritually minded, rightly savouring the things that be of God. Forward and unsanctified appearances, by way of ministry, would then be easily awed and suppressed, so as not to disturb the peace of the church. The case has been otherwise, as I have observed in some places; but was little minded, if the words and doctrine were sound, and nothing to blame in the conversation. Here the main thing, which is the powerful demonstration of the Holy Spirit, is disregarded; and if a few are deeply pained at heart with such lifeless ministry, they find it exceedingly difficult to lay hands thereon, for want of more strength; especially when they perceive what strength there is against them; for formal professors love to have it so, rather than to sit in silence. I have observed such pretenders to be all mouth or tongue, having no ears to receive instruction; fond of teaching others, but very unteachable themselves. I pray God to quicken his people, and raise the Society into a more lively sense of that blessed power which gathered us to be a people; or I fear the great evil above hinted at will prove a growing one; profession without possession, being the proper element for such a ministry to flourish in. I am not quite free to omit a remark on this head, as I am fully persuaded the living members of the church of Christ, groan under a painful sense of this sorrowful token of a declined society. May the Lord of sabbath hear their cries, and regard the anguish of their souls in secret, so as to work by his invisible power for his own name's sake, and their enlargement, by turning his hand again upon our Sion, to purge away her dross, and to take away her tin and reprobate silver, that her judges may be restored as at the first, and her counsellors as at the beginning; that many, having their feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace, may yet appear beautiful upon the mountains! So be it, saith my soul!

I have given some hints how it was with me, by way of preparation for the great and important work of the ministry, and the danger of my being misled, even sometimes when I had right openings, and felt the sweet efficacious virtue of the love of God, through Jesus Christ, to mankind; which, doubtless, is at times the sensible experience and enjoyment of every faithful follower of Christ, who never was called to the work of the ministry. I was in those days apprehensive of some danger of being led out at that door; but I have since more fully seen the danger of this and other by-paths, which would have led me to give that away to others, which I was to live upon myself; and out of the humble, dependent state, in which only there is safety,

to have a will and way of my own, that I might be furnished and enriched with much treasure. But sincerity of heart, and my endeavours to preserve the single eye, through the watchful care of Divine Providence over me, brought the day of the Lord upon it all; so that I came clearly to see, and experimentally to know, that my sufficiency was of God; that there must be a steady dependance on the Lord, to be immediately fitted and supplied, every time I was to engage in this solemn service. I ardently desire, that all who have the least apprehension of being called into the work of the ministry, may dwell in an holy dread of the Divine presence, and know their own wills wholly subjected to the divine will, waiting for a distinct and clear certainty of the Lord's requirings, not only in entering upon it at first, but also at all other times. And as self comes to be laid in the dust, they will receive undeniable evidence in their own minds of the certainty of their mission; and they will not be without a testimony thereof, from the witness for God in the consciences of those amongst whom they are sent to minister. They will be a savour of life to the living in the Truth, and of death to those who are in a state of death. Let it ever be remembered, that nothing of or belonging to man, can possibly add any lustre or dignity to the divine gift. Neither will the best and most curiously adapted words or doctrine, ever so truly and consistently delivered, be any more than as sounding brass, or as a tinkling cymbal, without the power, light and demonstration of the spirit of Christ.

There is no occasion for those who regard his power as the substance of their ministry, to be solicitous about words; as the lowest and most simple are really beautiful, when fitly spoken under that holy influence.

Having entered upon the solemn and awful service of the ministry, I gave up for the most part, as I found the requirings of Truth, through the divine power and efficacy thereof, moving upon my heart and subjecting my will, to utter a few words in a broken manner, with fear and trembling; the Lord being exceedingly merciful to me, as a tender father, taking me by the hand, and making me willing by his mighty power, to be counted a fool for his sake and the gospel's.

The meeting I then belonged to was large, and a body of valuable weighty Friends therein; who, as far as I could observe by their carriage, did own and approve of my weak and low appearances in this service: yet they used Christian prudence, not to lay hands suddenly, but gave me full opportunity to make proof of my ministry, and to feel my feet therein.

About this time a fine spring of ministry was opened within the compass of our Yearly Meeting; there having, by account, about one hundred opened their mouths in public testimony, in little more than a year; divers of whom became powerful, able ministers, and some of them withered away like unripe fruit. About ten appeared within that time, in the particular meeting of Abington, to which I belonged.

As I was enabled to wait on my ministry, I experienced a considerable growth and enlargement; and, in a faithful discharge of duty therein, great peace and heavenly consolation, like a pleasant refreshing stream, flowed into my soul. I also found, that it was a means of engaging the minds of Friends, in a sweet and comfortable nearness of unity with me, which I had never before so largely and livingly felt. Many well-minded young people, and some others of little experience, seemed to admire my gift, and would sometimes speak highly of it, which they did not always forbear in my hearing. But oh, how dangerous this is, if delighted in by ministers! It may be justly compared to poison, which will soon destroy the pure innocent life. My judgment was against it; yet I found something in me, that seemed to have no aversion thereto, but rather inclined to hearken to it, yet not with full approbation. The same thing in me would want to know, what such and such, who were in most esteem for experience and wisdom, thought of me. I sometimes imagined such looked shy upon me, which would cast me down; all which, being from a root of self, I found was for judgment, and must die upon the cross, before I was fit to be trusted with any great store of gospel treasure. I began also to take rather too much delight myself in the gift; and had not Divine goodness in mercy, by a deep and distressing baptism, kindly prevented, this might have opened a door for spiritual pride, which is the worst kind of pride, to enter in, to my ruin. I have reason to think, that solid Friends observing my large growth in the top, with spreading branches, were in fear of my downfall, in case of a storm. But, in the midst of my high career, the Lord was pleased to take away from me, for a time, the gift of the ministry, and with it all sensible comforts of the Spirit; so that I was, as I thought, in total darkness; even in the region and shadow of death. In this doleful state of mind, I was grievously beset and tempted by the false prophet, the transformer, to keep up my credit in the ministry, by continuing my public appearances. It might well be said of him, that he would "cause fire to come down

from heaven, in the sight of men, to deceive them;" for so I found it. It is hard to imagine, how near a resemblance he could make, how exact an imitation he could form, of the very thing itself, to the state of mind I was then in; even to that degree, that I have at times been ready to say, "Ah! I see and feel the fire of the Lord coming down to prepare the offering;" and have been almost ready to give up thereto, when a godly fear would seize my mind, and a desire to try it again; by which means, the strong delusion has been discovered, the false fire rejected, and my soul been plunged into deeper anxiety, by this false heat, than I was in before. No tongue or pen can set forth to the full, the almost constant anguish of my soul, for about the space of four or five months; being as nearly as I can remember the time this sore affliction was upon me. It fared with me in some degree, respecting my friends, as it did with Job; some conjecturing one thing and some another thing, to be the cause of this fall, as it was apprehended; though, through mercy they could not charge me with any evil conduct as the cause thereof. The most probable reason to them, of this alteration was, that I had been too much set up by others, and so had lost my gift; and this, I think, came the nearest to the truth of the case. Yet it was not so lost, but that when my gracious helper saw my suffering was enough, he restored it again, and appeared to my soul as a clear morning without clouds: everlasting praises to his holy name! My mind was deeply bowed in humble thankfulness, under a sense of the great favour of being again counted worthy to be intrusted with so precious a gift; therefore I was careful to exercise it in great fear and awfulness, and more in a cross to my own will than before; as that which was likely to deck itself therewith, was, for the present at least, in a good degree slain. I have very often in the course of my religious experience, had cause to admire and adore Divine wisdom, in his dealings with me for my preservation in the way of peace; being well assured that he will so work for mankind, if they are entirely given up in heart to him, that it will not be possible for them to miss of everlasting happiness; for none are able to pluck those out of his almighty hand, who do not first incline to leave him.

CHAPTER II.

His first religious visit—further exercises respecting his appearances as a minister—visit to some meetings in East-Jersey—marriage and settlement at Darby—visits New-England in the work of the Gospel—makes a similar visit to meetings in New-York—also to meetings in Chester county, Pennsylvania—then to West-Jersey, to Maryland and Delaware—and in Bucks County—death of his daughter and wife.

After I had appeared in public somewhat more than two years, I found some drawings of Gospel-love, as I apprehended, to visit the meetings of Friends in some parts of New-Jersey; and being but young in the ministry, I was in great fear, at times, lest I should be mistaken, in that which at other times I thought to be the Divine requiring. I much dreaded running when and where the Lord did not send me, lest I should bring dishonour to his blessed name, and expose myself without proper qualifications for so great an undertaking, to wise and discerning Friends. Great indeed was my distress, night and day, crying to the Lord for greater confirmation; which he graciously heard, and was pleased, by a dream or night vision, to afford me such full satisfaction, that I do not remember I had any doubt afterwards concerning it.

I entered upon the journey on the 7th of the eighth month, 1736; having a companion much older than myself. We visited the following meetings, viz. Pilesgrove, Salem, Alloways-creek, and Cohansey, where my companion left me, and returned home, being under some discouragement about the journey in his own mind. But as I found the Lord by his blessed power near, opening my mouth and enlarging my heart abundantly in his work, I was encouraged to proceed, being joined in travel by an innocent Friend belonging to Alloways-creek meeting, who had a few words to speak in meetings. We went from Cohansey, through a wilderness for about forty miles, without inhabitants, to Cape May, where we had a meeting. From thence to Great and Little Egg-harbour and had meetings, then through the wilderness, to the Yearly Meeting at Shrewsbury, which was large and much favoured with the Divine presence; divers ministering Friends from Pennsylvania being there, viz. Thomas Chalkley, Robert Jordan, John and Evan Evans, Margaret Preston, and others.

It neither suited my growth in the ministry, nor my inclination, to take up much time in these large meetings. I therefore, for the most part, gave way to such as were better qualified for the work, and in my esteem worthy of double honour. I had a great regard in my mind for those whom I thought pillars in the house of God, whether ministers or elders; and really think, if such had given it as their sense, that I was wrong in my offerings, at any time, I should have been more

likely to depend on their judgment than on my own. I looked upon myself, for many years, as a child in experience every way; and therefore thought a subjection was due from me, to those who were fathers and mothers in Israel, and never, that I remember, manifested any disregard to them; which is now a satisfaction to my mind. I confess, I have at times since had cause to marvel at the forwardness of some, who though but children, if rightly children at all, have undertaken the work of men, hardly discovering a willingness to give the preference to any; and when they have been admonished by those of much more experience than themselves, they have been apt to retort, or to plead a Divine commission, and that it is right to obey God rather than man; as if they had the sole right of speaking and judging too. I had divers times seen the great danger of being deceived and misled by the transformer, and therefore was afraid of being confident of my own sight, and looked upon it to be safest for me to stand quite open to instruction, let it come from what quarter it would; there being nothing more desired by me than to be right.

This large meeting ended well and sweetly. Praises to the Lord over all for ever! From thence I went to meetings at Chesterfield, Trenton, Bordentown, Mansfield, Upper Springfield, Old Springfield, Burlington, Bristol, the Falls, Ancocas, Mount-Holly, Evesham, Chester, Haddonfield and Woodbury creek; from whence I returned home. The Lord made my journey prosperous, and was to me at times, as a fountain unsealed, furnishing daily for the work he had engaged me in; being in wonderful condescension to my weak estate, both wisdom and utterance; as it is written, "Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings thou hast ordained strength." Praises to his holy name for ever!

Notwithstanding the Lord had committed to me a dispensation of the Gospel, and was pleased to reward my sincere labours therein, with the sweet incomes of peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, and with the unity of the brethren in a comfortable degree; yet great were my temptations, and various the combats I had for some years after, with my soul's enemies. Oh! how hard I found it to keep from being defiled, more or less, with the polluting floods, which were almost continually poured out of the dragon's mouth, in order to carry away my imagination into unlawful delights, from which I did not always wholly escape; being sometimes prevailed upon to set bounds to myself, that though I would not directly fall into the evil I was tempted to, yet I might take some delight and satisfaction in approaching as near thereto as I thought was lawful. Thus, for want of a watchful care, not only to shun that which I knew to be really evil, but also every appearance of evil, I sometimes brought great anguish and deep distress upon my mind; and when I had gone but a little out of the right way, I found many, oh! many weary steps and painful heart-achings necessary, before I was received again into the way and favour of my heavenly Father. I have often since been humbly thankful for his preservation, even out of gross evils, considering my dangerous tampering therewith at times in the imagination. How can weak mortals determine what length they will go, when any way is given? Most certain it is, they go out greatly to their hurt, who take any pleasure at all in the thoughts of forbidden things. I have found by woful experience, that when the least way is given to the enemy, he gains advantage over us, and we are greatly enfeebled thereby; so that instead of growing as willows by the water-courses, there is danger of withering and becoming of those that draw back, in whom the Lord hath no pleasure. I found it the first subtle working of satan, to draw me off from a constant care of bringing all my thoughts, words and actions, to be tried by the light of Christ in my own heart; and instead thereof, to examine them by my partial reasoning part. Here many things really evil in their nature or tendency, or both, would carry the appearance of indifferency; the pleading would then be, there is no harm in this, that or the other thing; yet there has been a doubt perhaps in the mind to reason away, not duly considering, that he who doubteth, is condemned if he receive. So have I many times found it, when the Judge of all hath been pleased to arise, and to find me out, with my fig-leaf covering on; having, by giving way to wrong things, in a great measure lost the garment of innocence, and an holy confidence towards God. Oh! how very hot has my neglect occasioned the furnace to be made, that so the dross might be done away.

Thus it was with me, until the many chastenings of the heavenly Father brought me into more fear, care and subjection. I could not be quite easy to omit giving these hints of my many weaknesses and failings, that others may learn thereby to be aware. This I apprehend to be the chief reason of our having the failings and miscarriages of God's people transmitted to us in the Holy Scriptures. Thou traveller Sionward, look forward to the joy set before thee, not suffering thine eyes to wander about thee, lest they convey such delight to thy heart, as may infect thy soul with

pernicious distempers, by which thou mayest be rendered unable to proceed on thy journey towards the holy city; and through the defect occasioned thereby to thy sight, thou mayest, in a great measure, lose the glorious prospect of its beautiful situation and the splendour of its structures. Beware thou do not load thyself with the seemingly pleasant fruit of that country through which thou travellest. Although it may appear to hang plentifully on each hand, it will neither be of any use to thee in that heavenly country whither thou art going, nor for refreshment on the way thither. If thou hast a mind that thine own way should be prosperous, look steadily forward, with a single eye to the recompense of reward. Bring every motion towards seeking satisfaction in forbidden places, immediately to the cross, and thou wilt much sooner find the yoke of Christ made easy and his burden light, all his ways pleasant and his paths peace. This is abundantly better than that uneasy in and out way of travelling, sinning and repenting, repenting and sinning again, which lays a foundation for murmuring, labour and toil; crying out, as some do all their days, there is no complete victory to be obtained over sin on this side of the grave; miserable sinners we must remain; when the cause thereof is wholly in themselves; because they will not come into and abide in the help of the Lord, against the mighty enemies of their soul's happiness, which is altogether sufficient to give a complete victory over them; yea, to give power to triumph, and say, "We are made more than conquerors through him that hath loved us."

In the eighth month, 1737, I set out in order to visit some meetings in East-Jersey; having Richard French, an ancient Friend, to bear me company. We had meetings at Stonybrook, Bethlehem, Lebanon, and at a Baptist's house near Black-river. None of our Society were thereabouts, but there were some Ranters of Rogers's followers, who had taken upon them the name of Quakers, to the great scandal of Friends in that remote place: they came to the meeting, being mostly women. Their impatient restless spirits would not suffer them to let us hold our meeting quietly; yet they did not seem inclinable to contend, but rather to flatter and applaud us. Some of them stood up, after we had severally delivered what we had upon our minds, to signify their unity with our doctrine, pretending it to be the same they held forth to the people, though not enough regarded by them. But we were not free to receive their testimony, any more than Paul and Silas could that of the maid who was possessed with an evil spirit; but rebuked them openly, and publicly declared our disunity with them, desiring the people not to look upon them as belonging to the Society of the people called Quakers, as we could assure the meeting it was not so; and that we had no more unity with those pretenders, than they had. I thought the chief service we had at that place, was to testify against those wild frantic people, who by being accounted Quakers, had caused the way of Truth to be evilly spoken of. This unexpected opposition raised their flighty spirits, so that they became very troublesome, being full of words, and asking frivolous questions. Whereupon the words of Paul to some such women in the Corinthian church, came freshly into my mind. I therefore called out aloud, "Let your women be silent in the church;" and opened to them, that it was such women as they were, whom the apostle rebuked and commanded to be silent; who not experiencing their spirits to be truly subjected, that they might know how to speak concerning the things of God with a right understanding, ought to learn in silence: not meaning to exclude those of my own sex in the like case; the same thing being as necessary for them. We left them as full of themselves as we found them, and went from thence to Whippany, where we had a precious meeting in a Friend's house. The greater number being of other societies, the testimony of Truth flowed forth freely; they appearing to be much tendered and affected therewith. After meeting some of them took us by the hand, and in an affectionate manner expressed their satisfaction with our labours amongst them. From thence we went to Plainfield and Woodbridge, where we had meetings, and then returned home; having been favoured to accomplish this little journey to my own satisfaction.

Sometime before I entered upon the before mentioned journey, I found my mind pretty strongly drawn to enter into the marriage state with a young woman belonging to the same meeting, within the compass of which I had lately taken a farm, and to which I was then joined by certificate. Her name was Rebecca, the daughter of Josiah and Sarah Fearn, and grand-daughter of John Blunston: she being a valuable branch of a good stock. By the death of her brother, she was possessed of that part of her said grandfather's estate, where he had lived and entertained Friends from almost the first settlement of Pennsylvania, until his death; which afterwards was continued by his widow many years, but of late had been laid aside. It was in Lower Darby, about seven miles from Philadelphia, near a large meeting; the meeting-house being built on some of that tract of land. The

reason of my being so particular in this account, is to show the Lord's kindness and gracious condescension to me, in so fully answering what I had often desired, viz., that in case I ever married and settled, I might be so circumstanced as to entertain the Lord's servants and messengers in an agreeable manner; on which account, as well as that he was pleased to give me an affectionate virtuous wife, I have great cause of humble thankfulness. We took each other in marriage the 30th of the tenth month, 1737, at a large and solemn meeting, held in the meeting-house before mentioned, under the precious overshadowing of the power of divine love, I think to a larger degree than I had often known before; which was no small confirmation of our being rightly joined together; it being that alone which can enable to make and keep covenant rightly with each other.

After my marriage I constantly attended our particular meeting, both on first and other days of the week; also the Quarterly and Yearly Meetings as they fell in course, and frequently visited adjacent meetings. I visited Friends in the county of Bucks twice, but have no account of the exact time. I signified to my wife some time after we were married, that I expected in a few years, I should find a concern to leave her for a longer time than I yet had done, and gave her a hint what time I thought it would be; which fell out accordingly; having then a distant view of visiting New-England.

When the time for undertaking that journey appeared clear to me, I gave up thereto, in humble resignation and faith in the sufficiency of the divine power of Him, who, I believed, required it of me; yet not without some intervals of discouragement and reasoning in myself, what would become of my family and outward concerns. Neither did I then know of any companion to join me in this great undertaking, but at times believed I should be favoured with one, if I gave up thereto. I laid my concern before the Monthly Meeting to which I belonged, requesting their concurrence and certificate, if upon a weighty consideration thereof, they had unity with my concern. A certificate was prepared, whereby I was left to my liberty to proceed; but I had not yet heard of a companion, and greatly feared going without. Our Quarterly Meeting falling quickly after, I went to it, where I made inquiry of my much esteemed friend, John Churchman, whether he knew of any suitable companion for me. He readily told me that his brother-in-law, William Brown, had procured a certificate in order for the same journey, and did not then know of any companion, but believed one would be provided for him. This was very acceptable to me. William Brown and I had an opportunity of conferring together the same day, and we found our concerns and views so exactly to agree, and our spirits so closely united for the service, that our hearts bowed in thankfulness to the Lord, for his care and providence over us; believing what we were about to engage in, was agreeable to his will and in his counsel. It being the meeting for ministers and elders that day, we laid our concern before that meeting, where it appeared to be well approved, which was no small strength to us. I did then, and hope I ever shall, greatly love and value the unity of the brethren; having found it no small strength and encouragement to me, in low and trying times, which are necessary and unavoidable in that solemn engagement of visiting the churches; especially now in their low declined state. It is indisputably clear to my understanding that it is altogether impossible to administer, in a feeling effectual manner to people's several states, unless we are baptized thereinto. Well adapted words and sound doctrine, as to the external appearance, may, without much difficulty be attained; seeing we have the holy Scriptures and many other good books, containing the principles of Truth and the Christian experience of the Lord's people; yet all this delivered with the tongue of men or angels, will prove an empty, fruitless sound, without the power and demonstration of the Spirit of Christ, who enables his upright-hearted ministers to search all things, yea, the hidden mystery of iniquity, as well as the deep things of God, even as he led his prophet Ezekiel to look through the hole in the wall, that the most secret abomination may be brought to light and testified against.

I took leave of my dear wife, and set out with my companion the 5th of the seventh month, 1741. Passing through New-Jersey, we had a meeting at Chesterfield, crossed Staten Island and came to an arm of the sea, called the Narrows, which separates the before mentioned island from Long Island. The wind blowing very strong and the sea running exceedingly high, we were obliged to wait some time; the ferrymen being afraid to run the hazard of carrying us and others who were there, also waiting, over. Towards evening the wind abating, they appeared willing to venture, if we would; and we being desirous to proceed, agreed to go. I think we had eight or nine horses, besides people, in the boat. They set the horses heads to the wind, which proved of singular service, in bearing up the boat against it; otherwise it did not seem altogether improbable that she would have been laid on her side. We ran over in

about ten minutes, the distance being accounted at least two miles and an half. We were thankful for preservation; as I believe most, or all of us, when we were on the water, apprehended considerable danger. We made but little stay on Long Island, only taking Newtown meeting in our way, and crossing the water to the main land in New-York government, had meetings at Mamaroneck, Longreach and the Purchase. From thence, having a guide provided for us, we set out for our journey, about two hundred miles through the colony of Connecticut, to Rhode Island. We met with a kind reception and entertainment for our money, at a very low rate, amongst the Presbyterians of this colony: the case was very different formerly, when our Friends were banished from thence by a law. I remarked as I passed along, that very good order was observed in their inns; and as far as could be discovered, the people in general appeared to be sober and religious in their way; far from being so vitiated and corrupt as I found those in the mother country, as they call it. We were several times attacked by some of them on religious subjects, but through divine favour, were enabled to answer them in such a manner, that I hope neither we nor the Truth professed by us, suffered thereby. I can say with thankfulness, I never was at a loss in giving answers to those who asked a reason of the hope that was in me, when my chief dependence was on the Lord, to be furnished immediately by him, without leaning to my own understanding. We were kindly received by Friends at Newport, on Rhode Island, where there is a large body; some of whom we found much hurt by differences and parties about government affairs; which caused hard close work for us, in their meetings. From Rhode Island we went to the island of Nantucket, where is also a large body of Friends, amongst whom we had good satisfaction. We then returned to the main land, visiting meetings at Sandwich, Yarmouth, Suckanesset, and a Quarterly Meeting at Pembroke, where we met our friend Samuel Hopwood, who had arrived at Boston, from England, a few days before, in company with Moses Aldrich, on a religious visit. We went to Boston, where we had a meeting, there being a small number of Friends in the town, but Truth never prospered much there: it seemed to me that something of the same spirit was yet alive and to be felt, that formerly would have wholly extirpated our Friends, and Truth as held by them, from the face of the earth, and prevailed to inflict cruel sufferings on many of the Lord's servants, four of whom they put to death, as is related at large in a book entitled, "New-England Judged," written by George Bishop, and in "Sewel's History of the people called Quakers." Happening to walk into the prison yard, I observed a very ancient building, which I judged by its appearance, might have been the same in which our Friends had formerly suffered very great hardships. Upon which I asked some present, if that was the prison their forefathers put our Friends into? A woman answered, Yes; and added, "It was a very wicked thing of the rulers of that time, and the land has suffered for it ever since;" or to that import. A Friend of Boston related to me, what he said he had from an ancient inhabitant of the town, who had seen that wicked act of putting to death the four Friends as above hinted, viz. that he could well remember fine wheat growing about and near Boston, and never knew or heard of any wheat blasted, or peas eaten by bugs, until they put the Quakers to death; and that they never could raise either wheat or peas near that town since, perhaps not within fifteen or twenty miles. I suppose the inhabitants were so often disappointed formerly, that they have not attempted to raise any lately, the land being generally turned to grazing, and for raising Indian corn. They seem sensible of the extraordinary alteration; but I suppose few of them are willing to attribute it to that cause. I had some discourse with one of the inhabitants, as we were riding together near Boston, concerning the above mentioned event. He pretended to argue a natural cause for it; but I endeavoured to show him, that according to my apprehension, those very reasons which he advanced to prove a natural cause for the change, if they proved any thing, proved directly the contrary of what he intended, for he urged, that clearing away the woods might so change the nature of the air, as to produce a blasting quality therein. But if the air any wise resembles water, the freer its course and the less the obstruction it meets with, the more it purifies itself, and is therefore less capable of producing hurtful consequences either to vegetables or animals.

We passed on and had meetings at Lynn, Salem, Cachechy, Dover, Hampton, Haverhill, Amesbury, Newbury, Taunton, Acoakset, and to Dartmouth Yearly Meeting, which was held there and at Acushnet, four days: it was large. After which we had meetings at Rochester, Freetown, Swanzey, Leicester, Smithfield, Providence Woods, at one Harris's, Greenwich, South Kingston, Conanicut Island, Portsmouth, Tiverton, Little Compton, and so to Newport again: several of which were large. The Lord was graciously pleased to furnish us according to the occasion, to labour amongst the professors of

Truth in those parts, many of whom appeared to us ignorant in a sorrowful degree, of the life and nature of true religion. Our spirits were often very deeply baptized on their account, in great travail, that Christ might be formed in them. It was a very exercising laborious journey, but the Lord mercifully made all up to us, by the comfortable enjoyment of his love and peace flowing into our hearts. Glory to his name for ever!

From Newport we set our faces homeward, taking Westerly meeting in our way, and proceeded through the colony of Connecticut to Long Island; upon which we had meetings at Cowneck, Joseph Leatham's, Jericho, Westbury, Matinicock, and were at the Quarterly Meeting at Flushing. From thence we crossed the water to Westchester on the main; got thither some time before the hour appointed for the meeting, and staid a while at an inn in the town. The landlady coming into our room in a pleasant manner, said, "I suppose you are travelling Friends?" My answer was, "We are travellers and we are Friends; therefore we are travelling Friends;" "But I suppose," said she, "you are preachers;" and added, "I like your way very well, as you come up to the command of Christ, in travelling about as you do, more fully than our ministers: but there is something lacking with you." "What is that, said I?" "Why, said she, you should baptize as well as preach." I then asked her what we should baptize withal. She replied, "With water to be sure; for it is not in the power of man to baptize with any thing else." Upon which, I showed her from the holy Scriptures, that the primitive ministers of Christ were so gifted, as to be able to baptize believers into the name or power, of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost; instancing, in particular, that passage of Peter at the house of Cornelius; "And as I began to speak, the Holy Ghost fell on them, as on us at the beginning. Then remembered I the word of the Lord, how that he said, John indeed baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost." It is evident from this account, that by the effectual preaching of Peter, the gentiles were baptized with the Holy Ghost; and as the dispensation of God to man is the same now as it was then, and he has graciously promised to be with his ministers always to the end of the world, and man, by nature in a fallen degenerate estate, is as much involved in sin and a stranger to God as he was then; no good reason can be given, why the same powerful efficacious means are not as necessary for his recovery, by a reconciliation with his Maker, as they were at that time. The woman was very attentive to what was said on the occasion, and seemed affected, being quite silenced as to that subject. We invited her to our meeting; she told us she intended to go, and if she could, to prevail with her husband to go too, but doubted being successful therein. She and her husband were both at the meeting, and the Lord was graciously pleased to give us a precious opportunity together, wherein I am persuaded she was made in some degree sensible of that baptizing power, which in a comfortable degree, accompanied the ministry that day. She was tendered, and at parting, with tears desired us to remember her and pray for her.

After this meeting we proceeded homewards, taking meetings in the Jerseys as they fell in our way, at Elizabethtown, Woodbridge, and Stonybrook. I got home the 7th of the tenth month, and found my dear wife and family well, which was cause of mutual thankfulness; having performed nearly as much, in about three months, as was usually done in about four. It is very necessary to avoid both extremes in travelling on Truth's account, neither to be over hasty, nor too dilatory; yet I have always found great satisfaction and peace in being as diligent and expeditious therein, as sits easy on the mind, and the constitution of body will bear; that all may have cause to be fully convinced we travel not for outward pleasure, but from a necessity laid upon us; which will certainly add considerable weight to our service, and greatly tend, in the eyes of mankind, to maintain the credit of that truly disinterested Gospel ministry, which the Lord has been pleased to raise up amongst us as a people.

Having staid at home some time, to make necessary provision for an increasing family, I found a concern upon my mind to visit Friends a second time on Long-Island and the main land in New-York government, and set out the 27th of the eighth month, 1743; being accompanied by my well esteemed friend, John Sykes. The first meeting we attended on the island, was a Yearly Meeting, which was held on a first-day at Matinicock. It was a large precious meeting; many not of our Society being there, and the Lord was pleased to open the doctrine of his kingdom largely, and his glorious Truth was over all; to whom alone be the praise for ever! Notice was given at this meeting, of our intending to be on the next first-day at Westbury, not far from this place; and that week we had meetings at Brook-haven, Islip, Bethpage, Rockaway, Henry Willis's, and so to the before-mentioned meeting on first-day. Friends came to it from divers parts of the island, and also many people of other societies, so that it was very large. Their expectation

was greatly after words, which the master of our assemblies did not see meet to gratify; for we were almost wholly shut up as to ministry; which I hope proved a profitable lesson to many. After this meeting we crossed the water, and had meetings at Westchester, Mamaroneck, Longreach, and Ryewoods; we then returned to the island, and had meetings at Flushing, Oyster-bay, Cowneck, Flushing again, and Newtown. Having finished our service we travelled homewards, taking meetings as we passed along in East-Jersey, at Rahway, Plainfield, and Woodbridge, and in West-Jersey at Upper Springfield, and attended the Quarterly Meeting at Crosswicks; after which I returned home, and have to say with thankfulness, that in this little journey, the Lord was to me strength in weakness and riches in the time of poverty; and was pleased to conduct me safely to my dear wife and family in peace.

About the latter end of the year 1744, I found my mind drawn to visit Friends in the western part of our county; and had meetings at East and West Nottingham, Deer-Creek, New-Garden, London-Grove, Hockesson, Kennet, and Concord. The Lord enabled me, both to do and suffer, in this little journey, as the same appeared to be my duty. At Hockesson I was quite shut up as to words, yet had peace, believing it was my business, as it hath been many times since, in order as I apprehend to lead others into silence by example; as being the most profitable state they or I can possibly arrive at in mutability, in order to attain a right understanding of our religious duties.

Soon after my return home, I went into West-Jersey, to visit the following meetings as I found my mind drawn thereto, viz. Haddonfield, Chester, Evesham, Mount-Holly, Ancocas, Old-Springfield, Trenton, and Burlington Quarterly Meeting, in which I had good satisfaction.

I think it was about this time, I went in company with my well-beloved friend Michael Lightfoot, to the Yearly Meetings at Cecil, and Thirdhaven in Maryland, wherein we were greatly favoured. He returned homewards from Maryland, but I went to some meetings in the lower counties of Kent and New-Castle, had a meeting at Duck-Creek, and went to the Yearly Meeting at Little-Creek, which was a very precious season, Divine goodness greatly overshadowing the same, to the tendering of many hearts. From thence I went to George's-Creek, and New-Castle, and returned home.

I have no account by me, of any other journey in the service of Truth, until the second month, 1746, when I went in company with our worthy friend before-mentioned to the Yearly Meeting at Salem, in West-Jersey; and visited Cohansey, and Pilesgrove meetings. In the third month of the same year, I went to Chesterfield Quarterly-Meeting in Jersey, and had meetings at Stony-Brook, Burlington, and Haddonfield.

In the fifth month of the same year I visited the county of Bucks, and had meetings at Middletown, Bristol, the Falls, Wrightstown, Buckingham, and Plumstead; taking North-Wales meeting in my return home. The Lord was my sure helper and sufficiency in all these journeys, affording the comfortable enjoyment of sweet peace in my return; to whom the praise, if any service was done, I hope ever will be freely offered up; for he alone is worthy thereof for ever.

Soon after my return home, great and inexpressible afflictions were permitted to befall me and my afflicted family, most of whom were seized with the dysentery; of which distemper I buried a daughter between four and five years old, and was taken very ill myself of the same disorder. In this time, my dear wife was confined, and for a week or ten days after appeared hopeful to do well and recover; but being taken with the before-mentioned disease, was in a short time removed by death, leaving me three small children, the youngest about two weeks and three days old. I found the Lord near to support my drooping spirit under this great affliction. I well remember, when my dear wife lay with symptoms of death upon her, having also sometimes, as I thought, intervals of being better, my mind was in a painful suspense between hope and fear. It seemed to me then impossible to give her up, and to be wholly separated from so valuable a companion; but the Lord, who formerly rebuked the winds and allayed the raging of the sea, was pleased, as in an instant, to bring a holy calmness over my mind, in which there was an entire resignation to his divine will; so that I could say, with Job of old, "The Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh away, blessed be his name." I did not, from that time, look upon her as any more mine, but gave her up into his hands who had kindly bestowed her upon me. I write this by way of encouragement to others, that they may live in the fear of God, and give up in steady obedience to his requirings; and then, I am well assured, they may lean upon him in all their afflictions, and will find to their comfort, that those things which appear impossible with man, are possible with God; who will make hard things easy and bitter things sweet to his humble followers.

She departed this life the 22nd of the seventh month, 1746; we having lived together nearly nine years.

I have this short testimony to give concerning her; that she made it her early care to lead a sober and virtuous life; and a godly concern remained upon her mind, to keep a conscience void of offence, both towards God and man; being engaged, according to the ability received, for the promotion of the blessed Truth, and gladly entertained the Lord's faithful labourers; esteeming it a blessing to be favoured with their company. When I found a concern to travel abroad in the service of Truth, she freely gave me up thereto; having, with great satisfaction, to acknowledge the Lord's goodness, in favouring her with true peace and contentment in my absence; and also in a steady trust and dependence on his providence, for our support every way in a faithful discharge of duty.

In her last illness, she was favoured with great calmness and resignation to the Divine will, either to live or die; signifying, that she did not find any thing in the way; and that, if it pleased the Lord to remove her out of this world, she hoped it would be a glorious change, and that she should go to her innocent babes, who were gone before her; often confessing the Lord's goodness in giving her so much ease both of body and mind. She was very loving to those who visited her in her illness, and said, she had nothing but love and good-will to all. She took leave of our children in a very tender and affectionate manner, committing them to divine Providence, and expressing her belief that his watchful care would be over them when she was gone. The apprentice and servant boys were called at her request; she took them by the hand, and in a loving tender manner, gave them good advice; an heavenly sweetness accompanying her words, which much affected those present. She discovered great nearness of affection to me, almost to the last, and departed this life in sweet peace, of which I was favoured, after her removal, with a certain evidence, to my unspeakable satisfaction; whereby I plainly saw my great loss was her everlasting gain, and was enabled to bow in humble acquiescence to the Divine will, who knows what is best, and orders all things in perfect wisdom.

Being apprehensive that I should be concerned to travel pretty much abroad in the service of Truth, for some years; I thought it my duty to go out of business, and as soon as I conveniently could, to place my children where they might be trained up in the way of Truth. This view had been gradually coming upon my mind for a considerable time; but now the weight of it much increased; the time also of entering thereupon, appeared pretty clear to me; having found it my incumbent duty, not only to wait for a full confirmation of a right call to travel abroad in the work of the ministry, but also to know the acceptable time for engaging therein; all which will be fully discovered by those who, with a single eye to God's glory, desire above all things to be found faithful.

CHAPTER III.

His second visit to New-England—interview with collegians at New-Haven—religious concern to visit the churches of Great Britain—embarks for Europe—captured by a privateer and carried into Spain, and then to France—is liberated—lands in England and proceeds to London.

The first journey I entered upon, was a second visit to Friends in New-England. I set out the 23d of the third month, 1747, and was at two meetings in Burlington next day. From thence I went to a Quarterly Meeting at Chesterfield, and got to Flushing, on Long Island, the 27th. Next day I attended their week-day meeting. The Yearly Meeting for that province then came on, which held four days. It was large, and the Divine presence appeared therein to our mutual comfort and strength.

The 2nd of the fourth month, being four in number, we set out for Rhode Island: passing through the colony of Connecticut, we met with civil, courteous usage, as before, when I travelled through that country. I felt great love in my heart toward the people, in which I had a strong persuasion, if not something of a foresight, that Truth, in the Lord's time, will break forth and spread in that colony. For though I believe superstition and bigotry are very predominant amongst them, yet they appeared to me in general, a cleaner people in their morals, than in many other places where I have travelled. At New-Haven in that colony, they have a college in order to train up their ministers, &c. I found an inclination to go amongst the collegians, who gathered about me, carrying themselves civilly and respectfully. I had much discourse and reasoning with them concerning our principles: they appearing desirous of information, I answered their questions in a concise manner; referring them to Robert Barclay's Apology, which I supposed they had in their library, for a further explanation thereof. I could not help remarking, with pleasure, the becoming order they observed in their questions and answers: one at once,

without the least flout, jeer, or any thing like mockery. I found work also amongst them, to remove the prejudice some had imbibed against us as a people, on account of the wicked and frantic behaviour of one Rogers and his followers, who I think dwelt about New-London, in that province, calling themselves Quakers; and as there were none of the right sort, that people might see the difference, they were ready to conclude, that all the people called Quakers were such, to the great reproach of our Society. I declared to them, that their actions were as much abhorred by us, as they could be by any people whatever; that Rogers and his company of ranters were no more of our Society than they were of theirs; that it would be very hard and unjust, if we, as a people, should be defamed by means of a crew, whom we had nothing further to do with, than to let the world know our abhorrence of their practices, and that they took our name upon them, in all probability, as a cloak to cover their wickedness. The students readily admitted what I said to be very just and reasonable. I believe this opportunity tended to the reputation of our Society, and am sure it was to my comfort and satisfaction; feeling the love of God flow in my heart towards those young men, some of whom I did not think far from the kingdom. I called again to see them on my return, and gave them some books, viz., two letters written by Samuel Crisp, giving reasons why he joined with the people called Quakers; a Treatise on Baptism, by William Dell; and I think some others, which they received very kindly, still carrying themselves respectfully to me. I cannot well omit taking notice of the great difference observed by me since, at the two great universities of England, in the behaviour of the students, whom they pretend to be training up for Gospel-ministers, and for other employments to get a living by. Oh! what floutings, jeerings, mocking and deriding of that which is serious and humble, like true religion! as though to work out our salvation with fear and trembling, were not now the way to the kingdom of God; but that a sufficient assurance to scoff at and ridicule what in the primitive church and by the people of God in all ages, was accounted religious, were now the distinguishing mark of true Christians and ministers of the Gospel. How have they frequently broken in upon our peaceable, quiet meetings, like the raging foaming waves of a troubled sea, casting up mire and dirt! Such conduct gives sober, discerning people, cause to look upon them as a nest of unclean birds; who, instead of promoting true religion, may be instrumental to subvert it. I have often wondered, seeing the conduct of many of these pretended Gospel-ministers, is obviously so very bad, not only whilst they are learning the trade of preaching, but also in their following the same for a livelihood; how it comes to pass that the people bear them. One reason appears to be, that the laws of the land are much in their favour; but the principal reason is, that people, in almost a general way, are strangers to the life and power of true religion; being satisfied with a profession thereof, and having itching ears, heap to themselves teachers; erroneously supposing the principal part of religion to consist in performing what they call religious duties; as hearing sermons, prayers, and singing psalms, &c., some of the hearers being so dark as to say, such a one is a good teacher, though perhaps a drunkard, a swearer, or guilty of other evils. It is plain that the strength and security of such ministers, is in the darkness and ignorance of people's minds. We do not read in the Revelations, of the locusts coming upon the earth, until the smoke arose out of the bottomless pit and darkened the sun and air; and whenever the children of men shall, in a general way, turn to the light of the Sun of Righteousness in their own hearts, mystery Babylon the mother of harlots must fall, and these her merchants will be wholly rejected. All their abominable craft will be fully discovered. Great will be their torment, fear and distress, in that day! The Lord Almighty hasten the time for his own name's sake, when all craft, violence and shedding of human blood, may be at an end; and righteousness cover the earth, as water covers the sea!

Some of the inhabitants of New-Haven signified their desire that we should appoint a meeting there, but we did not find sufficient strength and courage to answer their request; so proceeded on our journey, and got to Newport on Rhode Island the 8th of the seventh month. Here we were kindly received by Friends, and attended their Yearly Meeting, which began at Portsmouth, where it held only one day, being a meeting for worship; after which the meetings for worship and business were held four days at Newport. They were very large and divinely favoured, so that those who depended on the Lord alone for wisdom and strength, were enabled to come up in the discharge of their respective duties, to their peace and comfort. When this great meeting was over, I had meetings at Tiverton, Little Compton, Acoakeset, and Aponyganset, and was at their Monthly Meeting on second-day. Next morning about eight o'clock, I went on board a vessel bound to the island of Nantucket, John Hanes master, where we arrived about one o'clock next

morning. I staid upon this island about six days, and was at their Yearly and Monthly Meetings; having good satisfaction therein. I returned in the same vessel, and landed on the continent in about six hours; had a meeting at Falmouth, and went to their Monthly Meeting at Sandwich, and attended the Quarterly Meeting held there. Here I met with divers Friends from our parts, who were on the service of Truth. We had very close, searching, laborious service amongst them, as things were very low and much out of order; in part owing to the neglect of some members whose minds had been too much taken up with earthly things, to watch over the flock as those who must give an account. We endeavoured to lay the weight of things more closely upon the active members, and left them to the Lord's dealings; knowing, "that although Paul may plant, and Apollos may water, it is he alone that can give the increase."

I went from thence to Pembroke, where I had a meeting; and through Boston to Lynn, where I had a meeting also; thence to Salem Monthly Meeting, and returned to Boston, and had two meetings there, being first-day. From thence I went directly to Rhode Island, and had meetings at Portsmouth and Newport, to good satisfaction: the Lord giving power and dominion, by the blessed efficacy of his pure word of life, over all of a contrary nature to itself, whereby I was enabled to clear my mind, to my great ease and comfort. I then returned homewards with much satisfaction and peace of mind; taking meetings in my way at Conanicut-Island, and South Kingston; so proceeded on my journey through Connecticut, and lodged at New-Haven. I spent part of a day in conversation and reasoning with some well disposed people, to satisfaction. I also visited the students as before hinted; after which I proceeded on my journey to Longreach, where I had a meeting, and went to the Yearly Meeting at West Chester. From thence I travelled homewards, having cause to be humbly thankful to the Fountain of all goodness, who was near to help, as my eye was single to him, in all proving times, whether in heights or depths; and as he was waited upon, gave wisdom and utterance. I desire he alone may have the praise and glory, if any good is done; as there is no good but what proceeds from him.

I had not been long returned from the before mentioned journey, when I laid before the Monthly Meeting I belonged to, a concern which had been upon my mind some years, to visit the churches in divers parts of Great Britain and Ireland; desiring their concurrence and certificate, if upon weighty deliberation, they found unity with my proposal; intimating, that the period for entering upon this solemn undertaking had appeared to me for some time to be drawing near, and that I should look out for a passage before the end of the year. A certificate was prepared, setting forth their unity with my service in the ministry, and with my intended journey; desiring my labours therein might tend to the edification of the churches where my lot should be cast, and my return to them again in peace; also expressing that I had settled my outward affairs to satisfaction; for I had acquainted Friends how I had settled them, as I thought it concerned them to be satisfied in that as well as other things; it being my earnest desire to have the full concurrence of my brethren in so great an undertaking.

I took some little journies in visiting adjacent meetings; and before the Yearly Meeting came on, I went to North Wales meeting, and about twenty miles further up the country to Richland, in order to take my leave of some Friends and relations, as well as to visit that meeting. In my return homewards I was taken very ill of what is there called the yellow fever; because the patient is turned as yellow as if he had the jaundice. I reached the house of my worthy friend, Thomas Foulke, who, with his wife and children, were as affectionately kind to me as if I had been one of their nearest relations. But this malignant fever greatly increased upon me. My sister was sent for, and several doctors were employed. Those who saw me, concluded all was over, and that I must depart out of this life. I took little notice of any thing; yet I think I was for the most part sensible, and could perceive I was given up for death, by those who had the care of me. Once they thought I was near drawing my last breath; they therefore drew a pillow from under my head and unbuttoned the neckband of my shirt, out of kindness, to make the last struggle between life and death the easier. For my part, I could not see how it would go with me; but had not much, if any apprehension of being taken away by death at that time. This sore illness happening in the Yearly Meeting time, which was held that year at Philadelphia, I requested the certificate I had obtained of the Monthly Meeting, for my intended journey into England, &c., might be laid before the Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders, as is usual in such cases, for the concurrence of Friends; and if they found freedom and unity therewith, to signify the same to the brethren in England, by an endorsement thereon. It was laid before the said meeting by my good friend Michael Lightfoot, and the meeting's free concurrence

being obtained, it was signed by a very great number of Friends. This was done when many thought there would be no occasion for a certificate, as they fully expected it was nearly over with me, as to this world. But I was not easy to miss so good an opportunity of having a concern of so great importance solidly weighed by such a substantial body of Friends; as I was not likely to have another like opportunity, if the Lord should be pleased to raise me up again. This illness brought me very low indeed, so that when the fever abated, and I was fit to be helped out of bed, I could not stand alone; yet I recovered to admiration; being able, in about a week, to ride home in a chaise, about twenty-six miles; which I bore very well. On my return home, my friends and neighbours came to see me, greatly rejoicing at my recovery, which they did not expect from what some had seen and others had heard; for several of them visited me in my illness. This was a time of deep probation to me both inwardly and outwardly; being tried, as I sometimes have been when in great weakness of body, with distressing poverty of spirit; not having distinct satisfaction and clearness in my own mind how it was with me as to my inward condition, judging that an evidence of peace and comfort from the Holy Spirit would be a great support at such times of bodily affliction; and I have found it so, when it hath pleased the Lord to favour me therewith. But he knows what is best and most suitable for us; and I find by experience, it is the safest way to resign our wills to his holy will; as we must, for the most part, whilst in this militant state, walk by faith and not by sight. I am fully persuaded such trying dispensations of divine Providence, are greatly profitable for our growth in the way that is well pleasing to him; and if patiently borne, will, in his time, be a means to work for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.

Soon after my health was restored, an ancient Friend whose name was Peter Davis, from New-England, came to Philadelphia in order to take a passage for England, and our friend Thomas Gawthrop having performed a religious visit to Friends on the continent of America, intending to embark shortly for the same, with Isaac Greenleaf, a Friend on trade, I joined them; all agreeing to take our passage in a new ship bound for London.

One thing I would remark, that some Friends, and, as I understood, some others also, taking notice how providentially public Friends had been preserved during the war which was then carrying on with France and Spain, so that none of them had been taken by the enemy, presumed thereon; and would say, There is no need to insure goods in that ship, as so many public Friends are going in her, she will doubtless go safe. I much disliked this unjustifiable confidence, seeing the judgments of the Lord are a great deep, being unsearchable, and his ways past finding out. It becomes us, in all our undertakings, to commit ourselves and all we have into his hands, in humble resignation to do or suffer whatever his wisdom may point out or permit to fall upon us, for the trial of our faith and patience; as his mercy, power and goodness, are as conspicuous in preserving, defending and carrying us through great probations, to his glory, consequently to our own advantage in the end, as in wholly exempting us from them. Even Job had no cause to complain of his unparalleled afflictions, when they were over, and he saw how greatly he had profited thereby. A Friend said to me before we embarked, he did not pretend to determine whether we should be taken or not; but however that might happen, he did believe some Friends in our station would be taken; not only to check that unwarrantable confidence in some, both Friends and others, but he also apprehended, a service might arise from such being cast amongst those dark people, though against their will. I did not pretend to any assurance in my own mind, of preservation out of the enemies' hands; but was made willing to commit my soul, body, and all that I had unto the Lord, as into the hands of a faithful Creator, not doubting the sufficiency of his power for preservation in every condition of life.

On the 30th of the ninth month, 1747, the before mentioned Friends, who were to be my companions upon the mighty ocean, set out from Philadelphia in order to embark at Chester, in company with many Friends, and called for me at my house in Darby, being the direct road. I joined them, as well as a considerable number of friends and neighbours, and proceeded to Chester that night; where, at the house of our ancient friend Grace Lloyd, we had a solemn meeting. Next day, being the 1st of the tenth month, about two o'clock in the afternoon, we took leave of Friends in great love and tenderness, and went on board the ship, which fell down the river that evening a little below Newcastle. Next day in the evening, we came to anchor near Reedy Island, where we were detained by a great storm of wind and rain until the 5th in the morning, when we set sail with a fair wind, taking our departure from the capes of the Delaware about six o'clock the same evening. The wind continued fair for the most part, though very strong, and a follow-

ing sea running very high, until the 18th; when, according to their calculation, we had run about two-thirds of our passage; seldom having more than a foresail set, and that sometimes reefed, and at other times double reefed. As we had such a high following sea, it was thought the ship was ahead of the reckoning. From the 18th to the 23d, the wind continued pretty fair, but more moderate than before. Then it turned about to the eastward and blew exceedingly hard, with a very high sea, until the 29th, in which time we lay-to, and drove about withersoever the wind and waves would carry us. We could get very little forward, but were exceedingly tossed. This was indeed a trying time; the motion of the waves being so violent, that though she was a strong, new ship, she was beaten upon with so much force as to make her crack from end to end, as if she would have been broken to pieces. I then thought those in my situation had good reason to know well what they were about, and for what they exposed themselves to such dangers; and had great need to have the mighty Ruler of the sea and land for their friend. For if he had been pleased to withdraw his protection, there was only about a two-inch plank between us and eternity, which was to me very awful to think of; for I was not without my tossings and combats of mind, during these outward probations. The 29th proved a fine day; they had a good observation, and judged we were then about an hundred and fifty leagues from the land's end of England. Next day, being the 30th of the tenth month, Thomas Gawthrop having had a very restless painful night, by troublesome dreams, &c., had some expectation of our being taken, as he afterwards intimated. He stepped upon deck about eight o'clock in the morning, and immediately espied a sail upon our windward quarter, giving us chase. He quickly raised the careless captain, who ought to have been looking out before that time, and to have watched more narrowly than he did, considering the trust reposed in him. The captain, when he perceived we were chased, appeared much concerned, giving the ship up for taken, in his mind, already. We urged him to put out all the sail he could crowd, and to exert his utmost endeavour to escape, offering to assist all in our power, as we often had done before, being very poorly manned; in part owing to the sailors' unwillingness to go in ships bound to London, lest they should be pressed on board men-of-war. It happened to be a moderate wind, so that we could have borne all the sail belonging to the ship; but through neglect, neither topgallant-sails nor steering-sails were in a condition to be set; neither could the captain be prevailed upon to have a reef taken out of the main-sail. The vessel was very badly steered, as the French remarked when they had taken us. The captain ordered her to be close hauled to the wind, vainly hoping, as he intimated, we should get to the windward of them, being deeply laden. But this was very ill judged, if really the effect of judgment, as the way of the ship was thereby much hindered to what it would have been if she had gone large, taking the strength of the wind. Notwithstanding this, we held the privateer in chase about nine hours. She came up with us about five o'clock in the evening, and fired a gun under French colours; upon which our people lowered their colours and topsail, by way of submitting to them. They hoisted out a small boat, the sea running high, in which came the second captain and a lieutenant with seven or eight sailors, to take possession of a very valuable prize. She was a snow privateer, belonging to Bayonne, carrying ten carriage guns, and about one hundred men, commanded by one Peter Garalon. As the boat was rowing towards us, the people made such a dark, mean and contemptible appearance, that our poor sailors cried out in a very affecting manner, We shall all be used very badly and cruelly, like dogs, for they are a pitiful crew, and no officer amongst them; but in this they were mistaken. For my part, the Lord being exceedingly gracious to my soul, by the blessed support and solacing comfort of his Holy Spirit all that day, I was quite calm and easy; all fear of the enemy or whatever I might have to pass through in such a time of trial, was wholly taken away for the present; my mind being filled with humble resignation to the divine will; yet was willing, as I thought it a point of prudence, to use endeavours for escaping out of their hand if it were practicable.

The before-mentioned second captain of the privateer, whose name was Andrew De St. Andrew, boarded us with a naked cutlass in his hand, eight or nine men following him. He spoke to us in good English very cheerfully, saying to this effect, "Your servant, gentlemen; it is the fortune of the war, although it is ours to day, it may be yours tomorrow;" and promised good usage. He then ordered the captain, mate, and sailors, except two, and us who were cabin passengers, being ten in number, to go on board the privateer; upon which the boat was loaded and went off. He took notice that we were of the people called Quakers, and gave us to understand that he was not altogether a stranger to us as a people. The chief reason of

sending away those on board a prize being for their own security, lest there might be danger of their rising and recovering the ship again, we conceived some hopes, from the known peaceable principles we profess, to be so far indulged as to be allowed to remain on board the prize; and therefore did not incline to go with the first boat-full; making use of that space of time in earnest solicitation to remain, having much better accommodation than we could reasonably expect on board the privateer: but all the arguments we advanced seemed ineffectual. When the boat returned, he still urged the orders he had from the head captain to send us all on board; upon which I stepped over the side of the vessel, taking hold of the hand-rope, with a design to go into the boat; when there, it appeared to me exceedingly hazardous, the sea running very high. I turned about and looked this French captain full in the face, and expressed myself in as moving terms as I was capable of, concerning the danger he was about exposing us to unnecessarily; which, through divine favour, made such an impression upon him, that he took me by the hand and drew me into the ship again, saying, "You shall stay here to night however." He had before demanded the keys of our chests, under pretence of preventing their falling into the hands of the common men, who might plunder them; but the true reason was, that he and the other officers might first do it themselves; which they did after we were gone to bed that night, returning our keys next morning, with large promises of protection and good usage; which, every thing considered, they in a good degree fulfilled. We could not help looking upon it as a kind providence, which made way for our remaining on board the prize; having there the free use of our private stores, and being better waited upon than before we were taken, having two cabin boys for that purpose. Captain Andrew, to give him his due, carried himself respectfully to us; frequently filling our plates plentifully, though he might at times have less left for himself; and when he wanted any liquors or other provisions out of our chests, he would ask us for them in a submissive manner, as if he had no authority to demand. This kind carriage gained upon us, to place some confidence in him, which in the end he made use of to his own advantage, by craftily getting from us about two hundred pounds sterling, the particulars of which would be too tedious to relate. After the French had got possession of our ship, they put her in a fine trim for sailing, so that it was plain she could readily outsail the privateer that took her. Captain Andrew said, that when they took us, we were about eighty leagues from Cape Clear in Ireland, and about one hundred and twenty-five leagues from the land's end of England.

The next day the chief captain came on board to examine the cargo, &c. He made Andrew captain of the prize, of which we were glad, as he could speak English, and from what we saw of him, there was reason to expect favourable usage under his care; which was also promised us by the head captain. They found the cargo so valuable that it was concluded the privateer should keep us company, in order to convoy us safely to some port of France or Spain. Having new masters, we had a new course to steer; but the wind set against us, blowing very hard and stormy. We lay-to often, and were exceedingly tossed for about two weeks, and did not in that time think ourselves any nearer Bayonne, than when we were taken. Our captors wanted more prey, and espied and chased several vessels, who had the good success to get away from them. We were once chased by a fine large ship, which they took to be an English man-of-war, and appeared to be greatly alarmed; but when she came up, they found her to be a privateer belonging to the town called St. Maloes, carrying twenty carriage guns, and about three hundred men. We left the privateer that took us, far behind, during this chase, our ship being fixed upon at a great distance, for the best booty.

It was the 22nd of the eleventh month, before we saw any land, and when we did, our captors proved much mistaken, thinking themselves sixty or seventy leagues nearer Bayonne than they found to be the case. We had pleasant sailing near the land on the Spanish coast, which borders on the bay of Biscay; it being high land, afforded considerable delight to us, as we had been long confined to the sight of water only. The 24th, in the dusk of the evening, we had nearly entered the port called St. Sebastian, when the wind chopped in right ahead and drove us out to sea again. The privateer got into a place called Port-passage, about a league from thence, next morning early. But we being forced further off by contrary winds, had great difficulty to get in that day, being for many hours towed by fifteen boats, in which were one hundred and fifty men labouring at their oars. They appeared very anxious to get our vessel into port, as they feared some English ship cruising in the bay, might call them to an account. We poor captives went on shore the 26th in the morning, being glad and thankful to have the opportunity of setting our feet again on firm land, although in an enemy's country; for setting aside the

great affliction of being taken, it had been an exceedingly boisterous and trying passage, of about eight weeks. It was mild spring-like weather there, though about the middle of winter. We diverted ourselves with walking about in the day and lodged aboard at night, whilst we staid in that place, which was till the 29th, when horses were provided for us to travel by land, about thirty miles to Bayonne; the doctor of the privateer being all the guard and guide we had. There was a very plentiful dinner provided for us at a seaport town in France, called St. Jean-de-Luz. I was not at all pleased with the forward, wanton carriage of the women, such as I had never seen before. I reproved them, but some by way of excuse said, the principal thing they intended thereby, was to cheer up our spirits in our captivity; yet I could hardly believe their design was so innocent.

We had been told by Captain Andrew, that on our arrival at Bayonne, we that were cabin passengers should immediately have a parole of honour granted us; but we did not find it so. Being brought before the commissary, he ordered us to be taken into the castle; yet we had the liberty there to hire rooms, with beds in them, such as they were, and to have provisions for our money; of which we soon found we had need to be well stored, as they had a knack of getting it from us; for we could not buy any thing ourselves, but all must come through the hands of such as knew how to make a profit of us. I never knew any people so thoroughly furnished with artful ways to get money, as the French. Their tongues were very much at command, and they could use them with great wit and address, in order to gain our good opinion of them, but I perceived that they meant in the main, advantage to themselves; and therefore, saw it necessary to be as much as I could on my guard. We were very much imposed upon on account of provisions, and our money went very fast. Not being without fear that if they should discover we had sufficient, some other way might be found out to get it from us, we made inquiry whether any was willing to supply us with money, and take our draft upon London, allowing them a premium. We soon found they were very willing to do it, merely upon the credit of our Society; such reputation has the possession of Truth gained Friends, far and wide; but to our sorrow, the bare profession of it, in some mournful instances of late, has produced the contrary effect; so that there is reason to fear, the great credit gained by our worthy predecessors for justice and punctuality, is in danger of being in measure lost to the Society, by the misconduct of some of their descendants. They told us that several of the people called Quakers had been amongst them, but they were not like us; that they looked upon us to be precise stiff Quakers; but those who had been there before, behaved in a complaisant manner, not sticking at the punctilio of the hat, &c. We let them know that our behaviour in those respects, was no other than what is consistent with our principles; and that we could not answer for those who were hypocrites, professing one thing and practising another. We could discover that upon all occasions, they seemed to have a greater dependence on our veracity, than that of the rest of our company; and upon the whole, they showed us as much if not more kindness. Our confinement and usage in the castle grew very disagreeable to us; we therefore took the opportunity when the commissary came, to lay before him the treatment we met with, and to request our liberty upon parole. He pretended to make some difficulty of it, and we found many then in the castle had been endeavouring some time to procure that liberty, and could not. But when we discovered danger of being put off as they had been, we pressed it upon him with more earnestness. Hereupon we had a parole of honour granted for upwards of twenty. The place fixed upon for our residence, was Dax, an ancient town about forty miles up Bayonne river. We were sent thither by water, and were in the boat all night, having very disagreeable company, the worst of whom were English and Scotch. These had laid a scheme to prevent our being admitted into the same boat, which was very ungrateful in them, as they knew we had been the principal instruments of procuring that liberty, especially for some of them. Without doubt, their reason for that attempt was, that they might enjoy the intended frolic, without any rebuke or interruption from us. We bore their obscene discourse and behaviour for some time; but at length, being exceedingly burdened, Thomas Gawthrop and I were concerned to reprove them very severely, desiring them to consider, what the French people in the boat could think of those who called themselves Protestants. Some of them seemed at first to retort, but the weight of our spirits came over them; and we being on Truth's side, which is strongest of all, they were soon overcome and silenced. From that time we kept them at a distance, not looking upon them worthy of our notice in a way of intimacy, so that when we came to Dax, we separated from them, boarding by ourselves. On our arrival there, we were brought before the governor of the castle; and our manner of appearing before superiors being different from that of others,

with which we did not expect he was acquainted, and might probably put an unfavourable construction upon; we therefore desired our interpreter to inform him, that we did not stand before him covered in contempt, or in any disrespect, it being our principle and practice so to appear before our superiors in our own nation. His answer was to this effect, viz., "I am not at all offended with their appearance; I know something of those people." He gave us the liberty of the town and country around; and we got pretty good quarters, and lived much more to our minds than in Bayonne castle.

This town is now a mean place, but there are still remains of its ancient greatness. I find by history, it was once the capital of Aquitaine, and was then called Aqua Solis, from its hot waters. At one place I found the heat so surprisingly great, that I could not bear my fingers in the water a quarter of a minute. This water was enclosed with stone walls of about twenty yards square, having brass or iron cocks or spouts, to convey water for the use of the inhabitants; it answering the purpose of boiling water for washing linen, &c. There arises a steam or smoke therefrom, like a vast furnace or lime-kiln. We being there in Lent-time, as they call it, were told the priests were uneasy at our being indulged with flesh, and that they requested the governor to give orders for preventing it. We were informed that he turned very short upon them, and said, "I will give no such orders. What have they to do with your lent? Cannot you be contented to keep it yourselves?" He carried himself very civilly to us, and came once in person to invite us to a bull-baiting, offering, as we were strangers, to prefer us to the best place for the purpose of seeing, which was the balcony in the front of his house. We acknowledged his civility, but at the same time gave him to understand, we did not allow ourselves to attend such diversions.

There are many worship-houses, and two nunneries in Dax. Their clergy, of various orders, swarm like locusts, who fleece the people, so that it may be truly said of much the greater part, they are in a state of abject poverty and vassalage; stupidly devoted to follow these blind guides whithersoever they think proper to lead them, not daring to judge for themselves in matters of religion. O happy England! O land blessed with liberty! What hast thou not to answer for, if a right use be not made of so great a privilege.

We went one day to converse with the nuns, which we did through large iron grates, by an interpreter. They behaved themselves very civilly, and were courteous and free in discourse. One of the sisters lay dead in an apartment. The corpse was laid in a coffin dressed in black, having twelve wax candles lighted and set in silver candlesticks, six on each side, and some at her feet, and a black cross fixed between her fingers on her breast, as if she were looking at it. Several of the nuns were about her, some kneeling, and others sitting on the floor, with books in their hands, praying for the departed soul, as we conjectured. One was ringing a bell, perhaps it was what they call a holy bell, that at the sound thereof all the evil spirits might be chased out of the soul's way in its flight towards the other world. We went from this to the other nunnery, but could not be immediately admitted to see the nuns, as they were employed in singing psalms or some kind of religious songs, which we could hear at a considerable distance. We stood in an open entry before a fine chapel, but did not go into it, though the door was open; for indeed I had no freedom to go into any of their idols' temples, yet we could see many upon their knees praying, some before one image, and some before another. As we waited here, not intending nor expecting to give any offence, it being an open entry, but I suppose it was hallowed or consecrated, as they call it, though not discovered to be so by us, there came a monk to us in a great passion, and talked very fast in French. We saw he was angry, but did not understand what he said, and therefore asked the interpreters, having, I think, two with us. They told us, he said we had polluted that holy place, in keeping our hats on, inasmuch as the Lord God was there; that if we had no more manners, they had a way to teach us better. We then departed, being deprived of the intended visit to the nuns, but that was no great disappointment. Their crosses, either of wood or stone, are very numerous, being erected in all the cross roads, and also at many places in and about their towns and villages; on some of which images are fastened, with an imitation of the crown of thorns, the reed, spear and spunge. That the people's great poverty may more fully appear, I shall give a short description of the shoes most of them wear, who wear any sort: they are wholly made of wood, being hollowed out for the feet, except a piece of leather about three inches broad, across the instep. They appear very inconvenient to walk in, as they do not yield at all to the feet. I am persuaded there is not one in sixty, in that part of France, who wear any other sort of shoes. Many wagon loads of these shoes are brought to Dax market every week.

The 21st of the twelfth month, a messenger from Bayonne brought us the agreeable news

of a cartel-ship from England being arrived at Port-passage. An order came soon after for our return, and that we might be ready to embark the 24th. We hired a boat for that purpose, and went to Bayonne, being on the water all night. It was very cold snowy weather, and I suffered much, taking a cold, which I did not get over for many days. What added to our distress, was the commissary's receiving us very roughly, and ordering us into the castle. I know of no reason he had for being in that ill-natured disposition; and was ready to imagine it was only to furnish a pretence to get something into his own pocket by our confinement. One thing which made me think he had a feeling in the profits, was his unwillingness to give us and others, a parole. However, when it appeared that we must go to prison again, the captain of the cartel-ship being present, demanded our liberty; which I suppose the commissary durst not deny; by which means we had the liberty of the town a few days, until matters were settled for our travelling towards the ship.

One thing I am not willing to omit, as it will be a specimen of the unaccountable superstition and idolatry of those people amongst whom our lot was cast. Thomas Gawthrop and I taking a walk, as we often did, into the fields, came to a small building, which was in the nature of a conduit, as there issued out at one end, spouts of water, over which was enclosed in net-work, an image whose head seemed as if cut off or severed from its body. It appeared to be a fine spring of water; but that which most attracted our notice was, to observe so many worshipping this water and beheaded image; I suppose not less than fifteen on their knees, some nearer to it than others. We inquired the meaning thereof; but none understood English, nor did we French enough to converse; so that we remained in the dark, until by making inquiry in the town, we received the following account, viz., that it is St. Leon's well, who is the titular saint of Bayonne. That this Leon was the first Gospel missionary sent thither in pagan times, that he was greatly persecuted, and last of all, beheaded on a hill above that place where the well now is. That when his head was severed from his body it rolled down the hill and fell upon this place, upon which there immediately issued out a spring or fountain of water. That it is now the constant practice of professors to send people to do penance at St. Leon's well; who must fix themselves on their knees nearer or further off according to the nature of their crimes.

When our captain had fully settled with the commissary relative to us, we proceeded on our way towards the ship as far as the town called St. Jean-de-Luz, where we abode some time, taking up our quarters at a large inn. One day when at dinner, we received a visit from two friars, one of whom being an Irishman, could speak English well; the other knew very little English. We understood the design of their coming was to use endeavours in their pretended catholic spirit, for our conversion, by bringing us into the bosom of their church, out of which, they say, there is no salvation. This Irish friar began to ask questions, which, for a little while, we answered; but the dispute seemed too promiscuous and was not quite satisfactory; neither did it appear altogether fair for so many to engage with one; for the other friar could be of little use in argument, as he had not the language. Therefore, finding my mind pretty much opened and warmly engaged, I entered into a close dispute with him, which my companions observing, left it to us. I soon found that his main support in argument was the authority and infallibility of their church, but more especially of the pope. I told him it was altogether fruitless to support arguments against me, by an authority I had no faith in; but seeing he and I both allowed the Holy Scriptures to be of divine authority, it would be much better for us to back our arguments by that authority only. It was exceedingly difficult to bring him to this, as I believe he clearly foresaw I should there be too many for him; which fell out accordingly, the Lord being near, opening my understanding, so that the poor man was confounded and knew not what to answer, nor how to support an argument; his memory scarcely serving him to quote one Scripture passage truly. I sometimes helped him, repeating the passages he aimed at, to see what use he could make of them; but I found him as deficient in applying, as he was in remembering the Holy Scriptures; which induced me to think that even their clergy, so called, find those sacred writings make so little for the support of their religion, that they do not much regard them. The dispute continued most of the afternoon; in which he carried himself with good nature and civility, at least in appearance. He would sometimes express his wonder at my memory; saying, he thought I could repeat all the Scriptures by heart from the beginning of Genesis to the end of the Revelations. But I knew who graciously helped me; for I did not go against him in my own strength, the Lord being with me in such a manner, that I thought I should not have been afraid to engage with an hundred of their most crafty priests; and therefore I did, and do offer

thanksgiving and praise to him alone who is eternally worthy! Towards the conclusion he asked me what I thought of their eucharist. I felt, as I thought, a snare in his question; and asked him whether he intended to ensnare me by that question; which he did not offer to deny. I was, however, enabled to answer him in such a manner that he could take no advantage, to bring me into trouble. I often cried unto the Lord to preserve us in maintaining our testimony, agreeably to what he knew was right in his sight; and at the same time to be exceedingly watchful over our own spirits, lest they should be too much heated and raised in a false zeal, with indignation against the detestable idolatry and abominations of those dark countries, that we might not thereby imprudently put ourselves into their power; not doubting if the Lord required any service of us amongst them, he would support us therein, for he hath all power in heaven and earth. The friars took their leave of us in the evening, signifying they would visit us again; but they never did, and I hardly believe they intended it.

From this place we went into that part of Spain where we first landed, and staid there and at Sebastian several weeks, waiting for the ship's sailing. The Spaniards are much more disagreeable to live amongst than the French. The men appeared to us in a general way, poor, proud and exceedingly lazy; filled with high conceit of themselves, both in a civil and religious sense. They sauntered about, walking with their cloaks over their shoulders, looking upon us with contempt, as we could bow neither to their pride nor to their religion; nor could we look upon them in a favourable light, when we observed what slaves they made of their wives and of the women in general, who are employed in all or most of the drudgery, even in rowing their boats. I have seen near the two last mentioned places, in their ferries, and other business on the water, more than a hundred women thus employed; and scarcely a man is seen to touch an oar, unless he goes a fishing; and then his wife, or some woman, must bring his cloak or sword to the water-side against he comes on shore, and carry the fish home on her head, while he walks in state to the town. This one of the Friends who were with me assured me he saw. I am far from envying our English women their happiness; I think indulgent usage is due to the tenderness of their sex every where; yet I think were they to see even what I have seen, as above hinted, they would be very thankful to the Author of their being for casting their lots in the English dominions.

The darkness of popery seems greater here than in France; although it may be seen and felt there beyond all expression. Oh the pain and distress of soul I was almost continually under by the muddy rivers of Babylon in those lands of darkness! the harp being indeed hung upon the willows. No sweet melody nor song of Zion could be sung, the Lord knoweth, under the power of the king of the bottomless pit, who rules in the mystery of iniquity. Yet so it must remain, until that Almighty Being who cut Rahab and wounded the dragon, is pleased to arise and put on strength, that he may turn and overturn; pouring forth the phials of his wrath upon the seat of the beast and false prophet; that the nations may no more be intoxicated with their abominations.* May the Lord, for his oppressed Seed's sake, hasten that day, so that the people and saints of the Most High may obtain the kingdom, and the earth enjoy her sabbath, when sweet incense in every place on the Lord's footstool may be offered up to him with acceptance.†

I took notice at Port-passage that a person went about the street every evening tinkling a hand-bell, as if he had something to sell, yet I could not see any thing he had, which made me ask the reason of it. I was told, that it was to remind people of the souls in purgatory, that they might pray for them. The maid of the house where we boarded, brought a crucifix and desired us to kiss it; which some of the English then present did, to please her; but upon my refusal, and withal giving her a gentle rebuke for offering me such an affront, she alarmed the house with complaints what a bad Christian I was, for refusing to embrace that piece of brass. Having soon after to pass through an entry, I found two men, I suppose lying in wait for me. One of them came slily behind my back, laying fast hold of both my arms, in order to confine me, whilst the other brought the image to my face; intending, no doubt, to force me into that which they could not bring me to do voluntarily. I soon perceived what they were about, and presently freed myself from their odious design; showing them, by a stern countenance and some sharp expressions, that I was much displeased with their uncivil treatment.

I cannot fully account for the cause, but whilst in Spain, I felt at times, or at least I thought so, something like snares laid to do us mischief. However that was, the Lord graciously preserved us, and gave us ability to maintain our testimony, as far as he was pleased to require of us in those countries;

* See Psalm cxxxvii. Isaiah li., and Revelations.
† Daniel vii.

which was chiefly in feeling the distressing weight of death and darkness that covers the holy Seed sown in the hearts of mankind, and which is pressed down by their superstition, idolatry and wickedness, "as a cart is pressed that is full of sheaves." It as surely groans for deliverance as Israel did under Egyptian bondage. In sympathy therewith, my soul was mostly in deep anxiety; being, as it were, dumb with silence, and closed up in painful death and darkness; ready at times to say, Surely I am in the same spirit with them. But the material difference was this; it was their element, wherein they lived pleasantly and delighted to breathe; whereas I could neither live nor breathe therein; so far from it, that I often looked upon myself in a manner quite dead. But let everlasting praise ascend to the God of the living, world without end! He was pleased to bring me through this horrible death and darkness, to enjoy the glorious day of his salvation again, and to be one of those, though unworthy, who have "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world," for their light and leader. Then I saw that even in that day of uncommon trials, both within and without, my life was sure, though not discerned by me, being hid with Christ in God.

It was some time after my arrival in England, before the thick darkness before-mentioned quite wore off my mind; yet I was favoured at times, with the shining of the Sun of righteousness, as it were breaking through a thick cloud, to my unspeakable joy and comfort, and in the work of the Gospel, I believe, to the great satisfaction of many others, to whom I was, through deep suffering, in some degree qualified to speak, even as deep calleth unto deep.

We arrived in England, and came to anchor in Torbay, the 26th of the first month, 1748, after a passage of five days. The ship was bound for Plymouth, but the sailors who had been prisoners in France, being in fear of another confinement by being pressed on board of the men-of-war, took the command of her from the captain, by something, in appearance at least, like force. He told them he had a safe protection from the government, whereby they would be secured from what they feared by going to Plymouth. But they did not regard that, neither was he, as we thought, averse to going into Torbay, as he had the sailors to lay it on; for we had reason to apprehend he did not keep us waiting in Spain so long for nothing; so that the bay might suit his purpose better also. It being the first-day of the week, in the evening, when we came to anchor, Thomas Gawthrop and I had a mind to go on shore, that we might endeavour to find a meeting of Friends. Next day some of the company signifying their intention of going about midnight, that being the time when I suppose the tide would serve best; we therefore requested they would call us, which they did. The ship lay a considerable distance from the town of Bricksham, where we intended to land. We had been in the boat but a little while, when a great storm of wind and rain beat furiously against us, so that the men at the oars found it hard to keep the boat up against it. We encouraged them all in our power to work for their own lives and ours, letting them know, if they would bring us safely to land, they should be well rewarded for their pains. The danger of being driven back to sea was very apparent, and I believe much feared by all in the boat. The poor men exerted their utmost endeavour, which, through the good providence of God, proved successful.

This I looked upon as a merciful preservation, having seldom, if ever, in the course of my life, apprehended greater danger. We were exceedingly wet with the rain, but having good fires made for us, and other necessary accommodations, we did not suffer much thereby. By inquiry, we found there was a meeting of our Friends held near a place called Newton-Bushel, about ten miles off, to which we went, being truly thankful for the great favour of a safe arrival in England, and the opportunity of sitting down in a meeting of Friends again; though we held meetings amongst ourselves in our captivity, on first-days, when it appeared practicable. This meeting was but small, and the life of religion seemed to me at a low ebb. I had nothing to deliver by way of testimony. Friends were very loving to us. On second-day we proceeded towards London, as far as Exeter, where Friends entertained us kindly that night. Next day Thomas Gawthrop, Isaac Greenleaf and myself, leaving our ancient friend Peter Davis with Friends there, hired horses as far as Honiton. There I bought a serviceable mare, that carried me safely and well through most of my travels in this journey in England and Wales. We took Bridport in our way, and lodged with our worthy friend Samuel Bownas, who, with his house-keeper, entertained us with affectionate kindness. Now did we begin to enjoy the sweetness of brotherly love again. The Quarterly Meeting for Dorsetshire was held next day at that place, to which we went. It was very small, and the power of Truth, which is the crown of all our religious meetings, as I thought, was very low therein. We must live in that power at other times, if we expect its gracious assistance in the weighty

affairs of the church when met for the management thereof; for that which is born of the flesh is but flesh, and cannot enter into the kingdom of God, nor so much as see it. All is certainly of the flesh that hath its principal delight and satisfaction in sublunary things. So that, although some may maintain the character of God's people as to the outward appearance, yet if the love of earthly things has the chief room in their hearts, the love of the Father is not in them; and therefore such are not qualified to do God's work. Church-government, according to the discipline he in his wisdom has established, requires our understandings to be divinely enlightened to move rightly therein. The natural reason and understanding, whereby we manage our outward affairs, although capable of this, is altogether unfit for the other; for "the world by wisdom knows not God;" and where persons speak and act in this, in meetings for discipline, they are not likely to understand his work; but in their pretended endeavours to promote, they mar it, and frequently darken counsel by a multitude of words without right knowledge. Instead of raising life in a meeting, they bring death and darkness over it, to the great pain of the upright-hearted, who are not always ready, like those above hinted at, but experimentally knowing their sufficiency for every good word and work to be of God, they dare not move until it please him, by moving upon their hearts, to open their understandings and to be a spirit of judgment unto them. In this only there is a binding and loosing, remitting and retaining, with divine approbation; which is livingly known and sealed upon the understandings of the faithful, by the Holy Spirit of promise. Our way was quite shut up as to ministry or other public service in that meeting; after which we pursued our journey for London. I found constant riding very painful, not only because I had not rode much for a considerable time, but having, according to the custom of America, been used to an easy pacer; my mare now being a trotter, was hard to bear until I was more accustomed to it, which then proved very agreeable. Our friend John Hunt and his wife met us on seventh-day at Staines, and being in a coach, prevailed on me, as I was weary with riding, to go with them in it, and took me to their house, where I was kindly entertained, not only then, but also at other times during my travels in this nation. I continued about two weeks in the city, visiting meetings as they fell in course, being mostly low and pretty much discouraged in my mind with a deep sense of my own weakness, the greatness of the work before me, and the mournful state of the church, as it appeared to me, in London. I had but little openness as to ministry, yet endeavoured to wade along as patiently as I could; it appearing to be my principal business to suffer with the oppressed Seed, mourning with a sensible remnant, who I could perceive had sackcloth underneath, because of the prevalence of worldly wisdom and grandeur in that great city; the lowly meek spirit of Jesus, which by the power of God was exalted amongst us, in the early time of our being a people, was in too general a way overlooked and disregarded; and man's will and wisdom taking its place, was grown very high, and assumed the government, where the wisdom of God formerly bore rule. But this did not prosper; instead thereof, greater waste and desolation prevailed. Those who were breathing and panting after heavenly substance were greatly discouraged, being ready to say, All is gone! the glory is departed from Israel! what can be done now? but I saw they were to be raised in the Lord's time, as an army to fight his battles against the uncircumcised in heart and ears; and that the victory over that spirit was to be obtained through sufferings. Having given a short hint of the afflicting view I had of the state of our Society in the city of London, I shall leave it for the present; as I shall, in the course of this journal, have occasion to make further observations thereon, which may tend to explain the above.

CHAPTER IV.

Visit to his mother—attends the Yearly Meeting in London—meetings in Norfolk, Suffolk, &c. —visits Yorkshire—Durham, Lancashire, &c.

I HAD an ancient mother in Radnorshire, South Wales, whom I had not seen for about twenty-two years. I therefore purposed taking meetings in my way thither, and also in my return to London Yearly Meeting. I set out in order to be at Reading Quarterly Meeting the 16th of the second month, which I attended to good satisfaction. After this meeting I took the following in my way, viz. Henley, Warborough, Witney, Gloucester, and Ross, the Lord being my gracious helper, either to do or suffer, in which I endeavoured to be faithful, according to the discovery I received of the divine will: on the 26th I got to my mother's house, having sent a messenger a little before, lest a sudden surprise, although arising from much joy, might prove too great a shock for my dear ancient mother to bear without some inconvenience. I suppose our meeting might somewhat resemble that of Jacob and his son Joseph. It afforded much

comfort to my worthy mother, she being a valuable religious woman, not only to see me again, but also that I was come upon a service she so greatly loved and valued. My honoured father had been dead about three years. I had a brother and sister living with my mother, and another sister married, who lived not far from her. I staid thereabouts somewhat more than two weeks; in which time I had several large, and some very open precious meetings; many of other societies flocking to them, who seemed much reached by the testimony of Truth. But alas! I found things very low among Friends, which was cause of sorrow to my mind. Wrong things were creeping in, and very few if any, had judgment and courage enough to deal plainly with disorderly walkers. I was at their Monthly Meeting, and endeavoured to stir them up to a more diligent and zealous exercise of wholesome discipline; but they appeared weak. On second-day, the 16th of the third month, I took leave of my dear mother, brother and sisters, and set out in order to be at the Yearly Meeting in London, Edward Jones bearing me company. I took the following meetings in my way, viz. Ammelly, Leominster, a Quarterly Meeting held at Broomsgrove and Worcester, Evesham and Shipton; on first-day had two meetings, at Longcompton in the morning and Chippingnorton in the afternoon; then to High Wickham, Chesham and Uxbridge. Several were open satisfactory meetings, and some very trying and afflicting. The Lord was pleased to be my helper and support, to whom be humble thanksgivings for his gracious condescension to the low estate of his poor servants.

I got to London on the seventh-day of the week, and the day following attended Gracechurch street and Devonshire-House meetings; but I had very little openness therein. My spirit was very low and greatly depressed, so that I seemed near fainting under the weight of my burden. On second-day the Yearly Meeting began. The first was a meeting of ministers and elders in the morning. Many brethren were met from divers parts of the nation, amongst whom, I looked upon myself as a mere child, having much fear and reasoning in my mind lest I should dishonour the great Master's cause, and discover my great weakness, as it appeared in my own view, to those pillars in the church and experienced servants in the Lord's work. But he in great mercy condescended to my very low estate, and regarded my humble breathings, giving me the word of life to preach with demonstration that day, which much opened my way in the minds of Friends, and was of considerable advantage to me in my future service; for very much depends on our having good place in the hearts of the faithful, and that cannot well be until they know us. Christian prudence teaches not to lay hands suddenly on any; therefore such must see and feel the spirits one of another, in some degree, before they can unite. Was there not great care and caution in this respect, gross hypocrisy, by putting on the outward appearance, might be encouraged, which would be a grievous wound to God's cause. Many Friends after this meeting showed affectionate regard to me; but none more than that substantial minister of the Gospel Samuel Bownas. It had a proper effect upon my mind, to strengthen it, and raise humble acknowledgments to the Lord for his mercy; it being my fervent prayer, that whatever I might go through on account of the unfaithful, my service and labours might be acceptable to the saints, and that I might be favoured with a sense of the unity and help of their spirits accompanying me therein. I attended the Yearly Meeting constantly, both the meetings for worship and discipline, as they fell in course. The power and virtue of Truth was near, strengthening and comforting our spirits in a good degree; but I have known a much fuller enjoyment and overshadowing thereof, even when all the hills and mountains have been melted, as it were, before Him who is glorious in holiness and fearful in praises, working wonders for the help and preservation of his people. Then we could experimentally say, the Lord's awful majesty presided amongst us, being a spirit of judgment to them that sit in judgment, and all we stand in need of; even as a place of broad rivers and streams, where nothing of man's invention could obtain any place. These were times of rejoicing in the presence of the Lord, and drinking freely of the wine and milk, without money and without price. My soul said it is good to be here; having a desire, with Peter, to tabernacle there; dreading to descend again into this vale of tears, where I must struggle with my many infirmities, which I did not then much feel. I do not instance this with design to justify anxious fears and taking thought for the time to come; but rather as a mark of my great weakness and want of growth in the most precious faith, which is the saints' victory, whereby, as we grow therein, strength and patience are received, to endure hardness as good soldiers of Jesus Christ; not viewing with anxious fear these light afflictions which are but for a moment; seeing, in due time, if we are properly exercised thereby, they will work for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.

On the sixth-day of the next week after the Yearly Meeting, I set out in order to be at the three eastern Yearly Meetings, being accompanied by my friends John Hunt and his wife, and Christopher Wilson, who was to be my companion. We lodged that night at Brentwood; next morning early we passed on to Chelmsford, the weather being extremely hot, and breakfasted at my dear friend Frances Wyatt's, who afterwards, through the kind providence of God, became my truly affectionate wife. Divers Friends went forward towards Colchester, but my companion and I staid at Chelmsford meeting on first-day. The weather continuing very hot, I think then equal in heat to our weather in America, there arose a storm of thunder and rain in the time of the meeting: one clap of thunder, whilst I was upon my feet, so terrified Friends as to take away their attention for the present, and I expected to be obliged to sit down; but waiting a short time, Friends recovered, and I went on. A boy was killed by the lightning as he was playing near Springfield steeple-house, about a mile from Chelmsford.

We went after meeting to Kelvedon, and next morning were accompanied by several Friends towards Colchester; but I was so ill of a fever, that I was obliged to alight at Lexton, about a mile from the said place. We mounted our horses again after I had recovered a little; but before we had proceeded on the way above half a mile, there came on such terrible thunder, as is seldom known in this part of the world. The lightning appeared to glide like streams of fire on the surface of the earth a considerable way, and there seemed, as I thought, a strong smell of sulphur. The thunder frightened my mare to such a degree, that I being poorly, could scarcely sit her; but through mercy, I received no hurt. I continued ill at Colchester, so that I did not attend many of the meetings. The Yearly Meeting ended there on fourth-day. On the sixth-day following, I was so recovered as to ride in a chaise to Maningtree, and had a meeting there the same day. On seventh-day we went through Ipswich to Woodbridge, in order to attend the Yearly and Quarterly Meetings there for the county of Suffolk. We were at their meeting on first-day; on second-day was held their meeting for discipline, wherein the power and virtue of Truth seemed to me low and depressed; and although I was fully persuaded there were some living, concerned members therein, who had the cause of Truth at heart, yet they appeared also depressed. The chief reason whereof I then apprehended, and have more clearly seen since, was giving too much place to a few busy forward members, in whom man's will and wisdom were too much exalted, who assumed the rule and government of that meeting; in which they were too much indulged by the cowardice of those whose proper business it was to work for God; that by his blessing and assistance, they might exalt the weight and authority of Truth over such spirits. For the dominion and majesty of Truth in a meeting soon foils and overcomes them, as it is abode in by the heirs thereof; but if they are slack and negligent in possessing their right, usurpers will often take it from them, in this sense. Such who are called to work for God in his church, by holding back more than is meet, not only bring poverty and leanness upon their own souls, but also open a door for the spirit of antichrist to enter. I have often seen, that when the wise woman neglects to build the house, the foolish woman, by pretending to build, hath pulled it down with her own hands: this has been no small cause of the waste and desolation in some places. I have had much labour with that busy, active, forward spirit since, both in meetings and in private plain dealing; as also in stirring up and encouraging the right minded to stand their ground; which I hope has not been altogether without some good effect. I could not be easy to proceed without making the above remarks, as a caution to those into whose hands this may come, since it is no small thing to be guilty of negligence in the work of God, nor to engage therein without a proper qualification.

Meetings for worship were held on third and fourth-days, wherein we were favoured with a good degree of that heavenly virtue, in which there is a renewal of strength and a comfortable fellowship one with another. From thence we proceeded towards Norwich, taking Brandiston and Layston meetings in our way; where true religion appeared to be mournfully low. At Norwich we were favoured with considerable openness and satisfaction in their meetings on first-day. The Quarterly and Yearly Meetings for the county of Norfolk, were held on second, third and fourth-days. Divine goodness was felt assisting in close exercise and labour, for the help and recovery of a declined people; and heavenly fellowship was sweetly enjoyed with those who preferred the prosperity of the city of God to their chiefest joy. On fifth-day we had a meeting at Wymondham, wherein we were opened in Gospel service, to our comfort and relief in a good degree. Next day we had a meeting at Tasborough, which was a very painful trying time; my duty therein was to set an example of silence. Here my agreeable companion and I parted. He had been with me ever since I left London. I was now alone, as to

any constant companion, and on the first-day following attended Norwich meeting to pretty good satisfaction; and had the following meetings appointed in my way to Lynn, viz. Lammas, North Walsam, Holt and Wells; in most of which I had close laborious service: being led, as was often my lot, to stir up and awaken, if possible, the careless lukewarm professors. Our friend Edmund Peckover, accompanied me to Lynn, where we had two meetings on first-day; they proved very painful and laborious: I had very little openness as to ministry. From thence we went to Wisbeach and to Gedney, where things appeared to be very low; and at Spalding, had a heavy laborious meeting; where my friend Edmund Peckover left me and returned home. The same day was a considerable eclipse of the sun.

The next meeting I had was at Broughton, which was very painful and afflicting. The great loss which some in that part of Lincolnshire, through which I passed, have sustained, by forsaking the Fountain of living water and the commonwealth of our Israel, that they might embrace this present world, Demas-like, was sorrowfully felt. Although some of them retain the outward form, yet having lost the dew of their youth, they are become dry and formal; by whose means, and the undue liberties indulged in many of the youth, a thick darkness was raised that might be felt; which eclipsed the beauty of our Sion. I travelled from thence through Newark, and a considerable way by the pleasant river Trent, to Nottingham. Being first-day, I was at the meetings there, both fore and afternoon. Truth greatly favoured me in opening doctrine and counsel in the morning; the afternoon not quite so open, but in a good degree to satisfaction. From thence to Oxon meeting, which was small yet open, and to Mansfield, and had a painful trying meeting there. The next was at Chesterfield, where the company was small, yet Truth livingly favoured, opening counsel for our help and encouragement in the way of well doing. Notice being previously given, I had a large meeting at Matlock on first-day. There were a few Friends and many others at this meeting, which proved heavy and laborious for some time; yet divine goodness afforded ability to work through, and the holy power of God was in a good degree exalted; praises to his name for ever! The next meeting was at Hansworth-wood-house, on the borders of Yorkshire. There were but few Friends, and of those few, most seemed to depend much upon the labour of the ministers, as is sorrowfully the case in many other places. I had nothing to administer to them but an example of silence, that appearing best adapted to their states; for unless the great benefit thereof is experienced, there can be no real advancement in true religion. I went from thence to Sheffield, which was a large meeting, and the doctrine of Truth was largely and livingly opened therein; I believe to general satisfaction, and to the comfort of the upright hearted. I went to Highflats, and was at their meeting on first-day, which was very large; being composed of plain country Friends. The Lord was pleased to favour us with a precious opportunity together, in the comfortable enjoyment of his love shed abroad; under which holy influence, the doctrine of Truth was largely opened; the glorious powerful name of the Lord was magnified, and his humble, dependent children were encouraged to serve him with a perfect heart and with a willing mind. The next meeting was at Brighouse, which was to pretty good satisfaction; Truth owning and comforting our spirits therein.

Next day I had a very painful afflicting meeting at Halifax, having reason to fear but few of the members were rightly acquainted with the quickening virtue of true religion in themselves: when this is the sorrowful case, it makes heavy work for the living. My labour amongst them was in a close arousing way, but it did not appear to make much impression. At Gildersome I had a pretty open comfortable meeting; and next day, one at Leeds to satisfaction. This being a large meeting, I staid over first-day, and am persuaded a sensible, weighty body of Friends belonged to it; yet there seemed to me a much larger number, who contented themselves in the profession of Truth, and in hearing the report of others concerning the heavenly country. The indifference of these, together with their eagerness after words, appeared to me a cause of the painful anxiety of spirit I had to suffer under both morning and afternoon. Here my friends John Hunt and his wife, from London, met me, with intent to accompany me to some meetings in that county, of which I was glad, being alone, often low and much discouraged, in a deep feeling of my own weakness. I had to wade along from place to place, in a painful sense of a greatly declined people, amongst whom I was concerned to labour; so that had not the Lord at times made me sensible that his everlasting arm was underneath, to support my afflicted soul in various probations, I had certainly fainted. But blessed be his holy name forever, he was often graciously pleased to open a way for me to hold on when I could see none, leading me by the hand like a tender merciful Father, one step after another; and giving me more place in

the love and regard of his people than I looked for, or could, as I thought, reasonably expect. I was many times greatly abased in my own sight; ready to say, to what good purpose do I visit the churches? for I seem to move in an untrodden path, as under the weight of the hills and mountains of exalted unfruitfulness; and often as it were, groping in the chambers of death, with such constant afflicting views, that I was ready to say with the prophet, "I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell amongst a people of unclean lips." But the live coal from the holy altar, soon removes all that tincture or seeming defilement, which doth not proceed from our own sins and miscarriages, but from those of others. Thou deep wader for the good of souls, this is written principally for thy sake, that thou mayest see others have gone the same way before thee, and be encouraged not to sink under thy burden.

I found in the Lord's time that tribulation worketh patience, and patience experience, and experience hope. The Lord gave me thereby clearly to see that I must thus feel the wounds, bruises, and putrifying sores of the sons and daughters of Sion, or I could not speak to their states and conditions feelingly and effectually, for their help and recovery. Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, was touched with a feeling of our infirmities. He bore the weight and painful sense of the sins of the whole world, tasting death for every man; whereby he reached forth a merciful hand of help and salvation for the recovery of all, sufficient for all who believe in him and obey him. His faithful messengers must know, in degree, a drinking of the same cup, and being baptized with the same baptism he was baptized with, not only on their own accounts, but also on the account of others. He still suffers by his spirit, as under the weight and oppression of sin and iniquity, in the hearts of the children of men; and all those who are one in spirit with him, must in measure feel his sufferings, and sympathize with him therein; travelling in pain, that Christ may be formed in the hearts of mankind, ruling in his kingdom on earth, as he rules in heaven. But these things are too mysterious for the wise and prudent of this world to understand, being only revealed to those who are indeed born of God.

We staid at Leeds until fifth-day, there being a burial, attended by a large number of Friends and others. Truth opened our way in the ministry to good satisfaction. Next day we had a small meeting at Knaresborough, where we found things very low. From thence we went to Thirsk, and on first-day had a precious open meeting there, in which the testimony of Truth was greatly exalted, and the upright hearted sweetly comforted. The praise of all belongs to the Giver of every good and perfect gift. Next day we went to visit our ancient honourable Friend John Richardson, at his house near Hutton-in-the-hole. He had scarcely sight enough to distinguish us one from the other. We were received and entertained by him with true love and brotherly affection. He was much at liberty in his spirit, and very free in discourse about religious things, in which his life and great delight appeared to be. He showed us, in manuscript, a journal of his life and travels in the service of the Gospel, since published, wherein are many very useful observations and remarkable occurrences, which I hope will be of great service in the world.* On third-day we had a meeting at Hutton, wherein we were favoured with some degree of openness; yet Truth did not arise to any considerable degree of dominion: but all is best as the Lord is pleased to order, for from him alone proceed the issues of life. On fourth-day morning we took leave of our said worthy friend in much affection, and had a small meeting at Bilsdale, where the life of religion was low; after which I parted with my friends John Hunt and his wife. John Scot of Leeds, continued with me, who was an honest labourer for the arising of life in meetings, and I thought of considerable help to me. The next meeting we had was at North Allerton; which was rather low and heavy. We went from thence to Darlington, in the county of Durham. I had close painful labour there; earthly mindedness in professors is often the cause of hard work, as it obstructs the current of life in themselves; and also frequently in our religious meetings, like the Philistines stopping up the wells which the true Seed has opened in the hearts of believers; so that many times, instead of their having to sing, Spring up, O well, and we will sing unto thee! there is mourning and painful labour in sympathy therewith, to have the spring opened again, that the flock of Christ's fold may be watered with the refreshing streams of that river which flows from the presence of God. I went next to Raby on a first-day; it was a large heavenly meeting, Truth having great dominion, and Friends were sweetly comforted together.

At Bishop Auckland, the Lord favoured with matter and utterance to a considerable degree of ease and satisfaction. From thence I went to the city of Durham, and had a hard painful meeting in silence: at New-Castle we had a close, trying, laborious time,

* See page 60, Vol. IV., of this work.

occasioned, as I apprehended, by undue liberties in thinking and acting, which had raised darkness to be felt in that meeting. We had an open comfortable meeting the next day at Shields. We went to Sunderland, and attended their meetings on first-day: that in the morning was very open and satisfactory, the testimony of Truth going forth freely to the several states of those present, who were much affected therewith. In the afternoon it was a heavy afflicting meeting; little being felt of that which crowned the meeting in the morning. We often find afternoon meetings are heavy and painful, occasioned, no doubt in part at least, by answering the cravings of nature to the full; whereas they should be denied a full gratification, as little sustenance would, for that short space of time, answer much better, and be no injury to the constitution. If any think this hint impertinent, there is reason to fear that they are yet too much strangers to the nature of true worship and the many impediments in the way of its due performance; what I have above-mentioned is none of the least. I was quite shut up as to ministry in the afternoon. Here I met my valuable friends Jonathan and Margaret Raine of Trawden in Lancashire, for the first time; concerning whom more hereafter.

On second-day we had another meeting in the city of Durham, wherein the Lord was graciously pleased to exalt his glorious and powerful name over all disorderly and corrupt libertine spirits; there being some such in the meeting, which was evident to me, from the testimony I had to deliver amongst them. It was with remarkable authority and sharpness against such, who having departed from the divine light, wherewith all mankind are enlightened, choosing rather to be in darkness, were so lost in a maze of error as even to call in question the truths of the Christian religion. I was afterwards informed that there were some such in that meeting, who had imbibed the dark and wicked principle of deism, or free-thinking, so called; but I had no outward information concerning the state of any there before the meeting, which I always carefully shunned. The next meeting I had was at Stockton, to pretty good satisfaction, as Truth opened my way to discharge the service required; yet the meeting was small, and the life of religion appeared to be at a low ebb. I went from thence to Yarum in Yorkshire; had a meeting there, and at Yatten, and Moorsham, to a good degree of satisfaction. The next meeting I had was at Castleton. The two last named were on the Moors, amongst a very plain people, who appeared to be in a low station of life, but I found the savour and virtue of Truth amongst them, especially at the latter; to which that substantial minister of the Gospel Luke Cock, in his life-time, belonged; the remembrance of whom, although I did not personally know him, was very fresh and livingly before me in meeting, as if his spirit had been present. I could, as I thought, perceive the good effects of that worthy man's Christian labours amongst those people, and a precious meeting the Lord favoured us with; to whom, for the multitude of his mercies bestowed upon us poor unworthy helpless creatures, be humble thanksgiving and praise, now and for evermore.

Whitby was the next meeting I attended, being on first-day, where I had very close laborious work. An earthly lofty spirit had taken place in some of the professors; the tendency whereof is, by darkening the understanding and blinding the judgment, to account various weighty branches of our Christian testimony small trifling things. Here the flesh, that warreth against the spirit, having the ascendency, its language is quite opposite thereto. The flesh saith, there is little in dress; religion doth not consist in apparel; there is little in language; there is little in paying tythes, &c. to the priests; there is little in carrying guns in our ships, to defend ourselves in case we are attacked by an enemy. To which, I think, it may be safely added, there is little or nothing in people who plead thus, pretending to be of our Society; for if they can easily let fall those branches of our Christian testimony, I am fully persuaded they will maintain the others no longer than they apprehend it will suit their temporal interest. I have often wondered why such continue to profess with us at all. They are not really of us, who are not concerned to maintain those principles and testimonies which the Lord hath given us to bear. I was, through mercy, enabled to discharge the service required of me, and went from thence to Scarborough, where the Lord in gracious condescension, was pleased to open doctrine and counsel for their help; who appeared to me mostly low and weak, as to a real growth in true religion. From thence I went to Pickering, where the Lord gave us a very precious opportunity together, in the comfortable enjoyment of his power and refreshing presence; to the exaltation and renown of his great name, who is worthy for ever. Next day I had a meeting at Malton, being a close searching time; Truth seemed at a low ebb there. At Cransick the meeting was very small, but the Lord was pleased to own and comfort us together, affording counsel for their help and encouragement. I attended the meeting at Bridlington on first-day;

it was small and the life of religion very low. Oh how greatly is that, and many other meetings declined, both as to number and a lively experience of true religion: some Friends informed me as I remember, that they knew the time, when fourteen or fifteen ministers belonged to it; and now perhaps, there is not a much greater number of members of all sorts. Once there was a wonderful time of gathering into the vineyard of Christ; but since, with sorrow and lamentation it may be said, there has been a losing, scattering, and dwindling away in many places; the principal occasion whereof seems to have been, an inordinate love for transitory enjoyments, lawful in themselves and in their places, but not to have the chief possession of the mind. When this becomes the sorrowful state of any, they cannot savour the things that be of God, but the things which be of men; and are of consequence deprived of that all-sufficient help, so to live and walk, as to answer the witness of God in others; to train up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; and to maintain the testimonies of Truth with a convincing strength and efficacy. So that although the form is retained in a considerable degree by such, and they may also be fortified with arguments, to maintain the consistency of our profession with the primitive plan laid down in Holy Writ, yet wanting the salt of the kingdom in themselves, all their pretensions without it will prove nothing; yea worse than nothing; seeing that by how much they have had the opportunity of knowing more than others, by so much their condemnation will be greater.

Next day we had a small meeting at Hornsey, and from thence went to Oustwick, and had a large meeting, wherein Truth favoured in opening doctrine largely, and to a considerable degree of satisfaction. The next meeting we had was at Hull, which was indeed a very painfully exercising time of silence, in a mournful sense of great declension. We find it recorded in the holy Scriptures, that we must enter the kingdom of heaven through many tribulations. It is indeed a very wonderful mercy, that such unworthy creatures as we are should be so highly favoured, as to be admitted therein on any terms. I have considered that our afflictions in this day, both in the manner and cause, differ much from the trials of our worthy predecessors. Their bodies were frequently imprisoned and grossly abused by people of different religious persuasions; but our spirits, when engaged in the work of the Gospel, are often imprisoned, depressed, and greatly afflicted, by means of the great unfaithfulness of many under the same profession with ourselves; being at times, on account of such, so closed up in a painful sense of death and darkness, as to be somewhat like the prophet of old, quite shut up and dumb with silence. This may be occasioned by those who are so far alienated from the sensible reaches of the measure of grace in their own minds, as not to be opened thereby to receive to advantage the word preached; for the word goeth not forth in vain; but will accomplish that for which it is sent. Silence may also be necessary, on account of those who have often been comfortably refreshed by sitting under a living ministry, yet neglecting their own duty in a spiritual labour for heavenly bread, look too much for food from the labour of others; which unjustifiable dependence and expectation, are often disappointed and mortified. The main design of Gospel ministry is to turn the children of men to the grace of God in themselves, which will teach them to work out their own salvation, and diligently to seek the Lord for themselves, and their strength being renewed in him, their spirits would unite with, and greatly help and relieve, the ministers in their Gospel labours.

From Hull I went to North Cave, where I had an open comfortable meeting. Thence to Howden, where the meeting was small and things very low; it was held in silence. I went next to Selby, and attended their meetings on first-day. I had some strength and openness for service in the morning. In the afternoon I had to sit in silence, and could find but very little of the life of religion there. Next day I had an open comfortable meeting at Rawcliff; then one at Pontefract, where things were low and painful. The next meeting was a small one at Wakefield, wherein I was quite closed up in silence; the state of the people, as I apprehended, requiring it. I went from thence to Leeds, and next day to the house of my esteemed friend William Hird, intending for Bradford Monthly Meeting, which was held on sixth-day, wherein I had thorough service, and the blessed Truth had dominion, to the joy and comfort of many hearts. I returned to Leeds, and attended their meetings on first-day, which were low and rather painful; my service therein was close and searching; but those who are at ease in Zion like smooth things best, and are almost ready to say now, as some did formerly to the seers, see not, and to the prophets, prophecy unto us smooth things. I went from Leeds to the Quarterly Meeting at York, wherein I had considerable openness in service; yet my spirit was secretly pained most of the time; the cause whereof, as I apprehended, was the numbness and earthly mindedness of many members of that large assembly; in which

there was, notwithstanding, a substantial body of wise and lively spirited Friends; which, by account, has continued in a succession from the early times of our Society. When this meeting was over, I set out in company with several Friends in their way home, in order to visit some meetings in the Dales, on my way to Kendal Quarterly Meeting; John Scott being with me. The first meeting we had was at Bainbridge in Wensley-dale, which was large, being on a first-day. It was a very trying laborious time. I had very little to say by way of ministry, but suffered deeply in spirit, under a sorrowful sense of carnality prevailing. Next day I had a very comfortable reviving meeting amongst a few plain Friends in Grisdale. After which I went home with that plain faithful minister of the Gospel, Alice Thistlethwaite, who had borne me company from York, to her house in Dent-dale, where we had a meeting next day, which I hope was serviceable, although things were but low. After this we went to the house of that worthy elder and minister of the Gospel, James Wilson, near Brigflats, where, next day, the Lord was pleased to favour us with a powerful glorious meeting; so that we could thankfully witness Truth was over all. Such thorough open meetings but seldom fall to our lot in this declined state of things. Yet the Lord is all-sufficient for the help and support of his faithful servants, in all times and dispensations of his providence to mankind; so that we not only can say, sufficient to the day is the evil thereof; but also, sufficient to the day is the strength and wisdom afforded for our assistance in the Lord's work. Next day I went to Kendal, being accompanied by the before mentioned worthy Friend, who entertained me on the road with pleasing accounts concerning the spreading of Truth in those parts, and the wonderful convincements thereabouts, by that memorable servant of the Lord, George Fox, which the said Friend had heard related by eye witnesses, who were themselves convinced at that time. This made the journey exceedingly pleasant to me, nothing disagreeable therein, but its being too soon over, as that put an end to this delightful conversation.

There appeared to me a valuable body of Friends yet left in and about Kendal, although many had been removed by death but a little time before; the loss of whom was much lamented by the survivors, as they had been useful members in their day. It also appeared that good order was well maintained, and the excellent discipline established amongst us in the wisdom of Truth, seemed to be as duly put in practice, as in most places I have observed amongst Friends; yet my way was much closed up in suffering, during the Quarterly Meeting. I staid their meetings on first-day, and was largely opened in the morning, Truth having great dominion; but in the afternoon was shut up in silence. On third-day I went to Windermere general meeting. Truth greatly overshadowed that large assembly, and the testimony thereof was much exalted, to the edification and sweet refreshment of the upright in heart, as well as deeply affecting the minds of many who had taken more liberty than Truth allows of; I hope it may be to their lasting advantage. Next day I had a small meeting at Grayrig, where things were low. At Preston the Lord was pleased to favour us with an open comfortable meeting, and Truth's testimony was exalted; after which I went to Kendal, and had a very comfortable meeting amongst Friends there. From thence I went to Swarthmore, and was at their meeting on a first-day, in a meeting-house built near the hall by George Fox. I could not discover much lively sense of true religion there, it being a time of painful suffering silence. The Hight meeting was to pretty good satisfaction; but that at Hawkshead was low and afflicting. My principal service was to give an example of silence, which frequently fell to my lot; the Lord favouring with resignation to his divine will. Next day I had a small open satisfactory meeting at Keswick; and went to Isel meeting, but had nothing to deliver by way of testimony.

From thence to Pardshaw, which I think is the largest country meeting in England, and Friends generally made a plain becoming appearance, much resembling many meetings in Pennsylvania, both for largeness and otherwise; the view whereof gave me singular pleasure, and abundantly the more, as the great Master of our assemblies was graciously pleased to honour and comfort us with his living presence, in which there is fulness of joy. Matter and utterance were given by him for the discharge of duty, in which there was peace. I had an open satisfactory meeting in the evening, at my friend and old companion Christopher Wilson's. Next day I had a meeting at Whitehaven, and then went to Broughton, where I had a meeting. I endeavoured to lean upon the Lord alone, for guidance in my service, and by him was frequently much opened to see the states of meetings and individuals. The meeting at Cockermouth, was to satisfaction, and at Allonby, Truth favoured with a good degree of openness and peace. From thence I went to Holme, a meeting remarkable for having been, I suppose, more than sixty years interrupted and grievously disturbed by a wicked

unruly company of Ranters. It began in some of the Pearsons, and when they were removed, others succeeded in the same spirit. Some of them were at the meeting when I was there. A woman of the party spoke several times in such rancour, that I do not remember ever to have taken notice of a voice so much tinctured with a dark diabolical spirit. But Friends in the blessed enjoyment of the powerful Truth, were quite over it and them, and I believe, had been in a good degree preserved; as that meeting appeared to me the liveliest of any thereabouts, having, as I remember, five or six public Friends belonging to it. The next meeting I had was a small one at Bolton; where Truth favoured with a comfortable degree of openness. I went to Wigton, and attended both their meetings on first-day; which were exceedingly painful and exercising. My mouth was closed up in mournful silence, yet not without a pretty clear view and sense of the sorrowful states of those amongst them who had been the principal cause of the death and misery which I felt. I saw what they were doing in the dark, as it were, through the hole in the wall. O! what a great snare bright genius and extensive natural abilities are, to such as are deluded by satan to trust in them, and presumptuously to imagine they are sufficient to answer every purpose for guidance and help, not only in temporal but spiritual things, without divine aid immediately communicated. I have met with no state more at enmity, or in greater opposition, to the Truth; nor from whose spirits more pain and distress are to be met with, than from these worldly wise and self-sufficient people, who no doubt, would deride this observation, or any thing that asserts an inward sense of things. They are very much out of the way of being reached unto and helped; therefore they are in great danger of being left alone, that they may wonder and perish. I sincerely wish that the tender hearted, both youth and others, may be preserved from the infection of the poison of asps which is under their tongues.

Next day I had a poor small meeting at Kirkbright, where my business was to set an example of silence. From thence we went to Moor-house, where I had some openness and satisfaction, though things were but low as to religion. The next meeting was in the city of Carlisle; where my way was closed up in painful silence. I had a small open meeting next day at Scotby; then went to a meeting at Sowport, where there were but few Friends, and things were very low amongst them, as to the life and sensible understanding of religion; but many of the neighbours came in, towards whom I found great openness to declare the Truth, and it was a good meeting. I went next to Kirklington, or the border meeting, being on a first-day. Friends having, without my knowledge, given notice to their neighbours, and to divers people of account in the world, it is likely they expected great things from one come so far to visit them; and some perhaps hoped to get credit by that day's work; but we see sometimes when man appoints, the Lord disappoints; which in the issue, seems to have been the case here. I sat the meeting, which was very large, in silence, to the great mortification of many present, some of whom, one might have expected from their appearance and pretensions, understood the nature of spiritual worship better, than to have been so anxious after words. It proved, I think, as painful and exercising a meeting as ever I knew, to which the expectations of Friends and others did not a little contribute. At the conclusion I was fully satisfied that I had discharged the service required of me that day, in an example of silence, in which I had peace. I could perceive great uneasiness in many under our name, at the silence of the meeting. This evidently discovers a mournful degeneracy, seeing silent worship is so directly consistent with our Christian profession of the inward teachings of the grace of God that brings salvation, which hath appeared to all men, and teaches all who diligently hearken thereunto, that no time is more suitable than when assembled together, unitedly to wait for this blessed teaching, and thereby receive a renewal of our strength. How absurd is it for those who profess this teaching, and access to the Fountain of all good, to depart therefrom and gaze at the clouds, or depend on the conduits and water spouts, as if it was in their power to fill themselves, and so to supply their wants? For although the servants have at times, by the Lord of all, been used as a means for our help and edification, yet such means or helps are not so essentially necessary to the spiritual worship professed by us as a people, but that it may be as effectually and as acceptably performed without them, in an awful solemn silence: than which nothing can be more reaching and convincing to those in whom the divine witness is regarded, and it may also tend greatly to raise that in the minds of such where it is depressed.

Some have remarked, that those who have been convinced in the silence of our meetings, have generally stood their ground in religion best. The reason is plain, because they have at the very first laid hold of and embraced the very substance of religion; whereas, the understanding may be, in a great measure

convinced by testimony, and the mind much tendered and affected with lively declarations of the truth; but all this goes off sooner, and will leave such minds destitute, unless they happily come to be fixed under the teachings of the grace of God in themselves, and have to sit under their own vine and under their own fig-tree, where none can make them afraid. None need be ashamed of a solemn awful silence before God, and in the sight of men; seeking the Lord, who will be found of all such, and will, by his secret invisible power, vindicate that sort of silence in the hearts of all who suffer his pure witness to arise. All who reject the voice of this holy witness, may justly be disregarded by God's people, so as not to be discouraged by what they say on that account. But on the other hand, when any thing of this nature is done in the form and by way of imitation only, there being nothing supernatural to support and defend the same, it must necessarily fall under contempt, and like the salt that has lost its savour, will be trodden under the feet of men. That Scripture passage is very observable, where some undertook to cast out devils in the name of Jesus, whom Paul preached. It is plain the evil spirits knew, notwithstanding their pretences, that they wanted power to subject them; and therefore answered these imitators and pretenders, "Jesus I know, and Paul I know, but who are ye? and the man in whom the evil spirit was, leaped upon them, and prevailed against them, so that they fled out of the house naked and wounded." I instance this passage to show how inefficacious imitation is: those would do well to consider this, who, upon a serious examination, do not find the Lord with them in their religious performances; for assuredly nothing can stand approved in his sight, nor maintain a dignity worthy of him, in this state of probation, but the product of his own spirit in us. Therefore, let all who profess spiritual worship, greatly dread being found in senseless stupid silence, although it be in the very same form which the people of God have been, and are still led into; knowing, that the best and most consistent form is of little avail, without the heavenly power. I perceived that some were much offended with me, for abiding in the station in which the Lord placed me that day, which they did not altogether forbear letting me know by words; neither did I let them pass without some close remarks on their sorrowful state and great blindness. In about a week after, I received a long letter upon the subject, setting forth amongst other things, how great a mystery it was to the writer, that a person in my station, travelling from one nation to another, should disappoint people, Friends and others, by such unaccountable silence. Had not I discovered sufficient cause to believe that this Friend was not then what he had been, his letter would have been as great a mystery to me as my silence in that meeting was to him. When I had perused the letter, I was most easy to let it pass without answering.

This was a time of great anxiety to me, and I have made the above remarks, as I felt my mind opened thereto; for no other reason, than as a caution or warning to all professors of the blessed Truth into whose hands this may come, that they may watch and pray continually; lest, by departing from the pure leadings of Truth in themselves, they fall into the like absurdities; manifesting to others, that they are but mere pretenders to spiritual worship; and also for encouragement to painful travellers in the work of the Gospel, whose lot, in the course of their service, may fall amongst such, to whom they may be as signs and gazing-stocks, because their time is not always ready. What makes such examples more necessary in some places, is the busy forwardness of unskilful ministers amongst themselves, who may be too apt to feed the people with a multitude of words; perhaps frequently recommending silence in words, but not sufficiently by example. I have seen it much my place, especially at home, to show Friends by my example, the benefit and necessity of silence, and as it were, to lead them into it. And as may be seen by this account, I often found it my duty to sit meetings appointed for me in silence; (being at times greatly distressed in a sense of the states of the people,) like a sign unto them, of what they ought to be more in the practice of. This indeed was no easy task to the flesh, as the expectation of people was greatly towards me, being come from far to visit them; yet there was no remedy but patience and resignation to the divine will, without whose assistance, I knew it was in vain to attempt any thing by way of ministry. My way of travelling as above hinted, often silent, was looked upon then by many, as a strange and unusual thing; but some others have been led pretty much in the same track; however I had mostly great peace and inward strength, to stand my ground therein, as all will who follow the Lord whithersoever he shall be pleased to lead them.

I had a meeting on third-day at the house of Cuthbert Wigham in Northumberland, which was a sweet refreshing time, and tended much to strengthen and revive my drooping spirit. Next day I had a pretty open serviceable meeting at Allondale. From thence I went to Alstonmoor, where the Lord

was pleased to favour me with a thorough arousing opportunity, and God's everlasting Truth was exalted. The next meeting I had was at Penrith, where things appeared to me but low. I went from thence to Coldbeck, and was at their meeting on first-day. It was a very hard distressing time. There I felt, as I thought, some of those hard dark spirits, who had occasioned great anxiety at sundry places in that county, who might, as I apprehended, be compared to the bulls of Bashan that compassed David about. It is likely they would scoff at the expression of their spirits being felt, but the time will soon overtake them, wherein their spirits will feel, though now perhaps in a great measure past feeling. Next day I had a small but pretty open meeting at Massdale. From thence to Terril, where I had a good open meeting, Truth being exalted and Friends comforted. The next meeting was Strickland, which was but small, yet to good satisfaction. I went from thence to Kendal, and attended their meetings on sixth-day, first-day and third-day. Most of them were to me trying and laborious. I was not much opened as to ministry. Friends in many places had need to be brought from words, to the one eternal inspeaking Word. On fourth-day at Yelland in Lancashire, I had a close searching meeting. The next day I was favoured with an open comfortable time at Wray, and from thence went to Bentham, where Truth assisted to discharge what I had before me, to a good degree of satisfaction. At Settle on first-day we were favoured with a precious open time; the testimony of Truth went forth freely and affectingly, tendering many hearts: praises and thanksgiving to the Lord for the same. Next day I had a small but a very open meeting at Monybent. From thence to Soly meeting, which appeared to me in a very weak, low condition, as little of the life of religion was to be found therein. After meeting I went to the house of my kind friends Jonathan and Margaret Raine; and from thence to Marsden-Height meeting, in which the Lord's power was livingly felt, whereby the testimony of Truth was delivered with clearness and good demonstration. Next day had a meeting at Trawden. On first-day I went again to Marsden meeting, which was a thorough good opportunity, and we were sweetly comforted together.

Being fatigued with constant travelling and close labour, I rested at Jonathan Raine's about a week, and then went to a large meeting of Friends in Lothersdale, where I was much favoured, and largely opened to deliver the doctrines of Truth, with good demonstration and to my own peace. The next day had a comfortable open meeting at Airton; my friend Jonathan Raine bearing me company, and then to Skipton meeting, where things were low. I had that evening a good open opportunity amongst our worthy friend David Hall's scholars. Then I had a meeting at Fairfield, which was small, but pretty open and I hope serviceable. The next meeting was at Nethersdale, where I had very laborious searching work; the testimony was close and sharp against formal professors, yet, through divine favour, I was enabled to get through to very good satisfaction, and the meeting ended comfortably. At Asquith, I had a small open meeting, and then at Rodan, which being on first-day, was very large; a plain solid body of Friends belonging thereto. We were favoured with an open meeting, and the testimony of Truth was exalted. Next day I had a very comfortable open meeting at Bradford, and went to Keighley, which was also satisfactory. There I received from my worthy friend David Hall, an encouraging letter, and as it contains matter of weighty instruction, I give it a place here, not doubting but it will be agreeable to my readers.

"Esteemed and well-beloved friend,

"In the sweet spirit and fellowship of the everlasting and glorious Gospel of peace, I hereby kindly salute thee, and thy dear companion and fellow-labourer in the acceptable work thou art now engaged in; not forgetting his worthy consort Margaret, when thou seest her. Be not at all discouraged on any account, for I trust, thy good Lord and Master, whom thou serves, has made thee willing to leave thy outward habitation and little ones, and to traverse the ocean with thy life in thy hand, as an ambassador in Christ's stead, to preach glad tidings of good things to the meek; to call upon and arouse the indolent and careless; to direct the straying sheep to the fold of rest; to raise the drooping ones that are too low, and endeavour to bring down the lofty who are too high, to the true centre, even the midst of the path of judgment: in short, to bring unto us the pledges of thy Master's love and thine, and to receive ours—He who, after he had in his wisdom and counsel, suffered thee to be taken captive for the trial of thy faith, and in mercy ransomed thee as an evidence of his power, will never leave thee nor forsake thee. I have unity with thy spirit, gift, and with the manner of the administration thereof. I entreat thee, dear brother, keep to thy steady bottom way. The present state of the church loudly calls for entire resignation, faith, hope,

charity and patience, in the ministers of the Gospel.

"The diversities of gifts, operations and administrations, from the one Spirit, are beautiful and serviceable; as the stars in the firmament are not all of one magnitude, have not all one station or degree of lustre, but each is ornamental and serviceable in its respective places and season. The Lord bless thee, and be thy shield and exceeding great reward in time here and in eternity hereafter. Now as the apostle, in a paternal way, advised his son Timothy to drink no longer water, but use a little wine for his stomach's sake and his often infirmities; I desire, as thou servest not an austere man or hard master, but the most merciful and bountiful King of kings and Lord of lords, thou wilt take due care of thyself, and rightly consider thy constitution. Do not drive on too fast in this cold climate and season of the year; consider, nets are not always to be spread and cast into the sea, but sometimes to be mended and repaired. Thou finds the good Seed lies low in many bosoms and many meetings. Experience teaches, that where and when our Master suffers; who said, where I am, there shall my servant be; we ought to be content to suffer with him; that when he reigns, we may also reign with him. Shall the servant think to reign, when and where his Lord and Master suffereth? There are, my dear friend, thou knowest, times of sitting at the King's gate; a safe, honourable and profitable situation, previous to advancement. They that are faithful in this low, safe sitting, in due time receive a call from the King to put on his royal robes, mount his horse and ride around, which is a high dignity and a high day; yet those so favoured, must not expect always to sit in that saddle, nor always to be clothed with that royal apparel, but as certainly to dismount, as ever they mounted; and must by no means forget the road to the King's gate, and their honourable seat there. We should be glad to see thee here once more. Pray write to us. My wife joins with me in dear love to thee, and those above-mentioned.

"I am thy truly affectionate friend,

"DAVID HALL.

"Skipton, the 19th of Tenth month, 1748."

After this meeting I went home with my companion Jonathan Raine, to Trawden, and next day to Todmorden, and had a laborious exercising meeting; yet through the extending of heavenly help, I was enabled to discharge the service required, to my own ease and comfort in a good degree. I had a small poor meeting at Oldham next day; in which silent labour seemed to me to be my proper business.

On first-day, the 25th of tenth month, I went to Crawshawbooth in Rossendale, which was a pretty large meeting; but I was in so weak a state of body, being much spent with travelling and deep close labour, that my spirits were greatly exhausted. Finding my mind engaged in that meeting, I stood up in order to deliver what seemed to be required, but was obliged soon to sit down again, being so weak that I could not raise my voice so as to be heard. I then concluded it was time to take some rest, in order to recover strength, if it was the Lord's will, which I did not then much expect, thinking myself far gone; nor indeed did I desire it, for my afflictions, several ways, were very heavy, which made me weary of this world, and had it been the Lord's will, should have been glad to embrace death rather than life; yet I endeavoured to be resigned to the divine will. Great care was taken of me, with affectionate kindness, by my worthy friends Jonathan Raine, his wife, and her sister Ann, who then lived with them; having often the company of that valuable family, the Ecroyds' of Edgend. I was brought very near to these two families, in that love that thinketh no evil; being by illness, or rather weakness, detained there about nine or ten weeks. It was an exceedingly wet season, being also the middle of winter, yet I got mostly out to their meeting, which was near; and went several times to Marsden-Height, about four miles off; and once to Skipton and Lothersdale, about eight or ten miles off: in most of which meetings the Lord was with me to my great comfort, enlarging my heart in service for him and his people, to my satisfaction and encouragement.

As soon as I was pretty well recovered and the weather more fit to travel, I set out for Lancashire, my kind friend Jonathan Raine bearing me company; and attended both their meetings on first-day; which were painful and laborious. I had nothing given me to deliver by way of public testimony; many Friends there appeared to me then, and more since, lively and sensible of the work of true religion; yet I apprehend the expectations of too many were after words that day, which were to be disappointed. O that all were really turned to the divine Word, that they might never be disappointed! I was next day at their Monthly Meeting of business, which was low, Truth not having much dominion therein. I went to Wyersdale, and had a pretty open meeting, and returned to Lancaster, where, through divine goodness,

we were favoured with a heavenly baptizing meeting, to our great joy in reverent thankfulness. Friends were sweetly united in the precious enjoyment of the pure love and goodness of God; having an additional confirmation, that when the Lord is pleased to shut, none can open, and when he is pleased to open, none can shut. As there had been very little openness at some meetings there before, and at this the Lord opened places of broad rivers and streams, to the unspeakable pleasure and refreshment of thirsty souls; in a sense thereof I took leave of Friends, being accompanied by my esteemed friends William Backhouse and Jonathan Raine. We had a pretty open comfortable meeting at the Fylde. Next day had a thorough awakening opportunity at Freckleton, being enabled to divide the word with great plainness to their states; wherein I had ease and peace. We then went to Preston, where the number of Friends was exceedingly small, and but little to be felt of a spiritual travail or lively sense of religion amongst those few, there having been a mournful declension; yet I found the Lord's merciful loving-kindness graciously extended towards them for their help and recovery. From Preston I went to the following meetings, viz., Capel, Ashton, Bickerstaff and Liverpool: in all which the Lord was graciously pleased to afford wisdom and strength, to open doctrine and counsel, stirring up careless luke-warm professors, as well as to the encouragement and edification of the sincere-hearted, also to my own ease and peace.

I went from Liverpool to the house of Gilbert Thompson, and was at Penketh meeting on first-day; where my spirit was deeply afflicted, under a sense of many professors sitting down at ease, seeking to be fed with words and outward declarations concerning the things of God. I have found this much the case at some places where eminent instruments have dwelt. Friends have suffered their minds to be too much drawn from a diligent spiritual labour, to receive the bread and water of life immediately from the fountain thereof; and depended upon the labour of such instruments, who are but as clouds or water-spouts; having no power to fill themselves or to feed the flock profitably, until furnished for that purpose, by the bounty of the inexhaustible treasury of wisdom and all-sufficiency. Here the fountain is forsaken for the stream's sake; the eye being more to the gift than the giver, which is an abuse of the gift, and provokes the Lord to jealousy; giving him just cause to withhold such instrumental means. The reason of such a dangerous mistake, to me is obvious, viz., because it is found easier for flesh to receive by such a medium; "Let not God speak unto us, lest we die, said the people of Israel, but let Moses [the instrument] speak unto us." There is a life that ought to die on the cross, which is easier saved alive under testimonies, be they ever so substantial and excellent, than under the immediate teachings of Christ; whose voice is as a fire against evil of every kind, and affords no peace after it is discovered, until it be given up for destruction, and to be purged away by the spirit of judgment and burning. This pure voice speaks to us in such a manner, that we can by no means turn it off from ourselves by applying it to the states of others; which may be done under the most searching testimonies; there being a partiality to ourselves, which, through the deceitfulness of the heart, we are apt to fall into; and also to flatter ourselves, by supposing the pleasure we take in hearing the doctrines of Truth delivered, arises from the good in us, when it may be no other than the state of those to whom the prophet Ezekiel's words and declarations were as a lovely song of one that hath a pleasant voice: for they heard his words, it seems, with pleasure, but did them not; their heart going still after their covetousness.

I have made these remarks, because of the very hurtful consequences I have often seen and felt, by an over-anxiousness in people after outward declarations; even to the neglect of that great and necessary work, of drawing near to God with true hearts, in full assurance of faith; wherein is our only safety and help. May this consideration deeply engage all minds to return unto the great Shepherd of Israel, who puts his own sheep forth and goeth before them, leading into green pastures, bringing them up from the washing-pool, bearing twins, none being barren amongst them. I found it my place to give that meeting an example of silence.

From thence I went to the Monthly Meeting at Hardshaw, wherein I sat a considerable time in silent waiting upon and seeking the Lord, who was pleased in his own time to open a living spring of ministry, and truth greatly prevailed, to the comfort and edification of Friends. There were also divers not of our Society present during the meeting for worship, one of whom expressed the sense he had of an awful solemnity to be felt in the meeting before any words were uttered, which to him exceeded words, or to that effect, as a Friend told me afterwards. This, doubtless, would be much more the case with many who at times come amongst us, were our religious meetings held in the sensible feeling of the divine power.

From thence I went to Manchester, and

had a meeting, which was low and afflicting. Some who should have been way-marks and leaders of the flock, not keeping their own spirits in due subjection to the peaceable spirit of Truth, had not maintained the unity thereof, which is the bond of peace; whereby that meeting was hurt, and the pernicious effects thereof were painfully felt. I staid until their first-day meetings were over, where the Lord was pleased to afford sufficient ability to discharge the service required, to my own ease and comfort, in a good degree. I went from thence to Stockport in Cheshire, and had an open comfortable meeting, to the reviving of the few who laboured to keep their habitations in the Truth, and to the warning of careless professors.

I had next day a small poor meeting at Macclesfield, and from thence to Morley, where, although the appearance of professors was large, yet very little was to be felt of the life of religion amongst them; but instead thereof, a sense of death and darkness, occasioned by wrong things. I had no openness at that time to administer any thing, but an example of silence. I had a meeting next day at Frandley, where Truth favoured with a degree of openness, and went from thence to Sutton, where things appeared low. I found it my place to sit the whole meeting in silence. The next meeting was at Newton, being on first-day, where I was favoured with a pretty thorough opportunity to clear myself. Then went to West-Chester; had a small meeting there in silence, and things appeared very low. The next day had a good satisfactory meeting at Namptwich; and went to Middlewich, where I met our worthy friend, Joshua Toft. The meeting was, through divine goodness extended for our help, to pretty good satisfaction. I went home with the above-mentioned Friend, and had a meeting next day at Leek in Staffordshire: I sat the whole time in silence; Friends appeared to me, in too general a way, at ease in an empty form of religion, depending on the labour of others.

Next day in company with Joshua Toft, went to the burial of a Friend at Stafford; where there are but few of our Society, but many others came, some of whom were very rude and noisy in the meeting. Our way was quite blocked up as to ministry. I returned with Joshua Toft and went to Leek meeting on first-day, where I had a thorough arousing opportunity; Truth being exalted, and the great name of God magnified, who alone is worthy for ever. I went from thence in company with my dear friend to the Quarterly Meeting for Cheshire, to be held at Middlewich: Infinite kindness was greatly manifested at that meeting, for the benefit of Friends in general and the encouragement of the upright-hearted in particular. Things respecting Truth and Friends were very low in that county; yet the Lord, in condescending kindness, extended his love for their revival and recovery. Here I found my mind engaged to visit Morley meeting again, the aforesaid Friend joining me therein; and sending notice by some Friends returning from the Quarterly Meeting, we had a very large meeting, composed of Friends and others. I had thorough service; yet near the conclusion, not finding my mind clear of those under our profession, others were desired to withdraw, which they immediately did. Our labour was very close and searching amongst those under the profession of Truth, things being much out of order and undue liberties having crept in. The Lord favoured me with wisdom and strength, so to discharge myself of the service required, as to go away with a peaceful easy mind.

CHAPTER V.

Goes to Yorkshire again—attends the circular Yearly Meeting in the North of England—visit to Ireland—returns to England and proceeds in his religious visit there—goes to London and embarks for home—lands at Chester in Pennsylvania.

I HAVE now to give an account of an unexpected turn I found in my mind, respecting the course I was to steer in my travels. When I left Lancaster I had no other view than to visit meetings agreeably to the foregoing account, and to proceed in a pretty direct course through the midland counties towards London. But, very contrary to my expectation, I found my way quite blocked up as to what is before hinted, and another way opened before me, viz., to turn into Yorkshire again, and take meetings in my way to the Quarterly Meeting there; from thence to Lancaster Quarterly Meeting; and to the circular Yearly Meeting for the Northern counties, to be held that year at Kendal; after which, to cross the sea for Ireland. This unlooked-for turn brought close exercise upon my mind; not so much out of reluctance to obey the Lord's requiring, provided I was favoured with clear certainty thereof, as from a fear of being mistaken; and great reasonings I had in my weakness; yet through divine favour, I was enabled, in a good degree to get over them, and to yield obedience to what I believed was required. I acquainted my friend William Backhouse with the time I purposed going for Ireland, as he, when with me in the

Fylde country of Lancashire, had signified his desire of bearing me company therein, when I found it my duty to undertake it. Neither he nor I thought then it would be so soon; however, I received his answer, that he intended to prepare against the time proposed, in order to bear me company. We went from this meeting to Lowlayton in Derbyshire, and were favoured with a good open meeting, and proceeded over the mountains of Derbyshire-Peak, to Sheffield in Yorkshire; where the Lord was pleased to give us a very gracious confirming meeting, Truth and its testimony being greatly exalted. This blessed opportunity removed all my reasonings and fears; for which my soul was humbly thankful to the Lord, my only helper.

After this meeting, my much esteemed friend Joshua Toft and I took leave of each other, he returning home. I went with our worthy friend John Haslam, to his house at Handsworth Woodhouse, and the next day had a very open satisfactory meeting; the Lord affording doctrine and counsel suitable to the states of the few belonging to that meeting. When at the house of this Friend, my mind had some view of his bearing me company to York, and from thence to Kendal Yearly Meeting, of which I informed him; but he made very light of it, perhaps thinking my motive was only for the sake of having his company. I advised him to take with him such things as he might think necessary, in case he was to go; and if, when at York, he found no such concern, he might return home. We set out together for York, taking meetings in our way at Newel-Grange and Barton, which were precious open times; the life and power of Truth attending to our great comfort. We travelled on to Leeds, and lodged at our worthy friend Christiana Horne's, who had been a succourer of many of the Lord's messengers, being a truly open-hearted woman, a mother in Israel. She did not continue a great while in mutability after this.

Next day we proceeded to York, attended the Quarterly Meeting, and staid over their first-day meetings, which were hard and painful; I had nothing by way of testimony, save a little at one of them. My truly valuable friend John Haslam acquainted me, that what I had said to him of bearing me company to Lancaster Quarterly Meeting and the Yearly Meeting at Kendal, had laid such close hold of his mind, that he could not find freedom to leave me. He said, that although he did not much regard them at first, the few expressions I used had cast such a mantle over him, or to that effect, that he found he must go with me, though not so well provided for the journey as he could desire.

We went from York to the Monthly Meeting at Settle, and in the afternoon of the same day, were at the burial of a Friend there, which was an open satisfactory time. Truth overshadowed the meeting, and the testimony thereof was greatly exalted to our solid comfort. Next day we had a pretty open comfortable meeting at Bentham, and went from thence to the house of our friend William Backhouse, whom I expected to find prepared to go with me into Ireland; but to my surprise, I found he had reasoned it away, under an apprehension that his proposal of accompanying me proceeded more from love to me than any real concern. I was fully persuaded his concern was right, as he informed me that it had remained on his mind for some years, to visit Ireland again; I therefore had a great travail in my mind for him, that he might be brought to a right sense and discerning of the Lord's requirings; being fully satisfied he was a man of sincerity, who would not wilfully transgress.

I took an opportunity with him next morning and his concern returning, and he abiding steadily under the weight thereof, afterwards performed the journey to his own peace, and was to me an agreeable friend and fellow-labourer. Having appointed to meet me at Whitehaven; we went from his house to Lancaster, and attended their meeting on first-day, in both which I found it my business to set an example of silence. That night after all were in bed, I was taken suddenly with an uncommon swelling in my throat, not much unlike a quinsy. I could scarcely swallow liquids for some time, so that it seemed very probable to those about me, that it would soon be over with me, as to this world; concerning which, I was very easy in my mind. A doctor was quickly sent for; by whose care, under divine favour, I soon recovered, so as to attend the Yearly Meeting at Kendal. It was very large, there being a great collection of Friends from many parts, and large numbers of people of other societies. It was divinely favoured, especially at the concluding meeting, wherein God's everlasting Truth triumphed gloriously, and my poor depressed spirit, that had long waded under the weight of wrong things, was raised into comfortable dominion, and obtained, through the Captain of our salvation, complete victory over those hard unmortified spirits, undue liberties, and carnal lifeless professors, under a painful sense whereof, I had long mourned in my northern travels. Now I was set over them all, for I sensibly perceived, and livingly felt his eternal power set over wrong spirits, and clearly saw that the Lamb and his followers will obtain

the victory: and although it hath been, and will be, through great sufferings, yet those who patiently suffer with Christ, shall also reign with him. This meeting crowned my service in those parts; after which I found my mind at liberty to embark for Ireland.

I set out next day for Whitehaven, in company with my good friend Christopher Wilson; a very pleasant journey we had, in that sweet innocent freedom which clothed our spirits, feeling the consolating streams of that river which makes glad the city of God. We, in degree, enjoyed the new heavens and the new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness, the fruit and effect whereof is quietness and assurance for ever. I was at Pardshaw meeting on a first-day, which was a precious opportunity; Truth being greatly in dominion and its testimony exalted, the sincere-hearted were sweetly comforted and united one to another. Next day I went to their Monthly Meeting, and had good service both in the meeting of worship and that for transacting the affairs of the church. The weighty service of visiting families was before it, and I understood had been sometime obstructed by some of the members, to the concern and uneasiness of others. It was clear to me, when it came to be weightily considered, that the power and virtue of Truth was livingly with the promoters of so good a work, and I did fully believe the Lord would bless it in their hands. I therefore endeavoured to sift the opposite side as well as I could, to the bottom, and found very little or no weight in what they had to offer against it. Upon which they were earnestly desired not to hinder the service of others, in that important work that had so often and so evidently been blessed, although they might be unwilling to put their own hands to it. Truth arose and came over them, so that Friends appointed fifteen or sixteen men and women, to go in several companies on the service, as that Monthly Meeting is large in its extent. This afforded great relief and satisfaction to the sincere travellers for Sion's prosperity. I went from thence accompanied by several Friends, to Whitehaven, where I met my intended companion William Backhouse; and a ship belonging to a Friend, whose name was James Nicholson, being ready to sail for Dublin, we went on board of her, the 19th of the second month, 1749, in the evening, and were soon under sail. We met with contrary winds, and a very rough uneasy passage as to our bodies; being five days and as many nights before we landed. What made it much harder for William and me to bear was, that we had given up the beds prepared for us to two women Friends who came on board and were unprovided, they being very sea-sick most of the time; so we were under a necessity of lying down on the cabin floor or upon some of the chests, in our clothes, which we did not take off all the while, that I remember. This proved very trying to us, and we were greatly spent and fatigued when we landed at Dublin. We were received and entertained with affectionate kindness by our friend Samuel Judd and family, at whose house we lodged while in that city. The Half-year's Meeting began in the morning of the day we landed, it being afternoon when we got on shore.

The next day we attended two meetings for the affairs of the church; and I was fully persuaded, there was a faithful exercised remnant, painfully labouring for the restoration of ancient beauty and comeliness, and the affairs of the church were transacted with considerable order and decency; yet my spirit was clothed with deep mourning, and much closed up in painful anxiety. The cause thereof I did not then distinctly understand; but when I had travelled through the nation, visiting the churches, and sorrowfully viewing the desolations thereof, my sufferings in spirit at the Half-year's Meeting were no longer a mystery to me. The next morning was held a general large concluding meeting for worship and in the afternoon a meeting of ministers and elders; at both which, especially the latter, I had open thorough service; as also in their week-day meeting at Sycamore-alley on sixth-day. We staid at Dublin over first-day: at Meath-street in the morning the Lord was pleased to furnish largely with matter and utterance, to a good degree of satisfaction. In the afternoon at Sycamore-alley, I found it my duty to be silent.

On second-day we set out from Dublin, accompanied by James Evans and wife, in order to visit the following meetings in our way towards Cork, viz., Ballycane, Wicklow, Errats, Wrights, Cooladine, Wexford, Lambston, Ross, Waterford, Clonmel, Kilcomon, Youghal, and so to Cork. We found things very low indeed in most of the said meetings; my service in them was generally searching, painful and laborious; Truth seldom having that comfortable dominion, (by reason of the prevalence of wrong things) which was earnestly laboured for, both by us, and also by a few mourners scattered up and down in those parts, who waited for and ardently sought the prosperity of Zion. Such can only rejoice when the righteous Seed beareth rule. We had several meetings in the city of Cork, where there is a considerable body of Friends. But the love of this world and other undue liberties, have prevailed, to the great hurt of the Society there also. Our labour was for

the most part, painful and exercising amongst them. From thence we went to Kilcomon again; so to Cashel, Limerick, Jonathan Barns's and Birr. At several of these meetings I found it my place to example the people with silence, which was the case at Birr, having, as it was said, all the people called Methodists residing there, and their preacher at the meeting; than whom, I think no people are more at a loss what to do with silence in worship. I am persuaded there have been awakenings of merciful kindness to them, and they have seen the necessity of the new-birth; but their notions about it have been for the most part, in airy visions, and flightiness of their own imaginations; not coming to cease from man, nor from their own willings and runnings. Oh that they were so happy as to be emptied, that God might be all in all, working in them the will and the deed; then would they come really to experience true poverty of spirit, and to abhor forward active self, whose time is always ready. In this safe, self-denying situation, they would really feel an absolute necessity to wait, as with their mouths in the dust before the Lord, until he shall be pleased to arise in their hearts; whereby all his and their enemies would be scattered. Then would true worship be performed, and they established upon the immovable Rock that the gates of hell cannot prevail against. After Birr, we had meetings at the Moat, Old-Castle, Ballyhaise, Coothill and Castleshane; which meetings were mostly small and painful. Truth favoured with a degree of strength, to labour for their help and recovery; but, alas! the life of religion appeared to be at a very low ebb. The next meetings we had were at Ballyhagan and Charlemont, which were large, yet but little to be felt of the life of religion stirring in them, neither did there appear to be much soundness amongst some of the foremost rank; several of whom having administered cause of stumbling and discouragement to others, it had a bad savour and influence; instead of gathering, it had tended to scatter from the fold of Christ's flock. I had very close searching work amongst them, in order to bring the judgment of Truth over such, as the Lord was pleased to open my way and to discover their states to me, being altogether without any outward information thereof. I understood afterwards some of them resented it, though they said nothing to me about it; but as some had before, so I understood one or more of them did soon after, manifest a base ungodly foundation.

We proceeded to take the meetings round Lough Neagh, viz., Toberhead, Colraine, Ballinacre, Grange and Antrim; which meetings appeared indeed almost a desolation with respect to the sensible possession of Truth, although it was professed by some. A time of deep mourning and distress it was to my soul, to view their captivity and loss, of which themselves did not seem to have much sense. The next meeting was Ballinderry, being very large, but heavy and painful; yet the blessed power of Truth prevailed in a good degree. From thence we went to the following places and had meetings, viz., Lisburn, Hilsborough, Lurgan and Moyallan; where, although we found some true mourners in and for Zion, yet the bulk of the Society seemed to love the world and the things that are therein, to that degree, as to have very little taste or relish for the things of God. Even some of those, who, by their stations in the church, ought to have been lively examples of self-denial in this respect, appeared to be as deeply plunged into this mournful cause of desolation as any. Alas! what account will they have to give of their stewardship, when the chief Shepherd shall appear. From this place we crossed the country to Edenderry; once remarkable for a brave, lively body of Friends: there are now a large number of professors belonging to it; but, alas! the glory is much departed, and the fountain of living water forsaken by many. Oh, how are they gone into captivity by the muddy waters of Babylon! We attended their meeting on a first-day, but could hear no melody or song of Zion; all being closed up, and our harps hung, as it were, upon the willows. It was a time of deep silent mourning. About the time of breaking up that meeting, it livingly sprung in my mind, that as they had rejected abundant favours bestowed upon them, that they might be gathered to God, so the Lord would reject many of them. The next meetings we had, were at Timahoe, Rathangan, Mount-melick, Montrath, Ballinakill, at James Hutchinson's, Carlow, Kilconner, and the province meeting at Castledermot. Pain, distress and close labour, either in testimony, or an example of silence, attended in the last-mentioned meetings; yet the Lord was a gracious support through all. I hope our deep wadings and painful service, were not without some good effects, both in stirring up the careless, and comforting the mourners in Zion. I had very close service at the province meeting; yet, by divine favour, was carried through to pretty good satisfaction, and I believe it was a serviceable meeting to many. From thence, in our way to Dublin, we had meetings at Athy, Ballitore and Baltybois, which were small, and true religion very low. From thence we went to Dublin, intending shortly to embark

for England. We attended the meetings in the city, both on first and other days of the week during our stay, but I had very little openness therein; being made to the professors as a sign and example of silence from meeting to meeting. Great indeed were my inward distresses, on account of the mournful declension of the church in Ireland: the Lord knoweth, and was my only support under it. Blessed be his name for ever! Divers there were amongst themselves, who greatly lamented it; the travail of whose pained souls, I hope the Lord of sabbaths will regard in his own time, so as to turn his hand again upon a greatly declined church, that, by the spirit of judgment and burning, he may purely purge away her dross, take away her tin and reprobate silver; that her judges may be restored as at the first, and her counsellors as at the beginning.

It may by some be looked upon rather imprudent, to lay open the defection and spiritual condition of our Society, which depends so much upon my own testimony of an inward sense given me thereof in my travels. In the first place, no other person can do it for me, and I cannot find my mind easy that it should be wholly omitted. It has been so repeatedly, and confirmed with such clear evidence to my understanding, that I have not the least doubt of what I write in that respect. Although it be with a considerable degree of reluctance, yet it seems my way, and I am not easy to go out of it; intending no other by those close remarks, than as lessons of instruction, caution and warning, to succeeding generations; if, when I am removed hence, this be looked upon worth printing. So far I may add, that the laying open the mournful declension of the Society, and pointing out some of the causes thereof, as my understanding might be opened thereinto, was one of the principal things that engaged me to write a journal: it never entered into my thought, that my travels and little services, singly considered, were of such consequence as to merit the regard of my friends, so as to be published; but thinking the account of my travels and the observations of the state of things are necessarily connected together, so that in doing the first, I could not well avoid the last. I have further to add, that I think myself also warranted herein, by the example of God's faithful witnesses in ages past, with whom it was usual to lay open the states of the people, both in an individual manner and in a more collective body, viz., as nations, societies or churches; also setting forth, for a warning to all succeeding generations, those particular evils which caused the Lord's displeasure, and would, if not turned from, bring down his judgments upon them. We also find, that even these warnings and heavy denunciations of judgment, were preserved in writing, as a testimony for God and against themselves, even by those against whom they were really given forth; yea, the particular evils and frailties which, through inadvertency, the Lord's choice servants fell into and deeply repented of, are recorded; not only as warnings to all, but also to excite charity and tenderness towards those who have fallen into evil, in case they repent and forsake; considering that we may also be tempted, and therefore never dare to upbraid those, who, through their own imprudence, have fallen amongst thieves and are naked and wounded, provided they return again to the Father's house. I have further to remark, that I have observed a prevailing disposition in some of considerable eminence in the Society, and in a great many others, to cry up for peace and charity, and the maintenance of unity, and not to press any thing very closely, lest the peace of the Society should thereby be endangered; although, perhaps the things urged cannot well be objected to upon any other principle than groundless fears and a faint heart not yet quite upright to God, nor wholly redeemed from the praise of men: as there is an unwillingness to displease them, though in maintaining the Lord's cause: "for if I yet pleased men," said Paul, "I should not be the servant of Christ." What makes me take notice of this, is, that I have seen a great snare in it, wrong things being suffered to remain and prevail under it, and the fire of primitive zeal against undue liberty, much quenched. We have no such examples in the prophets, or in Christ and his apostles, of indulgence and winking at wrong things and false ease. They, in their concern to testify against such things, had no fear of breaking unity nor disturbing the quiet and peace of any people, let their rank or station be what it may. Had this noble spirit of ancient zeal been more generally exercised in plain dealing and speaking the truth one to another, the mournful declension justly complained of amongst us as a people, would not so generally prevail.

It is but about a century since the Lord by an outstretched arm, gathered our Society as from the barren mountains and desolate hills of empty profession; choosing them for his own peculiar flock and family; as by many evident tokens of his love and mighty protection, doth fully appear; even when the powers of the earth like the raging waves of the sea, rose up against them, with full purpose to scatter and lay waste. The remarkable evidences of his regard, must, I think, gain the

assent of considerate persons, who yet may not have a capacity of understanding clearly the Lord's gracious dealings with his people, in a more spiritual and mysterious relation. When I view the multitude of his favours and blessings to them in this respect, I am afraid to attempt the recounting and setting forth of so copious and amazing a subject, which can better be admired, and the bountiful Author adored for the same. It may be justly queried, What could the Lord have done for us that he hath not done? Notwithstanding which, what indifference, lukewarmness and insensibility as to the life of religion, are now to be found amongst numbers under our name; nay, in some places, this painful lethargy is become almost general; although I hope a few may be excepted, who are much afflicted on that account, and burdened with an earthly, carnal spirit. Oh! how doth covetousness, which is idolatry, and an inordinate love of things lawful in themselves and places, cloak and shelter themselves under a plain appearance in some; yet plainness is no more to blame for that than the name disciple or apostle was to blame, because Judas once bore it. I could write much more on this mournful subject, having suffered deeply in my travels on account of the grievous declension; but hope to ease my mind by dropping here and there a remark, as I proceed in giving an account of my travels.

We embarked at Dublin the 18th of the fifth month, in the morning, and landed at Peel, near Swarthmore-hall, next day. One thing I am not quite free to omit, as I could not well help looking upon it a providential preservation of my life, viz., the sands being very extensive thereabout, and we happening rather too late, as to the time of tide-serving, to be set on shore, could not, owing to the waters leaving us, bring the boat up so as to land in time. We were thus set fast, about half a mile from firm land. We could, therefore, think of no better way in this difficulty, than accepting the poor sailors' assistance, which they kindly offered, to carry us to land on their backs, which was no small undertaking, as we were, especially myself, none of the lightest. I was the first, and believe the sailor, who was a strong man, would have carried me to land, had not both of us, in our journey thither, fallen into a large quick-sand. The sailor immediately left me, his burden, to shift for myself, whilst he did the same; but he had greatly the advantage of me, as he could swim, which I had never learned. However, I was some how or other, buoyed up in a wonderful manner, so that I never was plunged over head; to which, perhaps, my great coat buttoned about me, might in some measure contribute. I well remember that I could feel nothing under my feet but water or soft mud, which could not bear me up, my head being all the while above water; I knew which way we tumbled in, and being near the bank, I made some shift to scramble to it, and to climb up of myself. I then waded to the shore, being exceedingly wet and dirty. We went to a cottage where the accommodations were very mean; but the poor people's kindness and hospitality were very noble, which we did not let pass unrewarded. We got that night to my affectionate companion's house; having travelled the before mentioned journey with great diligence, in much love and harmony one with another, and were not quite three months out of England. The first meeting I went to after we landed was Yelland, which was a good open time; Truth being exalted over wrong things; and from thence to Lancaster, where I had a satisfactory meeting; the Lord's power in a good degree having dominion, to our comfort. I was at Penketh meeting in the forenoon, on first-day; where the Lord was pleased to favour us with a precious opportunity, Truth being exalted over all, and the sincere travellers Sionward greatly comforted in the sweet enjoyment of the Lord's presence, which was livingly felt amongst us. Praises to his holy name for ever! In the afternoon we had a large meeting at Warrington, where it appeared my duty to sit in silence; the want of which, properly employed, proves a great loss to our Society in many places. Next day accompanied by my worthy friends Samuel Fothergill and William Dilworth, I set out in order to be at Marsden-height Yearly Meeting, and to visit Friends thereabout. Marsden week-day meeting on fifth-day, was satisfactory.

On the first-day following the Yearly Meeting was held, to which came a large collection of Friends from parts adjacent, and many people of other persuasions. The Lord was pleased to exalt his glorious Truth and the testimony thereof, in a free and open manner, to the comfort of many hearts. I went from thence to Manchester, accompanied by my affectionate friends Jonathan Raine and his wife, and had an open comfortable meeting, Truth having dominion; wherein alone the upright hearted can rejoice, with joy unspeakable and full of glory. Oldham meeting on first-day, was in a good degree open, and I hope serviceable. The next day I travelled to my worthy friend Joshua Toft's, near Leek, and had a meeting there, in which I found it my place to sit in silence. Having my said friend with me, we attended both their meetings at Birmingham on first-day; which were very heavy and laborious, through the preva-

lence of lukewarmness in some and undue liberty in others; so that I had but very little openness at either of them, and in one was quite shut up in silence.

The next meetings we had were at Wigansal and Atherstone; but found the life of religion very low in them. The Yearly Meetings for the westerly counties being to be held at Coventry, we went thither in order to attend them. They began on first-day, the 6th of the sixth month, 1749, and were held in a large town-hall; conveniency being made therein for the purpose; so that one room which was called the hall, would contain by computation, not less than a thousand people; and another under the same roof, it was supposed would contain about five hundred. We had a pretty large meeting-house besides. These, I think, once or more, were all filled at one time. There was a great collection of Friends from many parts, and a very great flocking in of others, amongst whom there was considerable openness, and their behaviour in general was becoming. The Gospel was preached with power, clearness and demonstration. I found myself much excused from public service, which I accounted a favour; having greatly to rejoice in the exaltation of Truth's testimony through well qualified instruments; a considerable number being present whom I greatly preferred, and was glad the public service fell chiefly upon them. I have ever accounted it a concern of great importance, to appear by way of public testimony in those large assemblies, and have earnestly prayed they might be conducted in best wisdom; which, doubtless would be the case, if the spirits of all who undertake the great and awful work of the ministry, were truly subjected to the alone source or fountain thereof; who is, to his humble dependent ones, wisdom and utterance. The meeting ended on third-day to the comfort of Friends, and as far as appeared, to the general satisfaction of others; whose attention to what was delivered, and behaviour to Friends in general, were to their honour, and the reputation of the city of Coventry.

On fourth-day there was a meeting appointed at my request in Warwick, to which I went; but when I saw the great company of people, many of whom by their appearance, seemed to be of the principal inhabitants, I was intimidated, and fell under discouragement for a time, knowing my own great weakness. My fear was, lest through my means or that of some others present, Truth might suffer. I cried with earnest concern to the Lord who seeth in secret, and he was graciously pleased to hear and to furnish with might, by his spirit in the inward man; so that the everlasting Truth and its testimony were exalted that day, and the people appeared to be much affected therewith.

I have many times seen it very profitable to be deeply humbled and awfully prostrated before the almighty Helper of his people; that so what we are in the ministry may be by his grace only; having observed that where the creaturely part is not wholly abased, but some sufficiency or treasure belonging thereto is saved or reserved, it being very close work to be stripped of all, there has been a mixture brought forth, like the linen and woollen garment, or sowing the field with two sorts of grain; and when any by custom, their own unwatchfulness, or the neglect of others whose care should have been over them, become as it were established in this mixture, they seldom get out of it the right way, by the bad being removed and the good preserved. Oh, it is a great thing to stand fully approved in this solemn service! to speak as the oracles of God, and to minister of the ability immediately given by him. Blessed will that servant be, who when his Lord cometh, is found dividing the word aright, giving the flock and family of Christ their proper portion of meat, and that in due season.

Having a desire to take some meetings in my way into Wales, whither I intended in order to visit my dear ancient mother, I took the following, viz: Henley, Broomsgrove and Worcester. I had close laborious service in them, as was often my lot where I travelled. I spent about a week at my mother's, having several large serviceable meetings amongst Friends, my old neighbours and acquaintance; their hearts being tendered, and some much affected. But alas! things are at a low ebb with our Society in those parts, and the conduct of some rather administers cause of stumbling than convincement to others. I travelled to Bewdly, Stourbridge and Dudley; my brother Benjamin bearing me company, and had good service at the said meetings, and then to Birmingham, where I had a hard trying meeting as before. From thence to Hartshill general meeting on a first-day, which was, through divine favour, an open good meeting. My kind friend John Bradford bore me company to Hinkley in Leicestershire, where we had a pretty open meeting, and then to Leicester, where the Lord was pleased to favour us with a satisfactory meeting. Next day I had a small meeting at Soilby, things being very low; and at Castle-Donnington, I had two meetings on first-day; to which many Friends from Nottingham came; they were, I believe, serviceable to many. Next day I had a small poor meeting at Wimes-wood, then to Longclawson, where I could perceive

very little of the life of religion; and from thence to Oakham in Rutlandshire, and had a comfortable meeting; Truth and its testimony had considerable dominion. At Leicester Quarterly Meeting and Kettering in Northamptonshire, I had a good degree of openness, and Truth prevailed. At Wellingborough I attended their fore and afternoon meetings on first-day; the first was a close exercising time in a painful silence, and a sorrowful sense of the indifference and insensibility of many. It was a large meeting, and to me the greater part of those present appeared very ignorant of the importance of that worship and service they professed to meet about. In the afternoon I was favoured with wisdom and strength to discharge my mind, in a close searching testimony. The next day I had a meeting to pretty good satisfaction at Rance, and the day following went to the Monthly Meeting at Ramsay in Huntingdonshire, where I had good service. Then had meetings at Ives, Godmanchester, Erith and Hadenham; most of which were pretty open and serviceable, through divine help, for without the Lord's blessing on our labours, they prove altogether fruitless, the increase being from him alone. I went next to Mildenhall in Suffolk, where on a first-day I had a large meeting to good satisfaction; then at Burry and Haverill; the last of which, being mostly people of other societies, was open, and the testimonies of Truth appeared to be well received. At Saffron Walden in Essex, we had a very painful afflicting meeting: very little to be felt of the life of religion therein. Oh! what pity it is, so many up and down, satisfy themselves with a mere profession of Truth; only having a name to live, when they are really dead, as to the quickenings of heavenly virtue. At Stebbing we were favoured with the opening of the living fountain; yet there appeared to me to be some obdurate unfaithful spirits under our profession, who seemed sorrowfully out of reach and very hard to be made sensible of the weight and importance of our religious testimonies; especially in some branches thereof. Such cause a secret pain and anguish, which covers the minds of poor travellers in the work of the Gospel, like the sackcloth underneath. I seldom found room and opportunity to put it wholly off, though I was frequently favoured with a comfortable evidence that the Lord was with me, graciously owning my service for him and his people.

At Coggeshall on first-day, I had close, searching, laborious service, and found something exceedingly heavy in that meeting; yet by divine favour, I was carried through to a good degree of satisfaction. The next meetings were at Kelvedon and Witham, in both which, my testimony was very close and arousing; in order, if possible, to awaken and stir up lukewarm, unfaithful professors; and by the blessed efficacy of the word of life, the wholesome doctrine of Truth was set over them, and the few upright hearted had relief. I went from thence to Chelmsford, where I had good open service at their week-day meeting, and also on the first-day following: notwithstanding which, a secret pain accompanied my mind, occasioned by those unfaithful professors before hinted at, who have neither courage nor fidelity to maintain any branch of our Christian testimony, when there appears a probability of outward losses or suffering thereby: dealing with our principles in a very lax, indifferent manner, taking what they please and sacrificing the rest to their own selfish views; such are as spots in our feasts of charity, and a mournful load to the living in religion: but the Lord Almighty, who hears the groanings of these, will in his own time grant relief; and the others shall bear their own burdens. At Royston in Hertfordshire, the life of religion appeared very low; and I had nothing to minister to the people but an example of silence. Next I had a meeting at Baldock, which was low and rather painful, then to Hitchin, and was at their first-day meetings, which were pretty open and satisfactory; and to Ampthill, where things appeared low. At Hogstyend, I had some openness and satisfaction; but the meeting at Sherington was low and painful. The next meeting I had was at Northampton, which was a very trying time; but the Lord by his powerful word, gave me dominion in a good degree, over dark, libertine spirits: true religion seemed almost lost there. At Bugbrook I had some openness, got through my service to pretty good satisfaction, and was at their meetings on first-day at Coventry; in one whereof, I had close searching labour, and was silent in the other. The meeting at Edington was small, and things but low. I went from thence to a marriage at South Newton, and found it my place to sit the meeting in silence. The earnest expectation of people, especially on such occasions, I believe often obstructs the current of right ministry. Silence, if duly considered, may be the best lesson of instruction for those whose life is in words or outward declarations.

I have thought some amongst us are so void of a right understanding, as to suppose there is a kind of necessity for something to be done by way of ministry, at marriages, and funerals especially; it being hard for them to apprehend that they can be so honourably conducted without. I have observed

some who, though but little concerned, to maintain our testimonies by an uniform, consistent deportment, yet appear very zealous on these occasions; taking a deal of pains, and riding many miles, and sometimes from one preacher to another, to make themselves sure of having one; and when they have been so successful as to prevail upon any to come, it would no doubt be a great disappointment, were they to be wholly silent. In this situation, the minister himself may, unless well-grounded, be exposed to temptation to gratify such. My principal view in this remark is, to show how remote such are from the truth they profess, and how nearly allied to some other professors of Christianity, who make religion chiefly consist in outward performances, and think it not like a Christian burial, when a corpse is committed to the earth without something said over it. If that over-anxiousness in the people should prevail on the preachers amongst us, to answer their cravings and expectations, either in attending, or when there, in gratifying them with words, without a due regard to the holy weight and impressions of the Word of life, as the alone moving cause to public service, they would be in danger of being lost as to the living body in the Society; and although such might continue in a consistent form of sound words and sound doctrine, as to the external appearance, yet the substance being lost, their performances would be no more than as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. Some, to our sorrow, have been observed to lose ground by such means: what can we imagine more offensive to the gracious, bountiful Giver, than to prostitute such a precious divine gift, by making it subservient to the carnal unsanctified desires of those who are strangers to God, yet love to hear of him and his glorious acts, by the hearing of the ear?

From this place I went to Hooknorton, and had a meeting; wherein my business was to example with silence; then to Sibford, where I had a meeting, and some openness; yet things were but low. I had open thorough service in the meetings at Banbury on first-day, and the testimony of Truth was in a good degree exalted. Next day I went to South Newton again, where I had great openness, and Truth was comfortably in dominion. Much satisfaction is received by following the safe guidance and conduct of our holy Leader, whether in heights or depths, sufferings or rejoicings. I had a good meeting next day; and then went to Adderbury, where things are low. At Bicester I had a small poor meeting; there being but very few under our profession, and but little to be felt of the life of religion amongst them.

My face being now turned towards the city of London, I had a small meeting at Alesbury, and some open service therein to my satisfaction. There are but few Friends thereabout. I went to their first-day meeting at Jordans, which was large: my service was to example the people, Friends and others, with silence; which I believe was a considerable disappointment to many; but I hope it was profitable to some. Divers Friends from London met me there, and we got to the city next day. I continued there about three weeks, visiting meetings diligently every day in the week, except the last, and one more. It was a very painful time of deep suffering in spirit, even beyond expression. I was as a sign of silence from place to place, especially at Grace-church street meeting; which, doubtless, was a great mystery to many. But it was my way to peace, and I sought after contentment, though it might occasion me to be accounted a fool, by the lofty towering spirits in that city, who may justly be compared to the tall cedars of Lebanon.

I left London the 19th of the tenth month, 1749, to visit meetings at Hertford and St. Albans, where our friend Benjamin Kidd met me, and accompanied me to Hempstead, Wickham, and the Quarterly Meeting at Oxford. The meeting there for worship was exceedingly disturbed and hurt by a company of rude students, who came in like a flood, and allowed little or no stillness, till by breaking up the meeting they dispersed; by which means, we held the meeting for discipline and good order, in a quiet peaceable manner. At Whitney I had a very painful exercising time, not only under a sense of undue liberties prevailing, but also of an exalted self-righteous, self-sufficient state; than which, none is harder to be reached to, or made any impression upon: my business was to sit in silent suffering with the oppressed seed. I went next to Burford, where there seemed to me very little of the life of religion, and to Cirencester, where my spirit was deeply distressed, under a painful sense of wrong things and wrong spirits. The next meeting was Nailsworth, where I had close searching labour, in testimony against luke-warmness and undue liberties. At the Quarterly Meeting for Wiltshire, being a stranger and altogether unexpected by Friends there, the close searching testimony given me to bear, especially relating to the state of some active members, might be better received, and have more effect, than if the same had come from one better acquainted with their states. I always coveted, to be wholly unacquainted with the states of meetings by outward information, in all my travels; and when, by the discourse

of Friends previous to my attending them, there appeared any probability of their inadvertently opening in my hearing, any thing of that kind, I have generally either stopped them, or walked away out of hearing. But in general, Friends who entertain us in our travels, have more prudence and a better guard in these respects; as indeed all ought: for it straitens, and may give much uneasiness to right spirited ministers, who have a sure infallible guide within, and therefore have no need of any outward guide or information in their services. I visited meetings in that county, at the house of John Fry, in Sutton, Caln, Chippenham, Melksham, Corsham, Bradford, Lavington and Salisbury, and found things mostly low, painful and laborious to work through. Those under our profession appeared to me, in too general a way, to be satisfying themselves with the religion of their education only; without much experience of the life and virtue thereof, operating upon their hearts. Some, it is to be feared, undertake to rule and act in the church without a proper qualification, and so do not therein seek the honour that cometh from God only. Here the equal balance and standard is not kept to; partiality gets place; men and women's persons are respected because of riches or outward substance: true judgment is perverted, and wickedness escapes censure, to the affecting of the whole community, as in the case of Achan. Such things provoke the Lord to withdraw, who is the only strength and defence of his people. They then become languid; their hearts become as water, and the inhabitants of the land prevail against them, till they are in the end made desolate.

The next meetings I had were at Andover, Whitchurch, Basingstoke and Alton; having, through divine help, some profitable service, tending to warn and excite Friends to a more diligent and careful discharge of the several duties their stations required: but I could not help viewing, with some painful reflections, the lukewarmness and declension which sorrowfully prevail in many places. At Alton, which is a large meeting, I found some solid, weighty Friends, to whom my spirit was nearly united; having, in the main, good satisfaction and openness amongst them; with searching close service to the unfaithful; in which I was favoured with the comfortable help of upright spirits, whose sincere travail is maintained for an increase of faithful labourers in the Lord's vineyard and the restoring of ancient beauty.

Now did my deep and painful labours in this visit begin to wear off, and to draw towards a close, as far as related to my travels at this time, in Great Britain and Ireland. I therefore soon expected a full discharge, as I saw little before me, save the city of London. I had meetings at Godalming, Guilford and Esher, in my way thither; in which I had some service to my own satisfaction, and I hope to the help of Friends.

I continued in the city some time, visiting meetings with diligence. My mind was deeply exercised as usual in a painful travail, with and for the suffering Seed of God in the hearts of professors, who to me appeared, in a general way, living, moving, acting and breathing, in an airy exalted region above it. I have often been ready to say, By whom shall Jacob, the true Seed, arise? for he is very small in the esteem and regard of professors of most ranks. Yet I could see an afflicted, suffering remnant, lie very low, as under the ruins, and panting as it were, struggling for life. And although we could see and knew one another, and travelled together under a degree of the same painful sense of things; yet, not having it in our power to relieve one another, our proper business was to travail under our respective burdens, until the Almighty Deliverer was pleased to appear, calling his suffering ones to dominion and rule with him, who is Lord of lords and King of kings: for the Lamb and his followers shall have the victory; though they are permitted sometimes to suffer long. I had then, at times, faith to believe he would raise the dry bones, and they should stand upon their feet; an army to fight the Lord's battles; to bring the mighty from their seats, and to take the crowns of some from them, who seemed to reign as kings, making their nakedness appear.

Surely the complaint of the Lord, by the mouth of his prophet concerning Israel, was mournfully verified in the city of London, respecting a great part of the Society, viz., "My people have committed two great evils; they have forsaken me the fountain of living waters, and hewn them out cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water." Such is a mere profession, though of the Truth itself, without the real possession. This is holding the Truth in notion, speculation and imitation only. The same may be said of whatever is done in religion, without the immediate influence, direction and leadings of the holy Author's spirit and power. Sound doctrine may be preached, as to words and the main scope thereof, and true principles imbibed from education, tuition, or other outward means; yet the man's part being alive, active and always ready; the child's and fool's state, that knows its sufficiency for every good word and work to be immediately received from God alone, is neither experienced nor abode in. "For it

is not you that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you, or by you." I say, without this living sense of things, all is but a broken cistern; it will hold none of the water of life; which is the real cause, that the endeavours and seeming zeal of some for the promotion of religion, are so dry, insipid, and inefficacious. Truth will carry its own evidence. The spring of action being the holy Spirit of Christ, it will gain the assent of all his children, and answer his pure witness in the hearts of the rebellious, far beyond what many conceive or imagine. Upon which I would just observe, that the only way to preserve the strength, glory, and dignity of a religious society, is for all who undertake to be active in it, certainly to feel the Lord leading and directing them in all their services; and on the other hand, the sure way to desolation is, when the active members in religious things move therein by the strength of human abilities only. A great deal depends on that, more than some are aware of: it is observable, that the preservation of the Jewish church in purity, much depended upon the governors and rulers thereof; and so do and will, the prosperity and purity of the Christian church.

I had very little openness in respect to ministry, but was silent as usual, from meeting to meeting. Indeed, my sufferings in spirit were great and deep, day and night, in that city, so that I was weary of this life, and as it were, sought for death; being at times ready to say, it is better for me to die than to live. I much wondered why it should be so; but have since seen it was in order for the filling up that measure of the sufferings of Christ allotted to me, of which I have seen the great advantage, with respect to giving dominion over those things and spirits, that were the cause of those great sufferings, which could not be stood against nor overcome any other way. For, as saith the apostle, "If so be we suffer with Christ, we shall also reign with him." And our Lord also said, "Verily I say unto you, that ye which have followed me in the regeneration; when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel."

I have sometimes thought, as I believe it may, by the foregoing account, appear to others that I was led in a manner somewhat uncommon, to see and feel the sorrowful declension of our Society, in my travels through these nations; though I am very sensible, divers faithful brethren have shared in the like painful travail; which, in some degree, may be compared with that of Nehemiah; who, under great anxiety and distress of mind, entered upon a long and hazardous journey, and went in the night to view the breaches and desolations made in the city of the great king, before he and the people arose in the name of the Lord, to build the walls of that city and to set up the gates thereof. He found the hand of the Lord upon him, moving and strengthening him to seek the good and prosperity of his own people.

These things are written for encouragement and instruction to the painful labourers in the Lord's work; that they faint not under the weight and exercise thereof; nor think strange concerning such fiery baptisms and trials as they may meet with in the course of their travels. They may be well assured, that such things are all directed in wisdom; which, in the Lord's time, will appear to their full satisfaction and comfort. For it is far from the Fountain of infinite kindness, to permit such heavy affliction to fall upon his servants unnecessarily.

I went from London into Essex, in order to visit some meetings in that county, which I had not been at before, and was at Chelmsford week-day meeting on fifth-day, where I had good satisfaction; the virtue of Truth being shed abroad, to the joy and comfort of the living. On the first-day following, I was at Colchester meetings. My mind was painfully depressed, under a sense that Truth suffered much in that place by wrong things. Where evil is winked at, and undue liberties in a religious society are suffered to escape judgment or censure, weakness, and as it were a cloud of darkness come over meetings as well as individuals. The Lord was graciously pleased for his blessed name's-sake, to arise, and in some good degree, to dispel the darkness; whereby Truth and the testimony thereof, was exalted over all corrupt unsanctified spirits; and the few upright hearted were sweetly comforted; it being a time of relief to their spirits, in a good degree.

I went from thence to meetings at Copford, Coln, Halstead and Braintree, wherein I had thorough service, in plain dealing and close labour with the unfaithful, of which number there seemed to be many; and but few who had really bought the blessed Truth. It is such only, who know how precious and valuable it is, and who cannot easily be prevailed upon to sell it for a thing of naught, nor for any consideration whatever. But it is not so with those who have their religion, if it may be so called, by education only, or derived by way of inheritance like their outward possessions, from their ancestors. The principles of religion only thus received and held, are often subjected to temporal conveniency and worldly interest. Where the world and true religion stand in competition with each other,

such professors will soon give place to the world; wherein they do really deny Christ before men, and will as certainly, unless they repent, be denied by him before the Father and his holy angels.

I returned out of Essex to London; for though I had had but little openness as to ministry there, yet I found my mind engaged to attend their meetings, as I apprehended, in order to suffer and travail with the true Seed, for its enlargement, as well as to be a sign and example of the important duty of silence, to the professors of Truth. They had been long and greatly favoured with living testimonies, even line upon line, and precept upon precept; under all which, for want of a proper application and improvement thereby, the Society declined, and the ancient beauty thereof greatly faded away; I mean, in what relates to the life and spirit of religion in the practical part thereof; for the body of the Society everywhere, as far as ever appeared to me, are remarkably one in faith and profession, the same which has been held and professed by us as a people, from the beginning. This wonderful oneness and agreement amongst us everywhere, which I have not observed, neither do I believe it is to be found amongst any other set of Christians, to that degree, is to me a clear evidence, that the original foundation thereof, was the one infallible Spirit of Jesus Christ our Lord, who prayed the Father, that his followers might be one, as the Father and the Son are one. And notwithstanding great numbers in our Society are resting satisfied with an empty profession, and by their unfaithfulness, fall greatly short of the dignity our worthy predecessors attained unto; which, considering the abundant favours bestowed from time to time, for the help and preservation of the Society, is cause of deep mourning and sore lamentation; yet there has been, through the kind providence of God, from the beginning down to this time, a living body, preserved the same in faith and practice with our ancients. These are scattered and interspersed throughout the whole Society, like the salt thereof, in order, if possible, that all may be seasoned. I think there are very few, if any meetings, wholly destitute of some of that sort; so that I would not have it understood, by the foregoing mournful complaints, although there may be just cause for them, that I think the Society is become desolate, or that the glory is departed therefrom: far be that from me; I am fully convinced to the contrary, and at times have faith to believe, the glory will never wholly depart, nor shall we cease to be a living people: yet I believe, numbers under our profession, for their great unfaithfulness and unfruitfulness, will be blowed upon by the Lord, and rejected, and others called into the vineyard, who will be more diligent and faithful.

After I had continued some time in the city, I apprehended myself nearly clear of further service at this time in these nations, and that I might with safety look out for an opportunity of returning to my outward habitation in America. I therefore applied to the brethren for a certificate of my travels, &c., which they readily granted; setting forth their unity with my services and demeanor under this weighty engagement. But as no suitable opportunity appeared likely to present for some time, I had leisure to look into and carefully to weigh an affair of great importance, which had by this time so far prevailed on my attention, that I was afraid wholly to reject it, as I had done for a considerable time after it first came into my thoughts; looking upon it almost impracticable. This was, entering into a married state with my endeared friend Frances Wyatt, before mentioned. I never had any other objection to it, than our both being, as far as appeared then to me, settled in our places; from which I thought it would be very unsafe, without the best counsel, to remove. But that objection was wholly removed, by my way opening, as I thought, with great clearness, to settle in England on account of my future service. I was deeply concerned in my mind to be rightly guided herein; which was answered so indisputably clear to my understanding, that I could no longer hesitate about it.

The next thing was, settling matters relative thereto with my said friend; that so, if she found no objection, our marriage might be accomplished, if Providence permitted, after my returning home, settling my affairs there, and removing in order to settle in this nation. I therefore laid the whole before her, desiring her solid consideration and an answer, when she was prepared to return me one. I found the same powerful hand which had removed my objections, was at work in her mind to remove hers also; so that she could not be easy to put a negative upon the proposal, as believing the thing was right, which was still confirming to me. We therefore in the fear, and as we had cause to believe, in the counsel of God, engaged with each other to accomplish our marriage, when way should be made by divine Providence for the same. We had no views on either side for worldly advancement; as I was fully persuaded we were directed in our said engagement, by the wisdom and counsel of Him, who can give or take away outward blessings at his pleasure. I therefore had not freedom, previous to my

engaging with her therein, to make any inquiry into her circumstances in the world. All which, however, with the superior blessing of an affectionate wife and true help-mate, I afterwards found agreeable and comfortable.

Having as above, paved the way to remove and settle in England, and a good opportunity presenting of a ship, in which several valuable Friends intended to embark, I went on board the Speedwell, John Stevenson master, at Gravesend, the 8th of the third month, 1750, in company with our friends Jonah Thompson and Mary Weston, who were going on a religious visit to the churches in America. We had fourteen or fifteen passengers belonging to the cabin and state rooms; some of whom were bad people, whose conversation proved very disagreeable to us; so that we spent much of our time on the deck, night and day, except when we took our rest in sleep. Our departure was from the Start Point, the 11th in the evening, being the last land seen by us until we discovered America. We had a fine gale of wind down the English channel, and a good set off to sea by the same; but we often had scant and sometimes contrary winds afterwards, which made it rather a slow passage, though much quicker than some have gone. The 17th of the fourth month, we found ourselves on the banks of Newfoundland, and in the midst of nearly twenty sail of French ships, who were fishing for cod. We spoke with one of them, who told us we had about twenty-five fathom water; whereupon the captain ordered the ship to be brought to, that we might take some fresh cod. This was very agreeable to us all; and succeeded so well, that in about two hours, there lay upon the deck twenty-four of the finest cod fish I ever saw. This proved an agreeable feast to us for about one week; and although through mercy, we had very great plenty of provisions, yet this was an acceptable change.

It was the 5th of fifth month, about three o'clock in the afternoon, when to our great joy we saw the land of America; and by sounding, found ourselves in about twenty-five fathom water, and entered the capes of Delaware that night. We had a prosperous gale up the bay and river, so that I landed at Chester in Pennsylvania, about eight miles from my own house, on the 7th of the fifth month, about three o'clock in the afternoon, and got home that night; having been on board two months lacking one day, and from home in the whole journey, two years, seven months and eight days; having travelled in that time by sea and land, I think on a moderate calculation, eleven thousand eight hundred and seventy-five miles, and was at about five hundred and sixty meetings.

CHAPTER VI.

Returns to England to settle—second marriage —labours for a reformation in discipline, &c. —attends the circular Yearly Meeting at Broomsgrove, and meetings in Wales, &c.— visits Friends in Yorkshire, Lancashire, Westmoreland, &c.

I HAD before concluded, with divine permission, to return in the same ship, and left a large chest of stores on board. When discharged of her loading, she was to sail for Maryland, there to take in a cargo of tobacco, where I intended meeting her; it being about seventy miles from my house.

In a day or two after my arrival I went to Philadelphia, where I found my friends generally much alarmed, with news brought by letters in the ship I came over in, (for they had not heard it before) of my intention to return, to marry and settle in England. Many, I believe, being ignorant of the grounds and motives upon which I acted therein, judged concerning the same from the outward appearance only; supposing that having found one I liked, I had let my mind out towards marrying, and made that the principal inducement of my removing. Had this been the case, I freely acknowledge that I should have deserved blame; as acting upon a very dangerous bottom to myself, and setting an unsafe example for others to follow; believing some have sustained great loss, by inadvertent steps of this kind, in their travels on Truth's account. This was what I greatly feared in relation to myself, and therefore, as before hinted, durst not give way to the thoughts of entangling myself therein, until I had repeatedly, as I thought at least, received clear evidence in my mind of its being my duty to remove into this nation for future service. I do therefore earnestly caution all, to be aware of taking any encouragement from my example herein, unless they have the same evidence, and act upon the same bottom that I did, agreeably to what is above mentioned, and are well assured of divine direction. That I was rightly guided in my removal, has not only been fully confirmed to myself since, but I am persuaded also, to many others: and even at that time, those who were free enough to confer with me thereon, appeared to be well satisfied, whom for their freedom and openness to me on that account, I looked upon to be some of my best friends; and as to others, I thought it my duty to bear with pa-

tience and meekness all they were pleased to say and conjecture, until time made manifest who were in the right.

I attended the Yearly Meeting held at Burlington, for Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, in the seventh month, wherein the Lord was graciously pleased to overshadow our large assemblies with his heavenly power and presence, to our great comfort and edification; having with joy to draw water out of the wells of salvation, and to offer the praise and humble thanksgiving to the alone fountain thereof, who is for ever worthy.

Having settled my affairs, and obtained a certificate of removal from the Monthly Meeting of Darby, in Chester county, in Pennsylvania, to which I belonged, directed to the Monthly Meeting of Witham in Essex, old England; myself and daughter set out from my house in Darby, accompanied by my sister Mary, (who since my wife's decease, had been my careful house-keeper) together with several Friends, the 12th of the eighth month, 1750. We travelled to East Nottingham, being about sixteen miles from the place where the ship lay in which I intended to embark. My sister and one of the Friends staid with us about a week, and then took their solemn leave. My daughter and I staid there until the 2nd of the ninth month. I visited some meetings in the neighbourhood to good satisfaction, and was at many in East Nottingham, it being a very large meeting, and a zealous body of Friends then belonged thereto; amongst whom I had good service and great openness; the precious unity of the one spirit being livingly enjoyed, in which we took a solemn farewell of one another. The 2nd of the ninth month we set out, accompanied by divers of our worthy friends, and crossed the Susquehanna, taking our quarters at Jacob Giles's house within sight of the ship; but were not ordered on board until the 8th. We did not sail until the 11th at noon. The unskilful pilot ran us aground twice that afternoon, and caused the poor sailors hard labour and much fatigue, for which I was sorry. It was the 18th, about two o'clock in the afternoon, before we got clear of Chesapeak bay; and having then a fine wind, we soon lost sight of land.

We had been at sea but about four days, when he espied a sail or two, who, by their motions, appeared very desirous to speak with us, which, at length, one of them belonging to Rhode Island effected, informing us, they were reduced to a very small quantity of provisions, and earnestly intreated the master to afford them some assistance. To my grief and surprise, he gave them a very short denial; alledging we were but newly come out to sea, and did not yet know what we might want ourselves. I was much troubled in my mind at the hardness of his heart, and immediately stepped up to him, and in as moving language as I was capable of, interceded for the poor sufferers. The first mate being a man of a good disposition, joined with me, and we at length so prevailed on the master, that he gave them liberty to hoist out their boat, and come on board; telling them he would see what could be done for them. The poor creatures gladly complied with this; the master of the ship and four of his sailors, being quickly on board of us. It was very affecting, to behold want so conspicuous in their faces, and to see how greatly they rejoiced, with thankfulness, that kind Providence had, in mercy, cast us in their way, for their relief; in which I could heartily join with them; rejoicing that we had not inhumanly turned them off without help. The master, to give him his due, handed to them pretty liberally; for which he charged what he thought proper, and took the master's draft for the money, on his owner in London. I spared them some out of my private stores, for which I wanted no other pay, than the satisfaction of relieving their wants; being very glad I had been instrumental thereto.

The next day we had a great storm, and an exceedingly high sea, so that we could carry no sail, but fastened the helm and let the ship drive whithersoever the wind and waves would carry her: we were indeed mightily tossed; but through divine favour, my mind was sweetly calm and comfortable, feeling his living presence to be near, who is God of the seas and of the dry land. My heart was filled with the joy of his salvation, so that I could sing and make melody therein to him; in which I had confirming evidence, as I many times had under the same precious enjoyment, both by sea and land after I left England, that my way and undertaking was approved of the Lord, and would be blessed and prospered by him; which yielded more comfort to my mind, than any thing in this world could do. The severest part of the storm lasted about twelve hours; and although we had two considerable storms afterwards, yet for the most part, it was a good passage. On the 17th of the tenth month, in the morning, we sounded, and in sixty-nine fathom water we found ground. The same morning, about ten o'clock, we had the very agreeable sight of England. Next day, the wind being against us, we made but little advantage of sailing. The 19th, about eight o'clock at night, we came to an anchor in Falmouth harbour. Going on shore next day, we went to an inn in the town. Our kind hospitable

friend, Joseph Tregelles, came and invited us to his house, where we had generous entertainment whilst we where at that place. I was several times at their meetings, both at Falmouth and Penryn, and had openness and good satisfaction. My worthy friends of that town, Andrew Hingeston and his wife and daughter, were affectionately kind to me, which I cannot well avoid mentioning, out of a grateful sense I retain thereof, as we were entire strangers; for I had not been that way when in England before.

Having been detained there about a week, we put out to sea again, in order to proceed to London, whither we were bound. The second day of our being out, towards evening, as we were sailing within about a league and a half of Dover, a boat came on board for letters. The wind then not being fair to go up the river Thames, we went with them to Dover, and next day to Gravesend, where crossing the water at Grays in Essex, I proceeded to Chelmsford.

My dear friend Frances Wyatt and I, after proceeding according to the good order of Friends, accomplished our marriage with each other, at a large meeting of Friends and others in Chelmsford meeting-house, the 14th day of the then first month, 1750–1, in the sweet and sensible enjoyment of his presence, who saw in the beginning, it was not good for man to be alone; and therefore, in great kindness, provided an help-mate to be with him, who was bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh. It is therefore said, they shall be no more twain, but one flesh. The Lord then joined the man and his wife together. Happy would it have been for mankind, had they never sought, nor found out any other way of joining in that relation since. But as the sons, or worshippers of the true God, formerly looked upon the daughters of men, with an eye that tendeth to pervert this ordinance, following the dictates of their own evil heart, instead of the counsel of God, in this great undertaking; so it is evidently the case at this day with many. It is also often not so much what the woman or man is, as what worldly substance they have. Where there is plenty of that, many real defects, with respect to those qualifications and endowments essential to real happiness in a married state, are over-looked. Thus, by man's ignorantly and presumptuously taking upon him the guidance and government of himself, instigated thereto by the subtilty of satan; those outward accommodations, which were by divine providence intended as blessings, become quite the reverse. To prevent such unhappy consequences to young people and others, I know of no advice better adapted for their safety and preservation, than that of our Lord's viz., "Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." Those who have happily, by seeking, found this kingdom, and live therein, which consisteth in righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, have great advantage, even in outward things, above all others; as the blessing of God, which maketh truly rich, attends all their worldly affairs. They enjoy what appertains to this life with a proper relish. "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth."

As it is man's duty and safety to seek the Lord's counsel and blessing, so it is truly honourable amongst men; for this, Jabez was said to be more honourable than his brethren; for he called on the God of Israel, saying, "O that thou wouldst bless me indeed, and enlarge my coast, and that thine hand might be with me, and that thou wouldst keep me from evil, that it may not grieve me!" And God granted him that which he requested. Let me conclude this observation with tender advice and caution to all whom it may concern, into whose hands this may come, to be aware they do not fall into that dangerous snare of supposing, as marriage is an outward affair, they need consult nothing further therein than their own inclination and reason; it is said, "Woe to the rebellious children, that ask counsel, but not of me, saith the Lord." And Christ is called Wonderful, Counsellor, as well as Mighty God. Now as marriage is allowed to be the most important affair in this life, and may tend greatly either to promote our happiness or misery in the next; if we have no occasion to seek the Lord's counsel herein, in what are we to expect or desire it? Abraham's servant, when he was only engaged about procuring a wife for his younger master Isaac, with great earnestness sought the Lord's guidance and blessing therein, and obtained it in a remarkable manner. What, say some, are we to look for, or to expect a revelation in such cases? We must desire the Lord to guide and direct our steps in this, and all other affairs of consequence in relation to this life, or we shall certainly miss our way. But this we cannot clearly understand, until the man's part is reduced in us, and we see what we are without God, that we may find occasion to pray without ceasing, and in every thing to give thanks. Then the constant cry will be, Guide me with thy counsel. When this is, with great sincerity, the state of the mind, we cannot miss our way; because divine protection is ever present, although we do not always see it, no more than the prophet's servant did, until his eyes were

opened. The great thing is, to have a single eye, that whatever we do, may be done to the glory of God. When this is the case, we say, if this or that be not agreeable to thy will, O God, thou hast all power in thine hand; do thou, by thy overruling providence, direct me according to thy blessed will. The Lord will keep such in all their ways, and be their sure defence.

We settled together after marriage, at Chelmsford, in the county of Essex, where I enjoyed great satisfaction and comfort in an affectionate wife. Yet such I found the low and almost desolate situation of our Society in the said county; especially in relation to good order and that discipline established amongst us, by the power and in the wisdom of Truth, as a hedge to defend and preserve from hurtful things, that it gave me much painful concern of mind. The difference appearing so very great, as I had before resided where discipline in the general was well maintained. I could not discover, either by their books or inquiry, that the unfaithful or disorderly walkers had, a few instances excepted, been for many years regularly dealt with, and their misconduct censured, either by Monthly or Quarterly Meetings. I diligently attended those meetings, but my spirit was greatly distressed therein, as the members seemed to move and act in another element, as I may say, than that I had been accustomed to, in managing the weighty affairs of the church.

The first thing of importance that laid hold of my mind, as wanting to be reformed, was relating to women's meetings; there being no such held quarterly, and at but few of the Monthly Meetings; and where there was any thing of that nature it was of little or no service, in the manner then held. Having therefore the advices and directions of the Yearly Meeting, relating to women's meetings, I requested liberty of the Quarterly Meeting to read the same therein, which I did, making such remarks thereon, as appeared to me then necessary. At the same time, I proposed that the meeting should take that weighty affair, of establishing women's Quarterly and Monthly Meetings, agreeably to the repeated pressing advices of the Yearly Meeting, into solid consideration; and if it was thought proper, that a few Friends might be appointed to form some general directions for the assistance of our women Friends, pointing out to them, as for want of opportunity, they were pretty much strangers thereunto, how such meetings are to be conducted, and the part of church discipline that properly comes under their notice, and requires the management of the women. All which was agreed to and minuted. The proposed directions were prepared by the Friends appointed, brought to the next Quarterly Meeting, and there agreed to. The women having previous notice, withdrew at the close of the meeting of worship into an apartment, to receive what we had to lay before them, and unanimously agreed thereunto.

A Quarterly Meeting of women Friends being then established, pressing advice was sent by minute, to Monthly Meetings, that they should encourage and establish women's meetings amongst them also, which was complied with. And although our women Friends, for want of being brought up by their ancestors in the management of the discipline, might be rather inexperienced at first, yet I am well assured, this step tended much to enlarge our meetings and to make them more lively; opening the way of sincere travellers to a fuller enjoyment of spiritual good, wherein alone is our ability for every good word and work. Some few, from a right sense of the importance of the work, joined me in an earnest labour for a general reformation, and as we felt the weight of things upon our minds, we gave up to visit Monthly Meetings, to help the weak and to move forward the wheels of discipline, which, especially at the first, moved very heavily; for although we had many in the county under our profession, yet few of them had their hands clean enough to handle the affairs of the church; many being, as it were, crippled with unfaithfulness, especially in their mean and cowardly compliance with the anti-christian demand of tithes and things of that nature, which of itself unfits for service amongst us; for I never saw much, if any, true living zeal for the cause of God, in those who have fallen into this defection. Oh! the darkness and cause of stumbling it has occasioned in this poor county, and in other places where it has prevailed. We found ourselves concerned, repeatedly to visit such in their families, labouring in Christian love, to bring them into a sense of the inconsistency of their conduct with their profession therein; which labour, though prevalent with some, hath been no otherwise successful in general, than the discharge of that duty which one member of a religious community owes to another; and by bringing the judgment of Truth in some degree over them, they became more distinguished from the faithful.

We had great peace in this labour, though hard and unpleasant, as we found them dark and difficult to be reached to, a few excepted. However, these endeavours greatly tended to exalt Truth's testimony, for which our worthy predecessors deeply suffered. In process of time, through the blessed assistance of our holy Head, engaging a small remnant to

labour in the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings for a reformation, good order has been much promoted, and our Christian discipline in its several branches, has been in a good degree put in practice; and some came to understand that it is necessary to receive wisdom and strength from God, for maintaining that work. So that, although things in that respect, through the unsoundness and lukewarmness of many professors, are now low, yet the Lord continues to be gracious, in affording us the blessed assistance of his holy Spirit, both in our meetings for divine worship and those for discipline; whereby some are enabled in meekness to labour for maintaining his cause, notwithstanding the discouragement they meet with, not only from a view of the languid state of the Society in general, but also from the brittle jealous spirits of some.

Having laboured in our own county, according to ability received of God, for without his divine assistance, I have, by long experience, known I could do nothing, I attended the sittings of the Yearly Meeting in London as they fell in course, therein to join with the sincere travellers for Sion's prosperity, in the important care of Truth's affairs throughout the world; this weighty engagement coming more upon some of us than heretofore, as many of the elders and faithful labourers were removed to their rest. Our valuable friends John Churchman and William Brown from Pennsylvania, were at several of the first Yearly Meetings after my settling in this nation. They laboured in these nations in the service of Truth nearly four years, having left affectionate wives and children for Truth's sake. Such noble disinterested endeavours, without any view towards temporal interest, are a very great mystery to the worldly wise. The above named Friends were great and good instruments in the Lord's hand, not only at the Yearly Meetings, but also in their travels up and down, for the promotion of discipline and good order in the churches; though not without considerable opposition from some, who, under pretence of acting for the good of the Society, were in reality advocates for undue liberty.

Notwithstanding some such difficulties, the Lord hath greatly strengthened the hands of his pained ones for Sion's welfare, and blessed his work to the promoting of good order, as the likeliest means of reviving ancient beauty and comeliness; there having been great stirrings and much labour of late years, to bring the several members of the Society into the holy order of the Gospel. May the Lord yet continue the blessing of wisdom and strength, that the work may be carried on, to the praise of his worthy name and the preservation of his people, is the earnest prayer of my soul.

I set out the 16th of the sixth month, 1751, intending to take some meetings in my way to the circular Yearly Meeting for the western counties, to be held at Broomsgrove in Worcestershire, and from thence to visit the meetings of Friends in Wales. I first went to the burial of a Friend at Stebbing, and proceeded through Walden, Cambridge and Huntington, to Wellingborough in Northamptonshire; and attended both their meetings on a first-day; having close earnest labour, in a sense of great dulness, and much insensibility prevailing on many professors. My spirit was greatly burdened therewith; but the Lord was pleased to arise and dispel the darkness in a good degree, giving me thorough service, especially in the afternoon; I hope not easily to be forgotten. I went away greatly relieved, and had a meeting at Coventry, which was heavy and laborious, though I was, through divine favour, enabled to wade through to my own ease, in a good degree.

I had a good open meeting that evening at Nun-Eaton; there being but one family of Friends in the town, but a large number of others were at the meeting; divers of whom seemed affected with the testimony of Truth. I had a close exercising meeting the next day at Atherstone, where things were very low, yet Truth arose and opened doctrine for their help; and that evening one at Polesworth, which was open and comfortable.

From thence I went to Woolverhampton, where I had a small meeting, things being very low. At Colebrookdale meeting, I had close thorough service, tending to stir up Friends to diligence, as well as to encourage the upright-hearted; then to Shrewsbury, where the number of professors was very small, and the life of religion very much depressed, not only by the lukewarmness of some, but also by a blasting, lifeless ministry, which they had long sat under; doubtless, to the great uneasiness of the few sensible amongst them. I had a painful sense of the great hurt thereof in that meeting, being concerned to sit the meeting in silence, I believe, as an example to Friends, and rebuke to that forward unsanctified spirit: the same soon after was made manifest both to Friends and others to be very corrupt, and was deservedly testified against by the Monthly Meeting.

I have divers times, in my travels, perceived great hurt to the prosperity of Truth, by such unsanctified pretenders to a divine commission, intruding themselves into the ministry; but always have apprehended them a bad sort of people to deal with by advice

and caution, as they are commonly very positive and self-willed; being seldom, in this declined state of the church, without a party, who had rather have almost any kind of ministry than silence. This makes it much more difficult for those, who have a right sense of their spirits, to bring the judgment of Truth over such; as those above-mentioned are apt to screen them, and cover their heads, unless they manifest themselves, which has frequently happened, by their being guilty of some immoral conduct.

I went after meeting to visit two Friends, who had been imprisoned a considerable time for refusing to pay tithes. As soon as I had entered the place of their confinement, I sensibly felt that the Son of peace was there. My mind was brought into great nearness, unity, and Christian sympathy with them in their suffering state, which they appeared to bear with cheerfulness and resignation to the divine will. The sense of the great importance of the testimony they were concerned to maintain, by suffering for it, and what our worthy predecessors went through, in nasty stinking prisons and dungeons, where many of them ended their days in support thereof, who may be very justly numbered amongst the faithful martyrs of Jesus Christ, overcame my mind with tenderness to that degree, that I could not presently discourse with them about their sufferings. We had a blessed opportunity together, and took our leave of each other, in the sweet enjoyment of the pure love of God. Oh, how much more joyous and refreshing it is to visit such faithful sufferers, than to visit carnal professors of the same Truth, who violate that precious testimony, by voluntarily putting into the priests' mouths, lest they should prepare war against them, making religion bow down to their supposed temporal interest, thereby not only declaring themselves mere pretenders thereto, but also increasing the sufferings of those under the same profession who dare not temporize!

I returned to Colebrookdale, where I had a hard trying meeting held in silence; and went to Birmingham, where I had been several times before, and generally had painful laborious meetings; but now it pleased divine Goodness to favour with openness and good authority, to declare the Truth largely, I believe to the stirring up of the careless, at least to a present sense of their duties; as well as to the comfort and edification of the honest-hearted, and to my own peace and relief.

From this place I went to Broomsgrove, in order to attend the Yearly Meeting, which began on first-day, the 1st of the seventh month, being held in a barn, fitted up by Friends for that purpose: it ended the third-day following; many ministering Friends attended it, some of whom were largely opened by the power and wisdom of Truth, to publish the Gospel tidings with clearness and good demonstration. The people, though numerous, being generally very still and attentive, appeared to receive the testimony of Truth with pleasure, and things were in the main well conducted. Here my friend John Bradford joined me as a companion. We had a large meeting at Worcester on fourth-day, in which Truth had comfortable dominion, especially near the conclusion, to the great satisfaction and joy of many hearts. Blessed be the Lord our God, for his continued favours to his people! On fifth-day we had a small poor meeting at Broomyard in Herefordshire; things being very low in that place, as respects Truth and Friends. On sixth-day we had a meeting at Leominster; the fore part was very cloudy and painful, yet by the gracious springing up of light and life, I got through my service therein to good satisfaction. The next day, being the seventh of the week, I went to my dear mother's in Radnorshire. On first-day, the neighbours being apprized of my being come, flocked to the Pales meeting in abundance. The Lord was pleased to favour me with a large open time, to declare his everlasting Truth amongst them, with which they appeared to be much affected. I had another such opportunity with Friends and many others, at Talcoyd, near my mother's house. They seemed greatly affected with the virtue of Truth; but I fear they stumble at the cross. On second-day we had a meeting at a place called the Coom, about six miles from my mother's, pretty open and comfortable. On fourth-day, the 11th, I took leave of my worthy affectionate mother, relations and Friends thereabout, having my brother Benjamin for our guide over the bleak mountains into Cardiganshire. The wind blew hard and it rained, but through mercy we received very little harm.

Next day we had a small poor meeting at one Evans's. Religion was at a very low ebb in that place, and my chief business, as far as I could see, was to detect a vile impostor, who had, by a feigned and hypocritical show, got the advantage of the weakness and credulity of Friends there. I never had seen him before, that I know of, but my spirit was exceedingly burdened with his deceitful groanings and feigned agitation in the meeting, and was satisfied his spirit was very foul and corrupt, as it was like a nuisance to me all the time. I warned Friends to be aware of him, and to keep him at a distance; but they seemed willing to hope that there was

some good in him, as he appeared so much concerned in meetings. I saw whereabout they were who pleaded thus, as they seemed taken with, and rather to approve of, what was so very offensive and even odious to me, viz., his pretended exercise in that meeting. But if people will lay hold suddenly on such, they must partake with them in their sins; for this man afterward discovered himself to be very bad, by being guilty of gross wickedness. I think the meeting was held in silence.

We went to a place called Penbank in Carmarthenshire, where a meeting was held next day to pretty good satisfaction, being favoured with matter and utterance for their help, though things appeared low; in the evening I had a very poor afflicting meeting at Penplace; where great slackness and weakness appeared in the few professors. We were quite silent as to public ministry. We went from thence to Carmarthen, and attended their meetings on first-day; and had good open service therein, especially in the afternoon, many of the neighbours coming in: the testimony of Truth went forth freely and largely amongst them, with which they appeared to be much reached and affected; and might, I hope, tend to remove a prejudice they had imbibed, from the misconduct of one or more, of high pretensions lately in that place, but then removed.

We had a meeting on second-day in the evening, at Laugharn, where very few, if any properly of our Society, resided; many of the neighbours came in, and we had a good opportunity amongst them, in the free extendings of Gospel love; the doctrine whereof seemed to have a considerable reach upon them. On third-day we had a meeting amongst a few professors at Jamestown. It being their harvest time, they seemed more concerned about their corn than religion; several rushing out in a disorderly manner, to take care of that, as there was some appearance of rain.

It was with much difficulty we procured a guide to Haverfordwest. At length we prevailed on a young woman to go, who seemed to have the most lively sense of religion of any amongst them. Having a large ferry to cross over Milford Haven, we were so hindered, as not to reach the place, until about an hour after the time appointed for the meeting, to our great uneasiness. This meeting was, for the most part, held in silence; yet near the conclusion, I had some things given me to deliver, with considerable weight and Gospel authority. I went next to Redstone, where the meeting was small, yet open and comfortable; then to Carmarthen, and next day to Swansey, about thirty miles, being a very rough open road; and the day very stormy, so that we were exceedingly wet. Great care was taken of us, when we got to our friend Paul Bevan's house, so that, through mercy, we received but very little harm.

On first-day, being the 22nd, we attended their meetings; that in the forenoon was held in silent labour. In the afternoon I had a close searching testimony to bear, tending to stir up and arouse Friends to more zeal and fervour of mind; and was favoured to get through to satisfaction.

On third-day we had a poor small meeting amongst a few Friends at Freeveraque. I had nothing to administer, but an example of silence. We went after meeting to Pontypool, and next day had a precious open meeting; the testimony of Truth went forth with good authority and clearness, and the upright in heart were sweetly comforted in the enjoyment of the Lord's presence, returning him the praise, who is worthy for ever!

On sixth-day, the 27th, we crossed the Severn at the New-Passage, and went that night to the widow Young's at Earthcott; had a hard trying meeting there next day; after which we went to Bristol, and on first-day, the 29th, attended three meetings there; the first two were held in painful distressing silence, and the last also, except a few words near the breaking up of it. This was the first of my visiting that city, and a time not easily to be forgotten by me. It was indeed a season of sore mourning and lamentation, in a sense of their great declension. There was very little to be seen or felt of that plainness, pure simplicity, humility and contempt of the world, so conspicuous in their worthy predecessors, who trampled upon the glory of this world, counting it as dross and dung, in comparison of the smiles of the Lord's countenance and being clothed with the beautiful garment of his salvation. Oh, how was the choicest vine planted, made to spread and mightily to prosper, through great suffering and persecution, in that city, in early times; sufficiently, one would think, to have deeply established the permanency thereof, and to have recommended its superior dignity and excellency to many generations! May not that of the apostle to the Galatians, be justly applied to them? "O foolish Galatians! who hath bewitched you, that you should not obey the Truth; before whose eyes Jesus Christ hath been evidently set forth, crucified amongst you? Are ye so foolish, having begun in the spirit, are ye now made perfect by the flesh?"

I parted with my companion at Bristol, and turned my face homewards, taking meetings in my way to London, at Frenchay, Corsham,

Chippenham, Caln and Reading; in all which I had considerable openness, largely and with good authority, to publish the doctrine of Truth, to my own peace, and I hope to the comfort and help of many; though in some places my spirit was much pained with a sense of the prevailing indifference and lukewarmness, in this day of ease and outward plenty.

On seventh-day, the 5th of the eighth month, I got to London, and staid their meetings on first-day. After which I returned home, and found my dear wife and family well, to our mutual comfort; being thankful to the kind hand of Providence, whose goodness attends those who trust in him, both in heights and depths; taking care of their bodies, souls and those outward benefits he hath bountifully favoured them with; affording real comfort therein, with his blessing, which maketh truly rich, and adds no sorrow with it. I was out on this journey about eight weeks, and travelled about seven hundred and forty miles, having been at about forty meetings.

I have preserved very little or no account of short journies and services in this and the adjacent counties; in which, however, I was divers times engaged to labour, both at Quarterly and other meetings, for reviving ancient zeal and diligence. But alas! the inordinate love of worldly enjoyments, good in themselves, covers the minds of many professors, like thick clay, who are exceedingly hard to be made sensible of the chiefest good, so that I have often feared some of them will not hear, until the Lord is provoked to speak with a louder voice in judgment, from which they will not be able to turn aside or in any way to shun. Many in our Society, as in others, having departed from the life, rest satisfied in a profession of religion: some also have departed from the power and form too, in a great degree; appearing neither one thing nor another. Could they see themselves as judicious persons see them, shame and confusion of face would cover them.

The next considerable journey I have any account of, was entered upon the 27th of the eighth month, 1753, in order to visit Friends in some parts of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Westmoreland, &c. I met some Friends at Walden, who with myself were appointed by the Quarterly Meeting to visit that Monthly Meeting for its help. I was largely opened in the meeting of worship, to set forth the beauty, order and excellent harmony of the several members in the church of Christ; and Truth had considerable dominion therein, to our great comfort. This prepared our minds for close and painful labour with wrong spirits in the meeting of business, who had the boldness to plead that the payment of tithes was justifiable, because required by the laws of the land; not considering the gross absurdity of making human laws to be preferred before the laws of Christ, however contrary thereto, and enjoined as an absolute rule for Christians; unless they suppose it impossible that any human laws can be made contrary to Christ's laws, which is equally absurd. Such an opinion tends to invalidate the great sufferings and martyrdom of all those, who gave up every thing they had in this world, and even their lives, rather than actively comply with the laws of the land, when they believed them inconsistent with the nature of Christianity, and therefore a transgression of God's law. But the ground of the misapprehension, which such reasoners fall into, appears to be a presumption that the source of property is in the law, and that the laws of the land can alienate the right of one, without rendering him any equivalent, and give it to another, who had no right therein before. But right and wrong are immutable, and cannot be altered by human laws, which only grant people aid to preserve and recover that which of right appears to belong to them; so that human laws cannot bind the conscience, any further than they are consistent with the laws of God.

When a sincere Christian is persuaded they enjoin any thing contrary to the perfect law of liberty in his own mind, he may not actively resist, but passively suffer the penalty thereof, whereby he faithfully bears his testimony against the iniquity of such a law, and so far contributes to have it removed. Tithes under the Gospel, being an antichristian, popish error, and the laws enjoining their payment being grounded upon a supposition, that they are due to God and holy church, how can any clearly enlightened person pay them in any shape, as he thereby assents to that great error and contributes to support it, to the great scandal and abuse of the Christian religion, and that noble, free, disinterested ministry, instituted by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; whose direction in that case is, "Freely ye have received, freely give?" Much more might be said to manifest the absurdity of such a plea for the payment of tithes; but I would hope there are not many amongst us so blinded by the god of this world, as to adopt such an argument. Truth prevailed in the meeting, and the testimony thereof was exalted over all such spirits. Praises to our God for his gracious assistance, mercifully afforded to all those who put their trust in him alone!

I proceeded on my journey and had meetings at Godmanchester, Oakham and Leices-

ter; and had close searching labour, in order that careless, lukewarm professors might be stirred up and awakened to a sense of their states. The testimony of Truth also flowed forth at times, as a refreshing stream of encouragement to the mourners in Sion and sincere travellers thitherward. From thence I went to Nottingham, and had a meeting; the Lord graciously favouring with wisdom and utterance, to divide the word aright to the several states of those present. Truth greatly prevailed, overshadowing the meeting to the rejoicing of many hearts.

Next day I had a small meeting at Furness in Derbyshire, wherein I had close labour with indolent professors, who, neglecting their own proper business, were too much depending upon the labours of others, to their great loss; besides which, such unwarrantable dependence greatly tends to load and depress the life in those concerned, making their exercises much greater. The next meeting I had was at Matlock, which was large; the greater part being people of other persuasions. It was, through the blessed efficacy of the Word of life, an open good time, and the doctrines of Truth were largely declared; showing that the world by wisdom knows not God, as well as how and to whom he is pleased to make himself known. The meeting was much affected with the virtue of Truth, which was eminently extended that day, and I hope would not be easily forgotten by many. I went from thence to Sheffield, and attended their meetings on first-day, which were large. In the morning my spirit was deeply baptized into a painful sense of the empty formal state of some, and also of the undue liberties of many others. I was made willing and resigned to go down into suffering on their account; that if it pleased the Lord, I might be the better qualified to administer effectually to their several states, as experience hath taught me repeatedly, that I could not speak feelingly to mankind for their help and recovery, in any other way. At the afternoon meeting I was concerned to lay their several states open before them. It was a blessed and seasonable opportunity, tending much to their awakening to a sense of duty, and I think it may with thankfulness be said, Truth was over all.

The next meeting I had was at Highflats, which was large, there being a numerous body of plain Friends, as to the outward appearance, belonging thereto. It was a laborious meeting, but through divine favour, there was strength afforded to lay before them in a close pressing manner, the great danger of resting contented in a decent form of religion without the life and power thereof. I hope it was a profitable time to many.

I went from thence to Brighouse meeting, wherein matter and utterance were given, tending to arouse the indolent and to encourage those who were truly concerned for Truth's prosperity. The meeting at Rawden was very large and open, and the testimony of Truth had dominion. I had a pretty open meeting next day at Bradford; after which I went to visit a friend who was very low and weak in body, few expecting her recovery. I felt the pure virtue of the holy anointing to be with her, and had it given me to signify, that I did believe the Lord would raise her up for further service, which accordingly came to pass.

I went from thence to Leeds, and attended their meetings on first-day. In the forenoon the testimony of Truth was greatly exalted, in setting forth the power and efficacy of living faith: it was a glorious time, Truth being over all. In the afternoon, it was thought several hundreds attended, mostly of the people called Methodists. I was quite shut up as to ministry, I thought, in order to set an example of the important duty of silence to Friends and others. The meeting concluded with an awful solemnity, which I hope was profitable to many. I went to Skipton, where the meeting was large, and the power of God's eternal Truth went forth in a searching, awakening testimony, as well as in a refreshing stream of consolation to those who stood in need of encouragement in their travels towards the city of God. The meeting next day at Airton was a heavy painful time of silence in the fore part; but the Lord was pleased to appear and afford ability to search some barren professors, by opening their states to them, with which they seemed somewhat affected; but alas! how hard it is to reach effectually unto those who are settled as upon their lees, living in a state of mind that can rest satisfied in an empty profession.

Next day I had a pretty large meeting at Settle: there I found the life of religion much depressed with an earthly formal spirit; but through divine goodness, Truth arose and prevailed over it for the present, and was exalted, as being the one thing needful. I went from thence to Lothersdale, where I had a very large meeting; the Lord enabling me, who am otherwise a poor helpless creature, to bear a thorough testimony, suited to the various states of those present; and his glorious name was exalted above every name. From thence I went to the house of my beloved friends Jonathan and Margaret Raine, at Trawden; whom, for their tender regard to me when I wanted succour both for body

and mind, I have heretofore had occasion to mention; as likewise the Ecroyd family. We greatly rejoiced in the opportunity of one another's company once more; Truth having nearly united us in our former acquaintance. I staid there something more than a week, attending several meetings there and at Marsden-height; at some of which the Lord was eminently with us, opening the wells of salvation, that we might drink together and sing praises to him the Fountain of all good. I had great openness in my service amongst them; and we took our leave of one another in a sweet sense of God's love uniting our hearts one to another.

On second-day, the 1st of the tenth month, I set out for Lancaster, in order to be at their Quarterly Meeting, being accompanied by my friend Jonathan Raine. I was at the Monthly Meeting there on third-day, where I had considerable service. Fourth-day in the morning, was held their meeting of ministers and elders; which was to comfort and edification. I found myself concerned to set forth the nature of true Gospel ministry; as also to point out some dangers which, without a steady care and watchfulness, might attend those exercised therein. I hope it was a profitable opportunity to some present. The same day was held the Quarterly Meeting, wherein the Lord was graciously pleased, according to his wonted goodness, to appear for the help of his sincerely concerned labourers. Blessed be his worthy name, he is found of those that truly seek him, and doth not fail those who lean upon him, and not to their own understanding, nor to former experience of his assisting power and wisdom. Truth was greatly in dominion and Friends much edified, the unity of the one spirit being livingly enjoyed.

I went next day, accompanied by Samuel Fothergill, William Backhouse and William Dilworth, to the Quarterly Meeting at Kendal. The select meeting for ministers and elders was held that afternoon; and I had some good open service therein, on the nature of Gospel ministry and the mysterious workings of Satan in his transformations. It was a time of edification and comfort. Next day was held the Quarterly Meeting; the fore part for worship, and afterward for the discipline of the church, wherein I had some service. Things were low: we had a large meeting in the evening, both of Friends and others; it was, through the pure efficacy of divine virtue, a blessed opportunity. I was largely opened in testimony concerning Christ, the divine light, who enlightens every man that cometh into the world. It ended in solemn prayer and praises to Almighty God; our friend Samuel Fothergill being engaged therein, in a very powerful and affecting manner. I staid at Kendal to attend their first-day meetings; at both which, especially the latter, I was very largely opened to declare the Truth with power, which affected and tendered many hearts, there being a great number of Friends, mostly of a younger sort, in that meeting; it having been stripped, like many other places of late, of divers substantial elders. My labour was very earnest, that the rising youth might come rightly under the yoke of Christ, that they might be really prepared and fitted to succeed those who are removed hence, having finished their day's work.

Accompanied by several Friends, I had a meeting at Grayrigg, to good satisfaction. The testimony of Truth went forth with clearness and demonstration, tending to awaken the careless, as well as to strengthen and encourage the honest hearted. I returned to Kendal, and went next day to a general meeting at Windermoor. The Lord's blessed power was livingly felt in that meeting, whereby I was enabled, from the expressions of our Lord to Nicodemus, to show the necessity of regeneration or the new birth; a doctrine highly necessary to be pressingly recommended to the youth in our Society and carefully weighed by them, lest any should vainly hope for an entrance into the kingdom of God, by succeeding their ancestors in the profession and confession of the Truth. A lamentable error! which many I fear have fallen into, imagining they are God's people, without his nature being brought forth in them; or, as saith the apostle, being made partakers of the divine nature, and escaping the corruptions that are in the world through lust. Great opportunity have such by education, the writings of our predecessors, and also by the Gospel ministry with which the Lord hath been pleased to bless our Society, to collect and treasure up a great deal of knowledge in the speculative understanding part, even to profess and confess the Truth in the same words or language made use of, by those who really learned it in the school of Christ. This is no more than an image or picture of the thing itself, without life or savour; and where it is trusted to is an abomination to God and his people.

I have touched the more closely on this head, being apprehensive the danger is very great to which the rising youth are exposed, by dwelling securely and at ease, as it were, in houses they have not built, and enjoying vineyards they never planted; for great are their advantages above others, if rightly improved; otherwise they must increase the weight of their condemnation. I have often

looked upon the mournful condition of those who trust in the religion of their education, to be aptly set forth in the holy Scriptures, by an hungry man dreaming that he eateth, and behold when he awaketh, his soul is empty. Oh, that all may deeply and carefully ponder in their hearts, what they have known in deed and in truth, of the new birth, with the sore labour and pangs thereof! I cannot but believe, if they are serious and consider the importance of the case, that they will soon discover how it is with them in this respect, by observing which way their minds are bent and thoughts employed, whether towards earthly or heavenly things. To those who are born from above or risen with Christ, which is the same thing, it is natural to seek those things which are above; their affections being fixed thereon. So on the other hand, that which is born of the flesh is but flesh, and can rise no higher than what appertains to this transitory world; for flesh and blood cannot inherit God's kingdom; and it is said, those who are in the flesh cannot please God. The apostolic advice therefore, is to walk in the Spirit; that is, let the Spirit of Christ be your guide and director, how to order your lives and conversation in all things; for the children of God are led by his Spirit. I have often greatly feared, lest the descendants of the Lord's worthies, who were full of faith and good works, should take their rest in the outside of things, valuing themselves on being the offspring of such: a sorrowful mistake which the Jews fell into! May all duly consider that it is impossible to be the children of Abraham, unless they do the works of Abraham.

Truth was greatly in dominion that day, and many hearts were much tendered and contrited before the Lord; to whom be everlasting praises, Amen! The next meeting was at the Height, where I had close arousing service, in order to awaken careless formal professors. The day following I had a large meeting at Coltis, near Hawkshead, where I was favoured with great openness upon the nature of true faith, and that it must be evidenced by good works; for faith, when only an assent or consent of the mind to principles of religion true in themselves, being alone, is dead, as a body is, without the spirit. The power of Truth had great dominion, it being a time not easily to be forgotten. The next day I had a meeting at Swarthmore; where also I was led to speak largely of faith, of historical and implicit faith, and to set forth the nature of that faith which was once delivered to the saints, and was their victory over the world and all the corruptions thereof. It works by love, to the purifying of the heart, and when the heart is made pure, we can see God. "Blessed are the pure in heart, said Christ, for they shall see God." And his apostle said, "By faith we come to see him that is invisible." It is plain from the holy Scripture, that it proceeds from the Holy Spirit in man; for it is the evidence of things not seen, and the substance of things hoped for. No man can possibly please God without it. O that mankind would carefully examine themselves, whether or no they be in this faith! If they be in it, they cannot be strangers to Christ, inwardly revealed; for he dwells in the hearts of true believers by faith; his kingdom being within, where all his laws and ordinances are discovered, clearly understood and willingly obeyed. When this faith is received and held in a pure conscience, there is no complaint of hard things being required, or his commandments being grievous; but a soul endued with this powerful principle, can say with sincerity, the Lord's ways are ways of pleasantness, and his paths are paths of peace. It was a good time, and I hope profitable to many.

The next meeting I had was at Preston, near Kendal; there I was earnestly concerned to stir up Friends to more faithfulness and a closer union one with another. It was a laborious time, but the blessed Truth prevailed and carried through, to my own ease in a good degree. The meeting at Brigflats, near Sedburg, was large, and for some time heavy and afflicting; but it pleased the great Master of our assemblies to arise, without whose gracious help his poor instruments can do nothing to any good purpose. It was a solemn awakening time, I hope to be remembered by many. I had a meeting next day at Ravenstondale, which was a laborious trying time: my way was shut up as to ministry, and Friends seemed at ease in a profession. When this is the case, the life of religion is exceedingly depressed; so that those who feel its state, must suffer therewith, until it please the Lord to raise his pure Seed, in judgment against evil in people's minds: then man falls under for the present, and confesses to that name or power given under heaven for his salvation. But alas! he soon denies it again, by giving way to a contrary power; an enemy to God and his own soul. In such ups and downs, changes and conflicts, by the working of contrary powers in their minds, many weary out their days in vain, because they will not resolve to choose the good and to eschew the evil, that they might be established upon the Rock of ages for ever.

The next day I had another meeting at Preston; it was a time of close labour, yet through gracious help, I hope it was service-

able. I went from thence to Yeoland; this was a suffering time, much of the testimony given me to bear, went forth sharply against such who were strong and confident in profession, without real experience of the living virtue and holy efficacy of God's eternal Truth, to quicken and season their spirits. We find it very hard to gain any entrance on such. The testimony is often felt to rebound, which in low times is a great discouragement to the poor instrument. Here the faith and patience of the Gospel must be exercised. I understood after meeting, that the state of some present had been remarkably spoken to that day, which tended to humble my mind in thankfulness before the Lord, for his gracious help and guidance.

After these exercising painful times, doubts are apt to enter and fears to possess the mind, lest we have been mistaken in what we apprehended the Lord required of us to deliver. I say us, as I do not doubt that it has been the experience of many others as well as mine. This ought to be carefully guarded against, lest the poor instrument sink below its service, by giving away its strength and sure defence. The soul's armour and weapons being thus imprudently given away or cast off, our spirits are weaker than those of others, and consequently fall under them. Here that dominion, in which there is ability to teach, may be lost.

There is great danger also, on the other hand, of being too confident and secure. I have observed some, after they have darkened counsel by a multitude of words without right knowledge, and exceedingly burdened the living, appear quite cheerful and full of satisfaction, seeming as if thoroughly pleased themselves. This is a lamentable blindness, and discovers them to be at a great distance from the dictates and holy impressions of Truth. This is what all ought earnestly to pray they may be preserved from, walking carefully in the middle path, retaining a jealousy over themselves, with a single eye to God's honour and the promotion of his Truth. Then will their feet be shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace, and will appear beautiful upon the mountains.

I went from Yeoland to Lancaster, and attended their meetings on first-day, where I had good open service, Truth being comfortably in dominion, and Friends thereby nearly united one to another. From Lancaster I went to meetings at Fylde, Frekleston, Preston, Langtree and Ashton. They were generally small, and the life of religion at a very low ebb. I was favoured with strength to discharge the service required, in a close painful labour for their help and recovery. But alas! great is the declension in those parts, and I fear it is but little laid to heart. The next was Hardshaw general meeting, which was very large, and although heavy and painful in the fore part, yet, through divine goodness, it proved a solemn, serviceable meeting, and by strength and wisdom received from above, divers weighty Gospel truths were delivered, to the comfort and edification of many. That evening I had a large meeting at Warrington; but as heretofore in the same place, I felt their life and dependence was too much upon and after declarations. I found it my duty to disappoint that spirit, by sitting in silence. I went from thence to my valuable friends John and Joshua Toft's, near Leek in Staffordshire, having Samuel Fothergill for company and guide. I had a serviceable meeting at Leek; my labour was close in plain dealing with some, who appeared to me exalted in their own wisdom and conceit of themselves, so that the simplicity of the Truth was overlooked by them.

On fifth-day, the 1st of the eleventh month, accompanied by Joshua Toft, I went to Stafford, and had a small poor meeting there. Next day in the evening we had a meeting at Tamworth, which was large, being chiefly made up with the considerable inhabitants of the town. The public service thereof fell upon my companion, with which I was well pleased, but found my mind not clear of Friends belonging to that meeting, and therefore desired to have a meeting with them next day, at a Friend's house, as I was desirous to have Friends only. I had close searching service amongst them, to my comfort and great relief in the end.

On first-day, the 4th, I was at Birmingham meetings; the forenoon was a good open time, wherein the testimony of Truth was exalted; but the afternoon proved a heavy painful meeting; and my way was quite shut up as to ministry.

Apprehending myself discharged from further service in this journey, on second-day morning I set my face homewards, and got to Northampton that night, next day to Hitchin, and home on fourth-day, the 7th of the eleventh month, finding my dear wife and family well; being thankful, as we had great cause, to the Fountain of all our mercies, for his providential care over us, when outwardly separated for his service sake.

I was from home on this journey, about ten weeks and three days, in which time I travelled, by account, about seven hundred and sixty miles, and was at about fifty-five meetings.

CHAPTER VII.

Travels with John Churchman—visits London in company with Peter Andrews—severe illness—visits the meetings in Kent, Sussex and Hampshire—remarks on the state of Christendom and of the Society of Friends—journey into Lincolnshire, York, Lancaster, &c.

In the year 1754, I travelled with my esteemed friend John Churchman, through Hampshire, the Isle of Wight, and part of Surry; the particulars whereof I cannot at present find; but I remember it was the last of his travels in this nation, and that we were nearly united in the service; the power and wisdom of Truth being livingly and comfortably with us, enabling us to labour with diligence for the promotion of Truth and our own peace.

In the fore part of the year 1756, being in company with my esteemed friend Peter Andrews from America, visiting meetings in the city of London, I was seized with a violent disorder, and it was with considerable difficulty I got home, and soon took my chamber, where I continued many weeks under great affliction of body, and also of mind at times, which I have several times experienced as a further trial of my faith and patience. The Lord has been pleased to withdraw his comforting enlivening presence, I have thought rather more so in those times of bodily afflictions, than at others, for wise ends, best known to himself. Oh! who can understand or conceive the anxiety of the mind when this is the case, except those who have felt the same? But through divine favour, it was not so with me always, especially in the last of my great illnesses, which was the latter end of 1758, when the joys of heaven so opened upon my soul, as I had never known before, which made me willing to hope that I was near entering into the full fruition thereof. How strong were my desires then to be dissolved, and to be with Christ for ever! I was ready to say, now let thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation! But I was not then accepted herein, neither was my mind afterwards free from some fears and doubts, that I had offended a gracious God, by an over-anxious desire to be removed from a militant to a triumphant state. The example of our Lord, though he was the only begotten Son, in addressing the Father, is highly worthy to be ever remembered by us, in all our desires and prayers, viz., "Nevertheless, not my will, but thine be done!"

The above hints may fall into the hands of some poor afflicted persons, to whom they may afford comfort, by observing that they are not singular in their trials, and from thence, through the divine blessings, they may receive encouragement: which is my reason for penning them, as well as many other remarks in the course of this journal; even of my most inward and hidden trials. I have had great cause to bless and praise the Lord, many times since, when I have observed the great advantage of those pinching seasons of affliction, how much they tend to refine, and to establish the soul upon the Rock of ages, yielding the peaceable fruits of righteousness to those who are properly exercised thereby.

I had very little health from the time that I was taken before-mentioned, for about two years; yet was enabled, in 1757, to visit Friends' meetings in Kent, Sussex and some few meetings in Hampshire, &c.

I set out from home the 12th of the seventh month, and crossed the river Thames at Gravesend, where by appointment I met my friend Joseph Taylor, and with him, Joseph Wood and Stephen Jackson, all from London. We went that afternoon to Rochester, where about six o'clock in the evening we had a meeting, there being a meeting-house; though I think but one person, a young woman, who made profession with us. Many others came, and there was an openness to declare the doctrines of Truth largely amongst them, which I hope was not altogether in vain.

From thence we all went to Canterbury, except Stephen Jackson, who returned home. We had a meeting there, made up chiefly of professors with us. The testimony of Truth went forth in a close searching manner, and through mercy, it was exalted over all of a contrary nature. The Lord had the praise, and his sincere followers, satisfaction and comfort.

We had a meeting next at a place called Burchington, where there was a meeting-house, but none of our Society living in that place. The people filled the house, and many were out of doors; they appeared in general ignorant, yet the Lord, with whom there is no respect of persons, opened the doctrines of the Gospel largely, and in a reaching affecting manner, by which many seemed to be tendered.

Next day we had a meeting at Drapers, near Margate, which was small, and things low as to the life of religion. In a very small meeting in the evening at Deal, I had some close service; after which, one person gave me sufficient cause to see that there was need of it.

The next meeting was at Dover, being on seventh-day in the evening, as I was desirous of being at Folkstone on the day following. Truth opened doctrine and counsel for their

help and edification, there being some lately convinced of our principles, who appeared tender and hopeful. I had good satisfaction amongst the few Friends in that place. At Folkstone the meetings were large, but the life of religion mournfully low and borne down, not only with those things commonly called undue liberties in many, but also with the form of religion, without the power of it in others. I had, as it were, a threshing instrument put into my hands, and was enabled to discharge the service required, to my great ease and relief; for my spirit was exceedingly loaded and bowed down at that place. Oh! what a pity it is, that old professors, instead of being as pillars in the house of God, and as Aarons and Hurs, bearing part of the Lord's great work, so happily and gloriously begun in the earth, should be a means of obstructing the same, and by the carnality of their spirits, burden and greatly depress the Word of life in the messengers of Christ, sent in order to carry it on amongst mankind; thereby rendering themselves altogether unworthy to be named by his name, to taste of his dainties, or to live under this glorious manifestation of evangelical light and truth, to mankind!

Is not the great design of the Almighty obvious, in gathering us as a people into his fold, to sit under his teachings, and consequently under his glorious manifestation, showering upon us great plenty of rain from above, and heavenly dew as upon Hermon's hills, that we might be as the garden of the Lord, full of fruitful plants and fragrant flowers, sending forth a sweet smell, yea, to be as a fountain of gardens, and wells of living water, and streams from the goodly beautiful mountains of Lebanon. It is written, "Out of the belly of him that believes, shall flow rivers of living water." By this it plainly appears, that the Lord's chosen people are like conduits, channels, or waterspouts, to convey the water of life into the wilderness, that it may become a fruitful field, and that the desert land may come to rejoice, and blossom as a rose; also into the sea, viz. amongst the nations, languages, tongues and people, to heal the fishes that are in this sea, the backsliders and distempered of mankind.

But oh, how slowly doth this work go on! and what a little progress it hath yet made, to what was expected by those valiants, who first engaged against Babylon in the morning of our day, and made that kingdom shake! Many under the same profession in this day, are turned against the Truth, and at the same time that they pretend to maintain its cause, are supporting and strengthening the kingdom of Babylon all in their power, which is exceedingly strange, and perhaps would not be believed by hundreds that really are doing it. The reason is, they first of all have taken some draughts of the wine, out of Babylon's golden cup, whereby they are so intoxicated, as not to know what they are doing; so that, when they think they are serving God, they are serving satan. Were not the Jews drunk with this cup, when they dreamed that God was their father, and at the same time were in reality of their father the devil, doing his works, when they thought they were doing God's works? This woful mistake has been, and is almost general amongst mankind. When they suppress the measure of grace in themselves, and drink a few draughts as abovesaid, they are then fit to follow anti-christ whithersoever he will lead them. But he will take care, not to have much cross to the will of the flesh in his religion, lest they should be tempted to leave him; that being the very reason of the violence they have offered to the divine Witness, which formerly rose up against them in their minds, viz., because they saw if they followed that, the cross must be taken up, and self must be denied. At this they have stumbled; and although little sense is at present retained thereof, by reason of their intoxication, yet when they are summoned before the judgment-seat of Christ, and the books come to be opened, all will then see things as they really are, which do not at all change their natures, though, by the defect in the capacity before described, they be not seen or understood.

It is worthy to be remembered, and deeply pondered by great numbers in our Society, that it was the rebellion and unfaithfulness of the children of Israel, that was the cause of their being turned back again into a barren, doleful, howling wilderness, when near the borders of the land of promise. They doubtless might have then entered, subdued the idolatrous inhabitants, and taken full possession thereof, had they believed in and obeyed the mighty Jehovah, who with an outstretched arm had brought them out of the land of Egypt, dividing the Red Sea in mercy to them, and for the destruction of their enemies. But what a long wilderness travel they had afterwards, for about the space of thirty-eight years, until all that people had fallen, except Caleb and Joshua, men of upright hearts whom the Lord honoured with being the leaders of an entirely new people to possess the land. Cannot the empty formal professors amongst us, who, under great pretensions, have suffered a heart of unbelief, a rebellious heart, that has departed from the living God, and embraced this present world, read their own condemnation in this account? Shall they ever enter into the heavenly Ca-

naan, or be accounted worthy to carry on his glorious work in the earth? No, verily; but they must fall into great condemnation, except they repent and redeem their misspent time, and another people be raised to maintain this glorious cause, to whom the Calebs and Joshuas in our Society will be as leaders and directors; like Priscillas and Aquilas, to expound unto them, who inquire the way to Sion, the way of the Lord more perfectly; for I am fully persuaded, our Society will not cease to be a people, nor the glory ever depart therefrom wholly, as it did from the Jewish, and in a great degree the lapsed Christian church.

I have no doubt but that a people will be preserved from generation to generation, to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints, and to maintain the same with the doctrine and principles resulting therefrom, so eminently revived in our predecessors, and most surely believed by us. So that when it shall please the Lord to awaken the nations, there will be no occasion to expect new discoveries or other manifestations, but the Lord will show where he feeds his flock, and where they lie down at noon.

I do not expect the present lethargy and almost universal indifference of all denominations of Christians about religion, is to continue very long, for the Lord's soul abhors it. I am fully persuaded he will arise in dreadful majesty, to shake terribly the earth; the power, wisdom, policy and splendor thereof, and not only the earth, but the heavens also, that he may remove those things which can be shaken, that those things that cannot be shaken may remain. Then shall people see how empty and fruitless their religious pretensions have been. Then will their eyes and cries be to the Lord, to show them the pasture of the flock of his companions. Then will mankind receive a kingdom which cannot be shaken. But, oh! the bitter cups that must be drank, and the vials of God's wrath that must be poured upon nations and kingdoms, before mankind in general, will be humbled enough to submit to the yoke of Christ, and to learn of him who is meek and lowly in heart. But he is Lord of lords and King of kings, and can turn and overturn, until the inhabitants of the earth are willing that he should reign whose right it is; "for when the judgments of the Lord are in the earth, the inhabitants of the world will learn righteousness."

Great and marvellous have been the Lord's condescension and goodness, manifested for our help and preservation many ways; upon one whereof I cannot well omit a short remark, viz., the reviving of ancient zeal for the promotion of discipline and good order, which I find is almost general throughout the Society. That spirit of sound judgment, and the burning of that holy fire, which the Lord doth kindle in the hearts of the faithful, has never been wholly extinguished since we have been a people; though in some places, through the neglect of many, it hath burned faintly and languidly. This zeal has of late been much augmented, and the number of those who will not take bribes, that is, through favour and affection pervert judgment, is increased. I pray God, for his great name's sake and his people's preservation, that this good work may prosper! Public ministry, though a great blessing, help and comfort to God's people, may be shunned, evaded, and turned off by individuals: but the church cannot easily lose ground under a godly, impartial administration of sound judgment, and dealing in the way of good order and discipline, as this brings judgment home; thou art the man. Here individuals must condemn the evil, or be disunited from the body, that it may not be infected or endangered by their defection. I went from Folkstone to Maizam, where I had a meeting and some close searching labour, in order to awaken drowsy lukewarm professors. I had meetings also at Ashford, Tenterden and Cranbrooke, where I found things exceedingly low as to Truth and Friends, and but very little of the substance, or even form, to be met with. My spirit was much affected with sorrow and mourning, in viewing the deplorable state of the Society in this county; yet I endeavoured with patience to wade along in my service, and to discharge the duty required of me.

I then proceeded to visit Sussex. The first meeting I had in that county, was Gardner-street. I could find but very few, if any, truly alive in religion there. I had hard close work with the unfaithful in some important branches of our Christian testimony, to which I was immediately led; for I knew nothing of their state by outward information. I had meetings also at Lewes, Brighthelmstone and Arundel; at all which places, I found the life of religion much depressed. My service was close and searching; but alas! carnal professors are very hard to be made sensible of their deplorable condition. From Arundel I went to Chichester, where I had a meeting and good open service, not only to stir up the careless to more fervent labour, but also to encourage and strengthen some tender hearted travellers Zionwards. It was through the holy efficacy of Truth, a blessed time. I went from thence to Alton, in Hampshire, and attended their first-day meeting. There is a large body of Friends, amongst whom the great Master of our assemblies, opened doctrine and counsel suited

to their several states, and the blessed Truth was in great dominion that day.

The next meeting was at Godalming, where I had very close heavy service, being made sensible of much indifference and lukewarmness in some professors. It was often my lot to labour for the stirring up and reviving of such: but alas! it is hard work, yet sufficiently rewarded by the comfortable returns of true peace, in a faithful discharge of duty. The meeting at Staines was pretty open and satisfactory; being livingly engaged to administer suitably to the several states of those present. I went from thence to Uxbridge, where I had open thorough service, to good satisfaction; after which I went to High Wickham, and had a heavy laborious meeting. The same day I had an evening meeting at Amersham, in which I had some service, though things were very low. Next day I had a meeting at Jordans, where the blessed Truth had great dominion, and the testimony thereof flowed forth freely, in doctrine and counsel, for the help and comfort of those present. After this I went to London, where I staid the first-day meetings. I attended Grace-church street in the morning, where I had good service, and the testimony of Truth had great dominion. I went to Devonshire-house in the afternoon, where I had also a good open time to declare the Truth; finding much ease and peace of mind. The service of this small journey being over, I returned home the next day, having been out about four weeks, at twenty-eight meetings, and travelled about three hundred and fifty miles.

The next journey I have any account of, was chiefly in order to visit the Quarterly Meetings of Lincoln, York, Lancaster and Kendal. I set out the 16th of the sixth month, 1758, and by appointment, met Joseph Taylor at Cambridge, who was to be my companion as far as York. It being first-day, we went to their meeting in the morning, which was very small, and things exceedingly low as to the life of religion. We went in the afternoon about ten miles to a general meeting at a place called Over, and I was largely opened therein, in close awakening service, tending to arouse careless professors, of whom there seemed to be many at that meeting. We proceeded as far as Erith, and next day got to Spalding, in Lincolnshire, where we met our worthy friend Mordecai Yarnall, from America, who was then on a religious visit in this nation, and Samuel Neale from Ireland. The 20th in the morning, we set out for Lincoln Quarterly Meeting, which began the next day about noon, and ended the day following. Truth is at a low ebb in this county, and the discipline in the main but poorly managed, and the conduct of divers professors administers cause of offence; yet we were, through the extendings of merciful goodness, favoured with considerable openness and pretty thorough service for their help, and to our own ease in a good degree. My companion and I proceeded on our journey towards York, taking Leeds' first-day meetings in our way, which were large, very heavy and laborious. My proper business was to wade under a great weight, occasioned by the indolent spirits of those who were unwilling to labour and bear their own burdens, in an example of silence. Next morning was held their Monthly Meeting of ministers and elders, where I had close service; and the same day that for discipline, which was exceedingly large, our Society being very numerous thereabout. The testimony of Truth was greatly exalted therein, in treating concerning Christ, the everlasting rock upon which the church is built, whereupon only it can stand firm, against all the attempts of a potent adversary and his emissaries. Next day we went to York, where the same evening was held the Quarterly Meeting of ministers and elders. I had some open service therein, particularly to ministers. We were divinely favoured in the succeeding meetings, both for worship and discipline, to our edification and comfort.

From York I went towards Kendal, and was, in my way, at a Yearly Meeting held on a first-day, in a large barn near Bingley; where, it was thought, were very nearly a thousand people of other religious persuasions, besides many of our own Society. I was largely opened therein to preach the everlasting Gospel, in the authority and demonstration thereof. The people generally behaved in a sober becoming manner, appearing well satisfied, which is too often the most we can say in our day concerning such memorable opportunities; whereas, our predecessors might have added, perhaps, that several hundreds were convinced. However, we must content ourselves with the state or condition of the fields of the world, in our day: and although we cannot lift up our eyes as they could, to behold the fields white unto harvest, yet let there be honest endeavours to contribute all in our power, for the bringing them forward in this respect, and leave the rest to the Lord, in whose hands alone are times and seasons. I had a meeting at Skipton that evening to good satisfaction; then to Settle, and was at their Monthly Meeting, where I had good service, and so proceeded to Kendal, accompanied by divers Friends. The same day was held the meeting of min-

isters and elders, wherein our ancient worthy friend James Wilson had excellent service, to our great comfort and edification. Their Quarterly Meeting of business was held next day, wherein I had good service, in the opening of Gospel life and power. A blessed meeting it was. The Lord alone had the praise, who is for ever worthy thereof! I attended Kendal meetings the first-day following, which were very large and precious; the everlasting Truth and its testimony being exalted over all of a contrary nature, to the great comfort of the upright in heart.

I went, accompanied by our friend James Wilson and many others, to their general meeting at Preston-patrick, which was very large. My service therein, was searching and laborious; not only in a sense of great lukewarmness in some, but also the heart-burnings, disunion, and secret smitings one against another, of others. It seemed to me, that spirit had subtilely prevailed on some accounted of the foremost rank, to their own hurt and the wounding of the innocent life. My spirit had been painfully affected with the same sense of the state of that meeting, in degree, in my former visits to it; but never had so much power and comfortable dominion over it, as at this time, wherein Truth mightily prevailed, to the subduing, at least for the present, all that was of a contrary nature. Near the conclusion of the said meeting, our worthy ancient friend, before mentioned, publicly testified, that the eternal Truth of God was over all, exhorting Friends highly to prize such blessed opportunities, and carefully to improve thereby.

In relating what has been done, in marvellous kindness and condescension, through me a poor weak instrument, towards the help and restoration of my fellow-mortals, I do sincerely desire, if any good is done, the Lord only may have the praise, honour and glory; for he alone is worthy, and nothing belongs to the creature, but humility, reverence, obedience, and laying the mouth as in the dust. I would be so understood throughout the whole narrative, though not always expressed in words.

I went from Kendal to Lancaster. The quarterly select meeting for ministers and elders was first held; wherein our ancient friend James Wilson, bore a noble, evangelical testimony, to the instruction, edification, and great comfort of Friends. Next day was held their Quarterly Meeting for discipline, in which, through the efficacy of divine power, I had some open weighty service. I cannot well forbear remarking the great satisfaction and pleasure I had at this meeting, in beholding and having the acceptable company of three honourable, worthy, ancient Friends, viz., James Wilson, Lydia Lancaster and Grace Chambers; who, I think, all bore living and powerful testimonies therein, in a very affecting manner, to the holy efficacy of that everlasting Truth, which had been with them all their life long. Oh! it was a time of much humbling encouragement, to see their greenness and fruitfulness in old age. I looked upon them as patterns of primitive times and Friends. There is something wonderfully great and excellent, seen only by those eyes which the Lord hath opened, in the native simplicity of the Truth, and that estate into which it gradually brings a man, who, in a total denial of self, has fully given up to be formed by it. This I take to have been very much the case with Friends in the beginning, which rendered them so very obnoxious to the spirit of the world; than which, there is nothing more opposite to a redeemed state: so that the more any are drawn out of the corrupt ways and spirit of the world, the more they are hated by it. This is obvious, when we consider the treatment which Christ our Lord, in whom the Godhead dwelt bodily, met with. If many in profession with us, are nearer in unity and peace with the world now, than our Friends were formerly, let it not be understood as a token of their advancement in the nature and spirit of true religion; but the contrary, viz., that they are fallen nearer thereunto, and become more like it in spirit, though somewhat different as to the exterior part of religion, which the world cares not much for, when it finds that in the main, we are making advances towards them.

Our Friends formerly delivered themselves in ministry and writing, in a plain, simple style and language, becoming the cause they were sincerely engaged to promote; chiefly aiming to speak and write, so as to convey the power and efficacy of the pure Truth, to that of God in the consciences of men. It is no small glory to the righteous cause we are engaged to promote, that it has made such a mighty progress in the world, upon a better foundation than that of human helps and learned accomplishments. The very first and most eminent instruments, raised to propagate the same, were illiterate men, agreeably to what Paul delivers, 1 Cor. i. 26, 27, 28, 29.

May these things be weightily considered by all those who seem to aim at seeking credit to the Society, by means of those outward embellishments, from which our worthy ancients were wholly turned, to seek and wait for that living power and holy authority, which alone is able to carry on the work of man's redemption to the end of time. The depart-

ure from that opened the door effectually for the apostacy to overspread; then human wisdom and learning became, in the estimation of degenerate Christians, essentially necessary to make ministers of the Gospel. But the early ministers and writers in the Christian church, became eminent another way, as we have great reason to believe most of them were illiterate men; and such of them who had attained human learning, when the power of the Gospel was inwardly revealed, laid all such accomplishments down at the feet of Him, to whom every knee must bow, and every tongue must confess; so that we find them counting all that as dross and dung, to which men, in their corrupt wills and wisdom, give the highest place for usefulness, as above-hinted. And I think some amongst us fall very little short of the same disposition of mind, though they do not care to own it in words; for I have many times observed, that some have but little relish or taste for the substantial truths of the Gospel, in a plain, simple dress; nor to read books, holding forth the same, unless they find some delicacy in the style and composition.

An honest substantial minister may wade into the several states of people, in order to bring forth suitably thereunto, in the native simplicity of the Truth, and his labour herein be seen, gladly owned and received, by the circumcised in heart and ears, where his lot is cast; yet the sort of people amongst us above-mentioned, of whom I fear there are many, do not know, nor much regard him, scarcely thinking it worth their while to attend the meetings such a one is engaged to visit. But if they hear of one coming who is noted for learning and eloquence, though perhaps far short of the other in depth of experience, what following after him from meeting to meeting! Enough, if the instrument is not pretty well grounded, to puff it up with a vain conceit of itself, and to exalt it above measure. With sorrow it may be said, that much hurt has been done amongst us, by such great imprudence. I have often seen reason to conclude, that popularity and common applause are no safe rule to judge of the real worth of a minister. Therefore, when I have heard much crying up of any instrument, I have been apt to doubt its safe standing, and holding out to the end; which it cannot possibly do, if the same desire prevails to speak, as there is in such people to hear. I am persuaded, if such keep upon a right bottom, they will, at times, find it their duty to starve and disappoint such cravings after words.

I had an open satisfactory meeting at Lancaster the day after the Quarterly Meeting, in which the holy virtue of Truth greatly united Friends in the bond of love and peace. The 14th of the seventh month, I set out in company with my kind friends Jonathan Raine and wife, William Dilworth, and Tabitha Ecroyd, and lodged that night at Watton, near Preston. Next morning I took my leave of the above said Friends in much near affection, except William Dilworth, who accompanied me to Warrington that day. The next, being the first of the week, I attended Penketh meeting in the morning, and Warrington in the afternoon. At both which, my labour in the ministry was heavy and painful, on account of the formal, lifeless state of too many, who, by their age and long profession, might have been as pillars in the church; as well as the chaffiness and want of solid experience by their not yielding to the visitation of Truth, in many of a younger rank. Thus it is, when heavenly blessings have been showered down upon people, not duly improving thereby, they become more insensible than others who have not been so highly favoured. I was enabled to discharge the service required, in a searching, awakening manner, to my own relief in a good degree.

I went the next day to my worthy friend Joshua Toft's, near Leek, who had then lost his sight, but seemed fresh and lively in his spirit. We had great satisfaction in company and conversation with each other. I staid one day with him and his brother, and then proceeded towards Worcester, taking meetings at Dudley and Stourbridge. I had some open satisfactory service at the first, and a very laborious painful time in silence, at the other, where Truth seemed to me much depressed by wrong things. On seventh-day I went from thence to Worcester, and attended their first-day meetings, and was mournfully affected therein with a sense of lukewarmness in many professors, finding it very hard for the life and power of Truth to arise into dominion, so as to make them sensible of their states. My labour was for the most part in silence, though I had some close public service. I went after the last meeting as far as Evesham, on my way to London, and from thence, the next day home to my dear wife, and found her well; which, together with other favours, I was, through infinite kindness, made a partaker of in this journey, bowed my mind in humble thankfulness to the bountiful author of all blessings, who is alone worthy of dominion and worship for evermore. I was from home about five weeks and five days, and travelled, by account, six hundred and sixty-four miles, and was at thirty-seven meetings.

CHAPTER VIII.

Second visit to Ireland—remarks on holding meetings for discipline on first-days—returns to England and attends the Yearly Meeting in London—proposal by Joseph White of Pennsylvania for appointing a committee to visit the meetings for discipline throughout the nation—journey into the west of England.

I HAVE preserved no account in writing, of my travelling in the service of Truth, after I returned from the last-mentioned journey, until the fore part of the year 1760, when I entered upon a visit to the meetings of Friends in the nation of Ireland a second time; having had it weightily upon my mind, at times, for some years. But when it drew near, I clearly saw the time fixed to set out, which I did the 1st of the third month, in the aforesaid year, and went to London. The 2nd being on first-day, I went to Grace-church street meeting in the morning. My business therein was to set an example of silence. In the afternoon I had good open service at Devonshire-house meeting. On second-day morning the 3d, I went in the Westchester stage coach, and arrived at that city on fifth-day night, the 6th. I went next day to Parkgate, to inquire for a passage, where I found divers vessels ready to sail; yet the wind being contrary, it was uncertain when; some having already waited nearly a month for a fair wind. I returned to Chester that night, and next day was poorly of a cold, having, since my great illness, been very tender in my lungs, and apt to be afflicted with an asthmatic disorder; so that travelling, especially in cold foggy weather, was very unpleasant for me to bear, having endured considerable hardship in my journey from London, by such weather and the motion of the coach. But all was made up, in the sweet enjoyment of that pure love, which makes hard things easy and bitter things sweet. The 9th, being first-day, I was at Chester meeting, where the number of Friends was small, and the life of religion very low; yet it pleased divine Goodness to extend merciful help, giving me openness in the springing up of life, to administer suitably for their advantage, I hope, if rightly improved.

The 10th in the morning, having hired a guide and two horses, I set out for Holyhead, in order to take a passage for Dublin in one of the packets, and got thither about six o'clock next evening. Here I found one of the packets was to sail early next morning. I went on board the 12th, about six o'clock in the morning, and landed at Dublin about six in the evening, the same day, having had an easy passage and civil usage on board, and was kindly received by my open-hearted friends Samuel Judd and family. I was pretty much fatigued with travelling, being also afflicted with a cold upon my lungs, which was aggravated by the thick sulphurous air of Dublin. Yet the pure virtue and holy anointing of the precious Truth, carried through and over all weakness, both of body and mind. My soul being enabled to extol and magnify the God of my salvation, for his gracious support every way; for indeed, humanly looking and judging of things, it might not have appeared prudent, considering my weak and infirm state of body, especially alone, to have undertaken such a journey; but the power of Gospel love gaining the ascendency over all reasonings and consultations with flesh and blood, made me willing to give up life and all, in answering the Lord's requirings, and to pursue what he was pleased to call me to, as far as ability of body would admit. This is a great mystery to the carnal man, but it has as real an existence in a redeemed mind, as that a principle of self-love is the spring of action to an unredeemed mind.

On sixth-day, the 13th, I went to the week-day meeting at Sycamore-alley, where humbling goodness was refreshingly near, and opened the doctrines of Truth largely and livingly, to the comfort of many hearts. On first-day, the 16th, I went to Meath-street in the morning, where I had thorough service, to my own great comfort and ease; though my spirit was much grieved, to view the havoc made amongst Friends in that great city, by undue liberties; but most of all under a mournful sense, that the dragon's tail had drawn some of the stars down again into earthly pollutions, and caused a bad savour. This was offensive to my soul, even as a nuisance in that meeting. May others' harm and miscarriages cause all the Lord's anointed to be very watchful. I went to Sycamore-alley in the afternoon, where the meeting was very large. Silent waiting upon God was my service therein, in which I had peace and comfort; and towards the conclusion, there was an awful solemnity, in a remarkable manner, over the meeting, wherein the excellency of silent worship appeared.

On second-day, the 17th, I went to Baltibois and had a meeting there next day. I had close arousing service therein; the testimony of Truth went forth very sharply against haughty libertine spirits. There I met my good friend Abraham Shackleton, who travelled with me most of the time I was in that nation. Of him, I think, it may be said, as was of Nathaniel, "Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom there is no guile!" He was a

great comfort and help to me, and though he did not appear publicly as a minister; yet he would drop tender advice at times, in families, in a very affecting manner. His whole conversation, looks and deportment, were so leavened and tempered with good, that I looked upon him as a preacher of righteousness wherever he came. I went with him after the above-said meeting, to his house at Ballytore, where next day I had a precious open meeting, and good thorough service therein; the blessed unchangeable Truth being in dominion over all.

The 20th I had a good meeting at Athy, and the next day another at Rathangan, in which there was a wonderful manifestation of the divine power, and much clearness in opening the doctrines of Truth; so that I believe there were few, if any, but were sensibly affected therewith. I hope such great extendings of favour will not be easily forgotten. From thence I went to Edenderry, and was at their meeting on first-day, the 23d, which was a very large meeting, and the power and wisdom of Truth was eminently manifested, in furnishing with ability, to divide the word aright to the several states in that great meeting. It was in much dread and weight, not sparing any rank or station in the Society. All there, I believe, through divine favour, had some share of that day's work; I hope not easily to be forgotten. May the Lord alone have the praise, for he is the author of all the good that is, or can be done. The 25th I had a large meeting at Mount-melick, in which I had thorough service. The labour was somewhat painful, in a sense of indifference, and the insipid formal state of many, as well as the pride and undue liberties of others; both which have sorrowfully prevailed in that nation; yet I found great ease and peace of mind, in the discharge of that weighty concern which was upon me for their help and recovery, and which I hope had a good effect on many.

Next day I had a large meeting at Mountrath. I was enabled to discharge the service required, in a searching manner, that careless professors might be stirred up to their respective duties; and ancient zeal, ardour and beauty, restored to the churches. From thence I went to James Huchinson's, where I had an open serviceable meeting; I hope to the comfort and help of many. The 28th I had a meeting at Ballinakill, where I had a good degree of openness, for the help and encouragement of Friends in the way of well-doing; but things were very low there, as to the life of religion. I went after meeting to Carlow, in order to attend the province six weeks meeting. Many Friends, from the several parts of the province, came to it. It was a large meeting, and considering the low declined state of things, we were favoured with wonderful extendings of heavenly power, wisdom and living virtue, in order to heal and restore backsliding Israel. Great and marvellous is, and hath been, the condescension of the Almighty to his people, through all ages! The doctrine of the Gospel flowed forth freely to the several states of those present, and many were much humbled, in an awful sense of the divine presence, which is the life and strength of God's people. I had a large meeting at the same place on first-day, the 30th, it was a blessed opportunity of favour and saving help extended to those present; surely, if these high benefits are not duly improved, great will be the condemnation of those upon whom they are bestowed.

I went from thence home, with my kind friends Robert Leckey and wife, and had the next day a precious open meeting and good service therein, at the house of our worthy ancient friend Samuel Watson, of Killconner. I went from thence to Ross, where, at the house of Samuel Ely, I had a low afflicting meeting, but little to be felt of the life of religion. I was quite shut up as to ministry. From thence I went to Waterford, where, on the 3d of the fourth month, I had a large meeting; it proved a time of close labour; yet I waded through to my own ease, in a good degree. On the 4th, I had an open precious meeting at Clonmel. Oh, how the heavenly virtue streamed forth in doctrine and counsel, for the help, encouragement, and stirring up of Friends and others, to their religious duty! The great name of our God was adored and magnified.

The 5th I went to Cork and attended their meetings on first-day. They were large, and although the declension from the life and simplicity of Truth is very great and obvious amongst Friends in that city, and many under our name are much defiled with the love of earthly gratifications, preferring their outward interest to that of religion; yet great was the extending of divine love and favour for their help and recovery. The doctrines of the Gospel were thereby largely and livingly opened, I hope to the comfort and help of many, causing the hearts of a sincere, upright minded remnant amongst them greatly to rejoice with thankfulness. On third-day, the 8th, I attended a very large meeting there, both of Friends and people of other religious persuasions; it being appointed for the marriage of our friend Samuel Neale, to a daughter of Joshua Beale, and grand-daughter of our worthy Friend Joseph Pike, deceased. The fore part of this meeting was very cloudy

and painful, but the sincere travail of the upright in heart prevailed with the Lord to arise; then his enemies were scattered, and the glorious powerful Truth shone forth in its beauty, whereby the poor had the Gospel to preach, in the blessed demonstration thereof. It was a time not to be easily forgotten; made so by his refreshing presence, who turned our water of affliction into the reviving wine of his kingdom; to whom, for the multitude of his mercies to his church and people, be humble thanksgiving, sincere obedience, and praises for evermore, Amen!

I went from Cork directly to Limerick, where on the 11th I had a thorough open meeting, and the testimony of Truth was greatly exalted, I hope to the comfort and help of many. I often much admired the divine condescension, in the open visitations of his unmerited love and long suffering kindness, to a greatly revolted and backsliding people. But what we finite creatures cannot comprehend, of his unfathomable regard to the workmanship of his hands, we ought to adore and worship him for, with reverence and awful fear. So be it, saith my soul, both in time and eternity. I went from thence to Killconner-moor, where on first-day, the 13th, I attended their meeting, which was but small, and my service therein was very laborious. The testimony given to bear went forth very sharply against wrong liberties. I was much afflicted, in a sense of the almost desolate state of that meeting, which that worthy man John Ashton, being first himself convinced in that remote place, was the instrument in the Lord's hand, by his savoury circumspect life and labour to gather. I had a meeting in the afternoon at Birr, where there are but few of our Society, but many of the people called Methodists and soldiers came in. The Gospel of life and salvation was largely preached unto them, and the necessity of the new birth pressingly enforced. The nature whereof, from a degree of experience being set forth, the meeting appeared to be generally affected, and I hope it was a serviceable time. Some of the Methodists expressed their great satisfaction after meeting, beyond what I choose to mention.

On the 15th I had a very painful exercising meeting at the Moat. Great indeed, was the distress of my mind, viewing the general hardness and insensibility, as well as the vain frothy light spirits of some. I had very little openness and scarcely any thing to deliver, but under a sense of the Lord's anger being kindled against them, by whom, if they do not repent, they will be rejected. Though I hope there were some few had a degree of tenderness and good desires; but alas! it is a hard lot for such who have a sense of feeling, to be incorporated with a people generally so insensible of the life of religion; but the Lord is all-sufficient for those who put their trust in him. On the 18th in the morning, I had a meeting held at Freeman's, near Old-castle, for our Friends only, in which I had matter and utterance given suitable to the states of the few present, who were pretty much affected with the testimony of Truth. In the afternoon I had a large meeting in Friends' meeting-house at Old-castle. I understood after meeting, they were mostly Papists. I had a large opportunity to publish the truths of the Gospel with considerable clearness; showing the necessity of obtaining victory over sin, through the power and efficacy of living faith in Christ; by whom only, full remission of sin is to be obtained upon sincere repentance; showing in some measure, the great danger of supposing the Almighty hath delegated the power of forgiving sins to any man, or set of men whatever; that all who were desirous to be freed therefrom, must know the work of God's spirit in their hearts, to work that change, or to bring forth that new birth our Lord taught Nicodemus the necessity of. The auditory were generally quiet and attentive, appearing to depart well satisfied. One of the Papists after meeting, expressed much satisfaction with the doctrine delivered. But I understood one or two priests were much offended therewith, yet they said nothing to me; so all passed off quietly, as was my mind, having sweet comfort in the labour of that day.

From thence I went to Coothill, and the 20th was at their first-day meeting, wherein I was largely concerned in a close arousing testimony. It was very sharp against the inordinate love of the world, which, and other undue liberty, seemed to me to have almost laid that meeting waste. Their Monthly Meeting of business was held that day, which to me was another token of their little regard to the great cause of religion and virtue, that they could not find it in their hearts to bestow another day for transacting the weighty affairs of the church, which I have always observed to be the case, where Friends are really alive in religion, and not narrowed up by the love of the world. It hath often appeared wonderful to me, how the professors of Truth dare offer such an indignity to the Infinite Being, and his awful work, as to put it off until it suits them best, and when they are likely to suffer the least disadvantage in that respect to their outward affairs. What is pointed out by the offerings under the law, being of the first year and without blemish? And what is meant by offering the first fruits to the Lord?

Oh, how ungratefully do some act, as if any thing, or any time, was good enough to offer unto Him! I have observed in some places, though I can with comfort say, it was but in very few, that they hold their Monthly and Quarterly Meetings in the afternoon; and having thus limited themselves for time, they seem as if they could spare but little of it in silent waiting, to seek the Lord's blessed assistance, and to look in faith for the pouring forth of the holy Spirit promised in this Gospel day. But I have observed them to enter on the business as they have come out of the world; moving, in these weighty affairs, in man's natural abilities, whereby darkness reigns, and the glorious light and life of Truth is obscured, and they come to be so benighted, as to see no necessity to wait for it. Thus all living zeal and every qualification for carrying on the Lord's work is lost, and vain man thinks he can do without it. I am well assured, by living experience, as well as the practice Truth hath led Friends into in all places, a few excepted, that it is the indispensable duty of our Society everywhere, to dedicate a week-day, viz., a day when they are not debarred by the laws of the land to follow their outward business, for transacting the weighty affairs of discipline and good order; and to meet in the fore part thereof, men and women together, then and there to wait upon the Lord, for the virtue of his holy Spirit; and when they have thus waited a proper time, then the men and women in their separate apartments, with awful fear and a weighty care upon all their minds as in the presence of the Lord, to proceed in their respective parts of this great work; which is the Lord's, and cannot possibly be profitably done but by his immediate assistance. This I leave upon record, as my well grounded testimony for God and his church.

I attended what they called their Monthly Meeting, and on looking a little into the state of things, I found them much out of order, and did not wonder at it, as I found they had dropped their week-day meeting. At my request the women were desired to be present, when much labour was bestowed for their help, particularly to revive their week-day meeting; they agreed to endeavour for it, and made a minute for that purpose in their Monthly Meeting book. But alas! the life of religion seemed to be almost lost; their state being confused and disorderly, by mixed marriages and the neglect of discipline. They appeared part one thing and part another; and, if this was so offensive to God and so distressing to his people under the old covenant, how can it be less so now? But when people's views are carnal and selfish, they regard none of these things, although the hazard is so infinitely great. I had a small poor meeting at Castle-shane next day, where, to my great sorrow and pain, I could not perceive any alive in religion. Some labour in testimony was bestowed, but to outward appearance it took very little effect. I went to Thomas Greer's at Dungannon, and on the 23d had a large meeting at Charlemount, where I was concerned to declare Truth, as utterance was given, in a very close searching manner; not without sharp rebukes to such, who, by defiling liberties, had brought an ill savour and caused the way of Truth to be evil spoken of. My mind was comfortably relieved after the service of this meeting was over, being discharged of a heavy load. The next day I had a very painful and exercising meeting at Ballyhagan. The appearance of the professors was in general plain; but alas! with respect to the life of religion, they seemed in my view, for the most part, like pictures or images. Surely the blindness and stupidity must be exceedingly great, if it be possible for people in that state, to imagine or dream they are the people of God. I was, through divine favour, enabled to clear myself of them, by a sharp, searching and close testimony, in the discharge whereof I had peace. The meeting was very large.

The 25th I went to the province meeting of ministers and elders, held in Lurgan. My spirit was deeply affected therein, with a sorrowful sense that some of the leaders of the people had caused them to err, and by their love for, and eager pursuit after, worldly enjoyments, had largely contributed to obscure the way of the Lord, so that the serious inquirers after the paths which led to peace, could not, by observing their steps, find them out. Oh, what a deplorable state this is! I was favoured with living authority and clearness, to discharge my mind towards such with great plainness, which seemed to fasten closely on some: may they profit thereby, and the end will be answered. The province meeting was held next day, in which I had weighty service. But alas! they are far gone, a few excepted, from the life and power of religion; yet I found much good-will extended for their recovery and help, and the heavenly power wonderfully opened my mouth and enlarged my heart, to deliver suitable doctrine to their conditions, in which I had peace, and many were affected and reached therewith. Oh, how unwilling is the Lord to give up the offspring of his people! I attended Lurgan meeting on first-day, the 26th, which, through the divine manifestations of heavenly power, was indeed a very awakening time to the unfaithful, as well as of sweet refreshment to

the few mourners in and for Sion. I went after meeting to Lisburn, and had a very open satisfactory opportunity there next day. The testimony of Truth went forth in an affecting manner, tendering many hearts, and it was a time of humbling encouragement to the honest hearted. The next day I had a very poor afflicting meeting at Hillsborough, things being very low there.

The 30th I had a very large meeting at Ballinderry, in which I had thorough service. The testimony of Truth went forth with much clearness and demonstration, being, through divine favour, an eminent time, and many states were spoken closely to, I hope to their advantage. On fifth-day, the 1st of the fifth month, I had a meeting at Moyallen, which was a painful cloudy time. The testimony delivered was very searching, in order to stir up careless professors, some of whom seemed, in a great measure, to have deserted the cause of religion, and to have embraced this present world. The 2nd I set out for Dublin, in order first to attend the province meeting for Leinster, and then the Half-year's Meeting, both to be held there in one week. I lodged that night at an inn in Dunlere, and next day got to Dublin. On first-day, the 4th of the fifth month, I went to Meath-street in the morning, where Truth greatly favoured in opening doctrine and counsel, to the edification and comfort of many, as well as in caution and warning to the disobedient and lukewarm professors. In the afternoon at Sycamore-alley, we had a laborious painful time of silence, to which, perhaps, the expectation and desire of the people after words might not a little contribute. On second-day, the 5th, was held their province meeting of ministers and elders. It was a painful heavy time, but through divine favour, some relief was administered towards the conclusion. Next day was held the Quarterly Meeting for Leinster province, in which I had open thorough service, both in ministry and also in relation to good order and the discipline of the church.

On fourth-day the 8th of the fifth month, at the third hour in the afternoon, began the national meeting of ministers and elders, wherein the Lord was pleased to open profitable instruction, to the comfort and edification of many. Next day we had a meeting for worship in the morning, wherein divine favour was plentifully extended, and the doctrine of Truth largely opened. The meeting of business for the whole nation was held in the afternoon, in which a degree of divine wisdom and strength was administered for our help.

On sixth-day morning was held a large meeting for worship at Sycamore-alley, which was overshadowed with heavenly goodness, and the testimony of Truth went forth freely, being much exalted. In the afternoon the affairs of the church continued; and on seventh-day, both the fore and afternoon were employed in them. Divine goodness was comfortably near, for the help and recovery of a declined people, stirring up the hearts of some, as he did the heart of Nehemiah formerly, to seek the prosperity and welfare of the city of God. I found a considerable alteration for the better, by some revival and growth in the life of religion, amongst Friends in this nation. That painful flatness and insensibility, under a sense of which I formerly mourned sorely, did not appear so generally to overspread the churches now, as then; though in some places it was rather worse than better; yet I think, upon the whole, things were mended in a religious sense. The Lord in merciful kindness to them, not only sent divers substantial instruments from distant parts to visit them; but also, as before noted, moved upon the hearts of some amongst themselves, to labour for restoring ancient comeliness, by visiting their Monthly and Quarterly or province meetings, for the promotion of good order and discipline; the reviving whereof, in the wisdom which is from above, proves an effectual means to increase and exalt the virtue and power of true religion. A concern of this nature came weightily upon the national meeting at this time, in the feeling whereof, under the holy influence of heavenly light, Friends nominated a certain number to visit the Monthly Meetings in Leinster province.

I cannot well omit making a remark upon appointments, as I apprehend some have, by the subtlety of satan, been prevailed upon to reject them: I believe all such do not design an injury to the Society; but he who deceives them, intends thereby to obstruct the great and necessary engagement of maintaining good order and discipline. I ardently desire, that all who undertake to move and act in the church of God, may be well informed what is the spring of action to them, and moves them therein. If it be the spirit of God, they dare do nothing against the Truth, but all in their power in order to promote it, that being their greatest delight. But if it be self, it will seek its own honour and be very fond of victory, and be disgusted when it cannot rule and carry matters in its own way.

On first-day, the 11th, many country Friends being yet in the city, we had, it was thought, the largest meeting known at such a time for many years, and by the blessed dominion of the everlasting Truth, it was a time of great favour. The sincere hearted were

sweetly comforted, the disobedient warned, and in the free powerful opening of Gospel life, much doctrine and counsel were administered, tending to beget faith in the eternal power of God. The afternoon meeting was, for the most part, held in awful solemn silence. On second-day was held a meeting of ministers and elders, wherein divine goodness was pleased to open the free Fountain of life and healing virtue; in whom we had to rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory. His name was greatly exalted, magnified and adored amongst us.

After this meeting, apprehending myself quite clear of any further service at this time, having through infinite kindness, been much favoured and enlarged therein, through most parts of the nation, but more especially at the late great meetings in Dublin, I was very earnest in my mind to embark for England, and so to leave things whilst fresh and well; always having an aversion to loitering amongst Friends until they flatten. But though there were several ships ready to sail for Parkgate, I could not get away till after their week-day meeting on third-day, in Meath-street; to which meeting, I must say, I went with considerable reluctance, for the reason above mentioned. But we are very short sighted creatures; for notwithstanding my unwillingness to be at it, this meeting proved a memorable time: many country Friends being still in the city, it was a solemn taking leave one of another, in the precious flowing of the holy unity of the one Spirit.

Next day about noon, in company with seven Friends intending for the Yearly Meeting in London, I embarked on board the Kildare, captain M'Culloch, and landed at Parkgate about ten o'clock next morning, where we hired horses and proceeded towards London. When we had travelled as far as Coventry, apprehending I might reach home, so as to have three whole days with my family before the Yearly Meeting; and it being but about twenty miles more riding, I concluded to do so; my kind friend Robert Leckey agreeing to bear me company. This being on seventh-day, the 17th, we got to Northampton that night, and staid their meeting next day, which was small, and the life of religion appeared to me very low there. The meeting was held in silence. I got home on third-day, the 20th of the fifth month, 1760, finding my dear wife and family in good health, to our mutual joy and thankfulness to the Lord, who leads out, carries through, and brings home again in peace, those who trust in him. Blessed and praised be his worthy name for ever! I was indeed largely favoured in the before mentioned journey, of which, for my encouragement to give up in humble confidence in the Lord's power, I had a clear sight before I entered upon it, which I esteemed a high favour. I was from home about twelve weeks and three days, travelled in that time upwards of one thousand three hundred miles, and was at about fifty-eight meetings.

Our friend Robert Leckey, myself and wife, went to the Yearly Meeting in London, which began on seventh-day the 24th of the fifth month, for ministers and elders. These meetings I hope will be of great service throughout the Society in these nations; as inquiries are there made, by calling for answers from the several parts, to certain queries agreed on, relating to the conduct of Friends in the stations above-mentioned; and advice administered as occasion may require. Common reason will inform us, that when the main pillars give way, the building must inevitably fall. It is therefore prudent to take due care concerning them. An eminent servant of the Lord wisely observed to this effect, viz. That there never was an apostasy from the life and purity of religion, until the ministers and elders gave way. How important then are their stations, and what great need have they themselves, and likewise the church, carefully to observe whether or no they stand upright, seeing so much depends thereon. On second-day following was opened the Yearly Meeting of business, which continued, by adjournments, most or all the week; being a solemn weighty meeting, of very great importance to the Society: careful inquiries are there made, into the state thereof, in order to communicate such help, as in the wisdom of Truth may appear proper and necessary.

I am free to give a short account here, of the beginning of a very important affair which came before this Yearly Meeting, as I shall have occasion hereafter to make some mention of its progress and success, viz. A nomination of Friends, to visit all the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings of Friends in this nation, for their help, in promoting good order and discipline in the several parts. Upon reading the answers to the usual queries from the several Quarterly Meetings, great slackness and unfaithfulness appeared in divers places, in some weighty branches of our Christian testimony, notwithstanding the great and earnest endeavours made by the Yearly Meeting from year to year, by way of advice, caution and counsel. The sense of this deeply affected some minds, who, in humble prostration before the Lord, were ready to say, What wilt thou do for thy great name's sake, to heal the backslidings of thy people? A Friend under this exercise, and in an

awful sense of the divine presence which was near, stood up, and taking notice of the apparent defection, remarked, that as all the means hitherto used by the truly Christian labour of preceding Yearly Meetings, had not proved sufficient to stop the declension, which seemed rather to increase; it now behooved that meeting, deeply and weightily to consider what remained yet to be done for the help and recovery of the Society, to its ancient purity and comely order, or to that import.

This seemed to open the way for our worthy friend Joseph White of Pennsylvania, who was then upon a religious visit in this nation, to lay before the meeting what he said had been much upon his mind most of the time since he landed, and which seemed to increase in clearness and weight as the Yearly Meeting drew near; and that he now found it was the proper time to deliver the same, viz. That the Yearly Meeting should appoint a suitable number of solid, weighty, judicious Friends, to visit all the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings in England, to use their Christian endeavours, in the love of God, for the promotion and revival of wholesome discipline, and the comely order of the Gospel in the churches. Great was the solemnity which covered the meeting, during its deliberation on this very important affair. The weight of the heavenly power was so exceedingly awful, that it was very hard for any contrary spirits to appear; yet objections against appointments for such services were advanced by some. It was therefore proposed, that Friends who found a concern on their minds to engage in the undertaking, would give in their names. The Lord's heavenly power being at work, like leaven, in the meeting, a wonderful time of divine favour it was, wherein about fifty-eight offered themselves accordingly.

Before I insert any account of the progress made in the above-mentioned service, I have to take notice of a journey into the West of England, in company with my friend Richard Brewster, which I entered upon the 9th of the ninth month this year. We went to Plaistow Monthly Meeting, where, unexpectedly, I had some pretty close service. Next day, being joined at London by my esteemed friend Thomas Corbyn, we proceeded on our way, in order to attend the Circular Yearly Meeting for the western counties, to be held at Wotton-under-edge, in Gloucestershire, which began on first-day, the 14th of the ninth month, and ended on the third-day following. Many of our Society from divers parts, attended, and a vast concourse of other people, who generally behaved in a becoming manner, carrying themselves very respectfully to Friends, and I hope the meeting was in the main, serviceable; yet the heavenly power was not exalted to so high a degree, as those, whose life and all is in it, could have desired. It is that alone which is able to open peoples' way rightly to our Sion; not the finest and most consistent set of principles, curiously set forth and displayed, without it. All ministers should therefore upon all occasions, eye that divine power as the thing we stand in need of, otherwise the work will be marred.

We went from Wotton to Ann Young's at Earthcott, and had a close searching meeting at Thornbury on fourth-day. Things were very low there as to the life of religion. We had a meeting next day at Earthcott, wherein the testimony of Truth went forth very sharply against dry, formal, and disorderly professors. Our friend Isaac Sharpless, was at this meeting. We attended the meeting at Bristol on sixth-day, where Truth and its testimony were exalted over wrong things; and unfaithful, disorderly walkers, were warned in the dominion and authority thereof, and the humble, sincere traveller Sion-ward, comforted: it being through the divine blessing, a good profitable time. In the afternoon was held their meeting of ministers and elders, wherein we had some very close work with a troublesome impostor, who had given Friends there much uneasiness, by his unsavoury and unsanctified public appearances. The judgment of Truth was set over him, though he was very unwilling to submit thereto. On first-day, the 21st, we attended three meetings there; and notwithstanding the mournful declension so visible amongst Friends in that city, yet the Lord graciously appeared for their help and recovery; opening the doctrine of truth in a clear and plentiful manner to their several states, with which many appeared pretty much affected. And although there is yet much cause to lament their degeneracy, yet I hope and believe there has been a considerable reviving in the best sense, amongst some of them, especially the youth, since I was there before.

On second-day morning we had a thorough arousing meeting at Portshead in Somersetshire, and in the afternoon a large meeting at Clareham; the latter was exceedingly cloudy and afflicting for a considerable time; but at length it pleased the Lord to arise and to give the word, with understanding to divide the same in a plain, powerful manner, and a very awakening time it was. It went forth very sharply against indifferency and empty formality, which greatly depressed the true Seed in that meeting: I hope it was a profitable

time. On third-day we had a very open, serviceable meeting at Sidcot; the testimony of Truth flowed forth freely to the several states of those present. After meeting we went to Bridgewater. On fourth-day was held the Quarterly Meeting for Somerset. In the forenoon we had a large meeting for worship, both of Friends and others; some previous endeavours, I understood had been used, to invite the neighbours, which I think was not well judged, neither should I have encouraged it at such a time, had I been consulted. The leadings and pointings of Truth should be always minded, in calling or inviting people of other persuasions to our meetings; for I have sometimes thought them a bar in the way of dealing suitably with professors of the truth, and therefore it is my judgment, they should not be called to our meetings, unless those who travel in the service of Truth signify their desire to have it so, to those who have the care of appointing meetings. The power of the Gospel, opening and exalting the doctrine thereof, was livingly and comfortably extended in that meeting; yet I apprehended, other people were then rather in the way of our handling the state of some professors there, in a manner Truth would have led to, had Friends been by themselves. The meeting of business followed, and was adjourned till the afternoon, wherein Truth appeared to the help of those who know their sufficiency to be of God. We who were strangers, had good service therein.

Next morning we parted with my friend Thomas Corbyn, who returned home, and my companion and I proceeded on our journey. We had a meeting at Taunton on fifth-day morning, and at Milverton in the evening. At both which I had close service, tending to stir Friends up to more lively zeal and religious concern of mind. On sixth-day we had a painful laborious meeting at Wellington. The testimony of Truth went forth very close and sharp against those who, under the profession thereof, bow down to the world and its perishing enjoyments. It appeared to me, the life of religion was much depressed in that meeting. On seventh-day we had a meeting at Collumpton, which was cloudy and trying most of the time; yet towards the conclusion, Truth obtained the victory, and considerable dominion over things of a contrary nature to itself. We went after meeting to Exeter, and on first-day, the 28th, were at two meetings there; and although their number appeared considerable, yet that holy living sense and weight of divine virtue, which is the crown and diadem of all our religious assemblies, was very low, and little felt, through the slackness and lukewarmness of professors, consequently, not much could be done towards exalting Truth's testimony amongst them. On second-day we went to Bovey, and had a poor, laborious meeting, there being very few, if any, that I could find, truly alive in religion. When that is felt to be the state of any meeting, oh! what pain and anxiety cover the hearts of poor travellers in the service of the Gospel! The next day we went to King's-bridge, and on fourth and fifth-days attended the Quarterly Meeting for Devonshire held there; wherein the great Master of our assemblies graciously condescended to their very low, weak and unskilful state, opening doctrine and counsel for their help; furnishing with close admonition to such in high stations, who indulged either themselves or their families in undue liberties, tending to lay waste a people whom the Lord, by an out-stretched arm, gathered out of the fashions and changeable customs of a vain world, to himself, the unchangeable Fountain of good.

On sixth and seventh-days we travelled to Penryn in Cornwall, and had two open, precious meetings at Falmouth on first-day, the 5th of tenth month. On second-day we went to Penzance, where, on third-day, was held the Quarterly Meeting for Cornwall. Truth wonderfully appeared in that meeting, considering their low, weak and unfaithful state. The testimony thereof was exalted, and went forth with clearness and good demonstration to their states, and the meeting appeared to be much affected therewith. There was also something very encouraging to the honest-hearted; and I hope it was a time of awakening and profit to many. In the evening we had what was called a select meeting, for ministers and elders; but it was so far from select, that the service seemed to be wholly obstructed, by the crowding in of many who were not fit to be admitted into such meetings; where ministers and elders may, and often are concerned to use such freedom, in advice, caution and counsel, as would be altogether unsuitable for those who are raw and inexperienced to be privy to, as they might be likely to make improper use of it. I laid before Friends the hurt and disadvantage of such a promiscuous gathering, upon that occasion, and advised them to be careful not to lay waste the service of those meetings for the future; for I found myself much straitened, as I could not, with prudence, deliver what seemed to appear before the view of my mind at that time, for the reason above-mentioned. On fourth-day, the concluding meeting was held at Market-Jew, wherein Truth and the testimony thereof were comfortably exalted. But, alas! sorrowful is the declension of the

Society in those parts, both as to number and a holy living zeal; yet merciful goodness was largely and affectingly extended for their help and recovery.

From thence we took the following meetings in our return to Plymouth, viz., Austle, Liskard and Germains, where I found the life of religion mournfully low and depressed; yet the Lord was pleased to open the way to some, I hope, profitable endeavours for their revival, in the exercise whereof I had peace. I attended Plymouth meetings on first-day, the 12th. This was a very painful, laborious time, as but very little of the life and holy efficacy of true religion had place; most under our profession having made large advances towards the world, and but few being endued with Christian courage to make a stand against prevailing undue liberties. The state of a meeting being thus, oh, how doth death, darkness and insensibility gain the ascendency! My spirit was deeply afflicted at that place, yet I was through divine favour, enabled to clear myself of the service required; whereby I had some relief. We travelled from thence directly to Exeter, and on third-day attended a meeting appointed for the accomplishment of a marriage. Truth mercifully opened the way to some satisfaction, in the discharge of the service required, to the advantage of the meeting. From thence we went to Chard, and had a very small poor meeting on fifth-day morning, and were deeply affected with their low weak state. I had a pretty thorough serviceable meeting in the afternoon, at Ilminster; though I felt much pain of mind there also, in a sense of that which hath almost laid our Society waste in some, and exceedingly hurt it in most places, viz., the inordinate love of earthly things, and resting satisfied in a profession of religion only.

We took the following meetings in our way to Bath, viz., Yeovil, Long-Sutton, Grinton, Shipton-Mallet, Froome, Hallowtrow and Belton; where things, as to the life and true sense of religion, appear but low in general; yet merciful kindness was extended, in a lively and powerful manner, both immediately and instrumentally, in order to quicken, restore and turn again backsliding Israel. On first-day, the 26th of the tenth month, we attended two meetings at Bath, which were painful and very afflicting, as the grandeur, friendship, and vain customs of this world, seem to have almost erased from most of their minds, the desire of seeking happiness in another: yet merciful condescension was remarkably extended, in some earnest and awakening endeavours, to bring them to a right sense of things. On second-day morning we set our faces homewards, where, to my great satisfaction I arrived on fourth-day in the evening, and found my dear wife and family well; having been out on this journey seven weeks and two days, in which time we travelled upwards of eight hundred miles, and were at about fifty-one meetings.

CHAPTER IX.

Joins with the committee of the Yearly Meeting in a visit to the meetings for discipline in Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdon, the Isle of Ely, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, &c.—remarks on the low state of the discipline in many places, and their labours for a revival—their manner of proceeding in the service—importance of a right qualification for managing the affairs of the church—report to the Yearly Meeting in 1762—his visit to London and adjacent meetings, &c.

Pursuant to the direction and appointment of the Yearly Meeting of 1760, for visiting the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings of Friends in this nation; on the 11th day of the first month, 1761, my esteemed friends, John Emms, Matthew Mellor, Thomas Corbyn and Joseph Taylor, joined me at Chelmsford, we having before agreed, by divine permission, to visit the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings of Friends in Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, the Isle of Ely, Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire. The next day, being the 12th, our Monthly Meeting was held, wherein the above-named Friends had good service, tending to promote discipline and good order amongst us. The blessed efficacy of the living Word accompanied their honest labours, which rendered the same very acceptable to some, and I hope of general advantage for the promotion of truth.

The 14th we visited Felsted Monthly Meeting, held at Stebbing; the state of which appeared very low and weak, through the defection and lukewarmness of many members, whereby the life of religion was greatly depressed; yet the Lord was graciously pleased to arise, for his great name and people's sake, in whose living power and wisdom much labour was bestowed for their help and recovery; a few sincere-hearted members amongst themselves, joining with us herein. The 16th we visited Thaxsted Monthly Meeting, and it appeared, by inquiry, that many of their members were very slack and defective in divers branches of our Christian testimony; and most of the active members had but little experience in the essential qualifications for effectual service in the church, which must

all proceed immediately from the great Father of lights and spirits. It would be very absurd to imagine that a less or inferior ability to administer justice and sound judgment, was necessary under this higher and more glorious dispensation, than was received by those who judged and ruled for God in the Israelitish church; it being evident the Lord was pleased to put his spirit upon those who had the weight of the affairs of that church upon them, both in their wilderness state of probation, and after they quietly possessed the promised land. But the supernatural endowment, which is so essential, is not within our reach as men, neither is it given to us, until we are emptied of our own wisdom and divested of all dependence upon human accomplishments.

Our holy Head was pleased to furnish us with wisdom and strength, suitable to the state of that meeting, for their information and help; and the blessed virtue of Truth prevailed, to the tendering of their spirits. The next Monthly Meeting visited was Coggeshall, on second-day the 19th, but as I did not attend it, I cannot say further, than that I understood it was a serviceable time; much weighty advice and counsel being administered, to mutual satisfaction and comfort. The 21st we visited Colchester Monthly Meeting, where, though the life of religion appeared low, and several disorders had crept in, yet divine goodness was extended in a powerful manner for their help, enlightening the spirits of some to search the camp, and to point out how to proceed in restoring that which had been turned out of the way. The 22nd, Manningtree Monthly Meeting was held at Colchester, in which, through the pure efficacy of heavenly love and wisdom, much fervent labour was bestowed, for the awakening and stirring up the members to a faithful discharge of their respective duties. But, alas! through the great unfaithfulness of many, discipline was but little maintained, in a manner agreeable to its dignity and worth; consequently the life of religion was very low.

From Colchester we went to Edmundsbury, in Suffolk, and visited their Monthly Meeting the 24th. It was a time of remarkable favour, Truth bowing the spirits of Friends into an humble, teachable state, and at the same time, affording plenty of suitable counsel, which was kindly received by divers members of that meeting, with whom we had near union and great satisfaction; several being willing to engage in the work of reformation, which appeared necessary. The 26th we visited Woodbridge Monthly Meeting, in which the Lord, according to his wonted merciful kindness, appeared not only in spreading the awful canopy of his divine power over the meeting, but also in graciously condescending to be a spirit of judgment and counsel, for the help and recovery of a declining people; under the enjoyment of which divine favour, much labour was bestowed, and as far as appeared, was well received. The 28th we visited Beccles Monthly Meeting, where things appeared very low and much out of order; the spirit and wisdom of man appeared much to rule and act amongst them, which is fond of smoothing over and daubing with untempered mortar, crying peace when there is no peace. In this difficult mournful state of things, the divine helper, in whom our only dependence remained, was near, giving judgment to assign the living child to the proper mother, and to judge down wrong things, in whatever stations they appeared.

The 29th we visited Tivetshall Monthly Meeting in Norfolk, in which, though large, being composed of many members, yet very great slackness and unfaithfulness appeared in divers important respects. Notwithstanding this, we had, with thankful acknowledgments, to experience the awful presence of the Lord, who is the only strength and sufficiency of his little ones; under the blessed influence whereof, great and deep labours were bestowed, for reviving our Christian discipline, and promoting the good order of the Gospel; the testimony of Truth being maintained against wrong things in that meeting, with authority and clearness; the power thereof subjecting, for the present at least, all of a contrary nature to itself. On the 2nd of the second month, we visited the Monthly Meeting of Wymondham, wherein, on the usual inquiries, things appeared very afflicting, through the great defection of many; the few who were concerned for good order, were weak and much discouraged, so that very little was done to maintain our wholesome discipline, by visiting and labouring with the unfaithful and disorderly walkers: yet the Lord, in great condescension, appeared wonderfully for their and our help, extending much advice and counsel, and giving us wisdom and strength to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints; which faith is to be demonstrated by works consistent therewith. The testimony of Truth was greatly exalted over all such, as through a mean compliance with wrong things, had mournfully deviated therefrom.

The 3d we visited their meeting of ministers and elders at Norwich, where the state of the members was inquired into, by means of queries proper to such meetings; and solid

and weighty advice was given, where any deficiency appeared. Although I have not before now, distinctly mentioned our visits to select meetings, yet we had such opportunities in most or all the Monthly Meetings where such meetings were settled. On the 4th of the second month, we visited the Monthly Meeting of Norwich, which was very large, consisting both of the men and women Friends; it being our method, in our labours at the Monthly Meetings, to have the company of both sexes. Through the overshadowing of divine power, it was a solemn awful time, of which Friends in general appeared to be sensible, as a remarkable stillness and patience was abode in, for the space of about six hours and a half, being the time of the meeting's continuance. Though a motion was made sooner for our women Friends to withdraw, lest some weak constitutions might be injured by long sitting, &c., yet their spirits being stayed and bowed down under a sense of heavenly good, they did not accept the liberty given, but continued to the breaking up of the meeting. We found a valuable body of Friends in that city, and discipline in the main, well supported; yet there appeared great danger of the prevalence of earthly mindedness in some, and grandeur and wisdom above the simplicity of the Truth in others; which, if not guarded against, might intrude itself to act and govern in the church; of which Friends were warned, and through the effectual opening of the fountain of wisdom and knowledge, much caution and counsel were administered, to mutual edification and comfort.

On the 6th of the second month we visited the Monthly Meeting of North-Walsham, where we found an honest sincere remnant concerned to maintain the principles of truth, by a conduct consistent therewith; yet a great defection appeared in some important branches of our Christian testimony; the Monthly Meeting not having discharged its incumbent duty, by way of admonition and dealing with such members. Truth opened our way in much plainness and close labour, in order to bring the unfaithful to a right sense of their states, and to revive and promote our Christian discipline, as a means to restore ancient beauty, and a good savour amongst men. The path of the just, in which our worthy predecessors carefully walked, was clearly opened before Friends in that meeting; the judgment of Truth being set over those who had erred and strayed therefrom, in this day of outward ease and liberty.

The 9th we visited Wells Monthly Meeting, in which humbling goodness prevailed, to the great comfort and strength of the upright-hearted; in a living sense of the free extendings whereof, much labour was bestowed to restore good order and discipline in every part, by first endeavouring to remove those impediments which appeared in the way. It was a time of sweet comfort in a faithful discharge of duty. The 11th we visited Lynn Monthly Meeting, wherein our spirits were deeply afflicted under a cloud of darkness, which seemed to overshadow that meeting, occasioned by the prevalence of wrong things in many of the members, and their great neglect of the due execution of wholesome discipline. Much labour was bestowed in order for a regulation, but, alas! great weakness and unskilfulness appeared; neither was there that openness to receive help, which we could have desired in the general. I may also add, we had fresh occasion to say, that nothing but an understanding renewed from above, is capable of labouring successfully for maintaining our Christian discipline. Oh! that this important point was duly considered by all active members.

The 13th we visited the Monthly Meeting of Wisbeach, in the isle of Ely; it was a small meeting, as but few members belong thereto. By inquiry, it appeared that slackness and disorder had prevailed on some, and things in general were but low; yet an openness was felt to receive proper advice and counsel, which, through the gracious extendings of heavenly help, were freely and largely communicated. We had cause to believe Truth was at work in the hearts of a few, in order to prepare them for service; having ease and satisfaction in our labour amongst them, and hoping this visit would prove of considerable help to that meeting. The 17th we visited the Monthly Meeting at Ives, wherein we had painful labour, and found things much out of order, which caused darkness to be felt, and an ill savour; some of the active members did not appear to us rightly to know what spirit they were of. We found they were not one with us in our service, which was indeed very close and searching to all stations in the church, as it appeared all had need of help, and to look more narrowly to their standing. Divine goodness was graciously with us, and carried us through, to our ease and satisfaction in a good degree. But alas! we have cause to see, that our discipline does not prosper when managed with unsanctified hands.

The 18th we visited Hadingham Monthly Meeting, and found things very low, as to the life of religion, consequently as to good order and discipline; yet some appeared hopeful, tender, and desirous of a proper regulation in the affairs of the church, with whom we had

good satisfaction in our labour for their improvement, which I hope was not in vain. The 20th of the second month, we visited the Monthly Meeting of Royston, in Hertfordshire; the state of which appeared much out of order; discipline was in the main neglected. Very deep and painful was our labour, under a mournful sense of that gross darkness which had prevailed, by reason of unfaithfulness; yet the Lord was graciously with us, and the testimony of Truth was exalted over the heads of disorderly walkers, and all those, who, by a mean temporizing spirit, had violated some principal branches of our Christian testimony. We were unanimously of opinion, that the Monthly Meeting of Royston, in its present state, was too weak to manage the weighty affairs proper to a Monthly Meeting, and therefore proposed its being joined to Baldock and Hitchin; which, upon a solid deliberation, was agreed to, and has been since effected, to the great satisfaction of Friends who have the prosperity of Truth at heart. The 23d we visited Hertford Monthly Meeting, in which heavenly wisdom and merciful help, as at other places were largely extended, to the encouragement of a few sincere labourers amongst them, as well as to the warning and stirring up of careless, unfaithful professors; for there appeared much slackness in many, in not improving those talents God had given them.

The 24th, we visited those under our profession at Coterhill-head, called a Monthly Meeting; but, alas! upon inquiry, we found very little was done of the business proper to a Monthly Meeting; neither was it held in due course, but rather occasionally, for some particular purposes. When the state of the members appeared, we did not marvel thereat, seeing most of them were unfaithful in regard to that important testimony against tithes and other anti-christian demands of that nature: other great disorders also had crept in, nor can any other be reasonably expected; for where persons are so void of a right zeal, as to sacrifice that noble testimony, they have not strength to maintain other branches in a consistent efficacious manner; so that where this defection has prevailed, we have observed the most essential part in religion, amongst us as a people, has fallen with it: meetings for worship and discipline are neglected, and if sometimes held by such, they are to little good purpose, and plainness and self-denial are departed from. This hard, dark, tithe-paying spirit is so blind, as to see but little in any branch of our testimony, wherein there is a cross to the carnal mind.

Upon solid consideration we did not think, that using endeavours to regulate the meeting, in its situation at that time, would answer any good purpose; but the thing pointed out to us in the light of Truth, was its being dissolved, and the members thereof joined to Hertford Monthly Meeting. This had been endeavoured for several years, both by their Quarterly Meeting, and also several committees of the Yearly Meeting, which had not till now proved successful, as the consent of most of the members could not be obtained. But this meeting, through divine favour, was wonderfully overshadowed with a solemn weight of heavenly power, which awed and tendered their spirits, and at the same time mercifully enabled us clearly to demonstrate, that they contended only for the name of a Monthly Meeting; seeing the service of such a meeting was not answered, scarcely in any instance. They at length generally yielded, and a minute was made to propose a junction with Hertford, which is since effected, to the great ease and satisfaction of Friends. I cannot well avoid remarking here, the very great hurt and obstruction to the progress of Truth, which I have divers times, with sorrow of heart, observed to arise by some active members, from private views, strenuously withstanding the pointings of divine wisdom, for the help and preservation of the body, which doubtless is in the Lord's sight, a crime of a very offensive nature; therefore all should greatly dread being in any degree guilty thereof. Let us, at all times, carefully examine what ground we act upon in the church of God, whether we always preserve the single eye, being clothed with that pure charity which seeketh not her own, and filled with that universal spirit, that carefully promotes the good of the whole, without respect of persons.

The 25th we visited Hitchin Monthly Meeting, where we found a valuable solid body of Friends, and discipline well maintained in most of its branches. Heavenly goodness overshadowed that meeting, whereby understanding was given to administer suitable caution and counsel; particularly to point out the great danger of sitting down at ease, in a becoming decent form, even after being eminently favoured, both with the dew of heaven and the fatness of the earth; notwithstanding which, there must be a persevering in an earnest labour for daily bread, seeing nothing beyond this can be attained by us, whilst in a militant state. At the Monthly Meeting of Ampthill in Bedfordshire, on the 27th, the Lord's awful presence being near, as, through infinite mercy, was generally the case, opened the way for a close and diligent inquiry into the state of that meeting. Things appeared low and pretty much out of order; the active

members here, as in many other places, having neglected a deep and painful labour for a better regulation. Endeavours were used, in order to stir up and provoke to love and good works, by diligently extending a care over the whole flock, that so all might be brought into the comely order of the Gospel.

On the 28th we visited Luton Monthly Meeting; it was small, slackness and the want of right zeal appeared; also some disorders had crept in, yet there seemed openness in the minds of Friends to receive advice and counsel, which, through divine aid, were largely administered; and I hope the labour of that day was beneficial to divers of the members, and may prove a lasting advantage to that meeting.

The 2nd of the third month, we were at Alban's Monthly Meeting, held at Charley-wood, where, on the usual inquiries, things appeared very low and much out of order; yet divine favour was largely and livingly extended for their help and recovery; in an humble sense whereof, endeavours were used to promote a better regulation; first, by the active members taking heed to themselves, that they might be endued with ancient zeal and fervour of mind; then they would take the oversight of the flock, not by constraint, but willingly. This willingness, through a neglect of seeking that divine power which alone can bring it forth in the mind of man, has been much lost or departed from by many, and appears to be greatly wanting in most places; which, without doubt, is one principal cause that so general a defection hath prevailed. Had the foremost rank stood faithful in the authority of Truth, they would have been as a bulwark against undue liberties, and happy instruments to preserve the body healthy and in beautiful order. But oh! how shall I set forth and sufficiently admire, the marvellous condescension of infinite goodness, which so eminently manifested itself in all the meetings we were concerned to visit, in order to bring back again the captivity of his people, to build up the waste places, and to beautify the house of his glory. May such evident tokens of his merciful regard make deep and lasting impressions on all minds, lest the Lord be justly provoked to cast many off, and move such to jealousy by those who are now no people.

One very sorrowful instance of much degeneracy, being an inlet for many other wrong things to creep into our Society, is the great neglect of divine worship, especially on week-days. Some week-day meetings were wholly dropped, and in many places where they were kept up, were attended by few; and by what appears, many do not seem to think it their duty to attend them at all, nor even first-day meetings, when small difficulties present. This discovers remarkable ignorance of the great importance of that indispensable duty, as well as of the great need all have, of a daily supply from the Lord's bountiful hand. These opportunities of inward retirement and humble bowing before God, have by experience, been found times of unspeakable refreshment, which flows from the presence of the Lord, who has graciously promised to be with those who meet in his name, even where the numbers are but two or three: hereby strength is administered, which enables us to stand our ground in the Christian warfare. It is no marvel therefore, that the neglect of so important a duty, is a cause of much weakness, depriving people of a necessary defence against the numerous and potent enemies which war against the soul. Here he that goes about like a roaring lion, and also as a creeping subtle serpent, prevails, in order to lay the Society waste; and whilst many are asleep in carnal security, he finds opportunity to sow tares amongst the wheat. Very deep and fervent were our labours in this visit, to promote diligence in this most important duty, as a means under the divine blessing, for the restoring ancient beauty and comeliness throughout the Society.

This opportunity at Charley-wood, finished our present visit to Monthly Meetings; we having requested the Quarterly Meeting to which they belonged, to adjourn in such order, as to be visited in course by us at one journey, to begin in Luton, for Bedfordshire, which accordingly was held the 8th of the fourth month, 1761. John Emms, Thomas Corbyn, Samuel Scott, Joseph Row and myself attended the same, and laid before the Quarterly Meeting in writing, the state of their Monthly Meetings, as the same appeared to us by their answers to the Quarterly Meeting queries, and other inquiries made in our late visit, with sundry remarks thereon; and through the overshadowing of heavenly power, we were fervently concerned to bring the weight of the declined state of the Society there upon the meeting, wherein an engagement of mind was revived for a reformation: may the same continue and increase.

On the 10th of the fourth month we visited Hertford Quarterly Meeting, where our friend Joseph Taylor, who had been indisposed, joined us. Having previously drawn up the state of their Monthly Meetings, as the same appeared to us in our late visit, with remarks thereon, we laid it before the meeting, which they took into solid consideration, and a solemn time it was. The Lord's power being livingly felt, it made a remnant willing to arise, that

the breaches made in that excellent hedge of discipline, set by divine wisdom about us as a people, might be repaired, that the heritage be not laid waste. On the 14th of the fourth month, we visited the Quarterly Meeting at Ives, for Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, and the isle of Ely; where, having drawn up the state of their Monthly Meetings, as the same appeared to us in our late visit, with some remarks thereon, we laid the same before them, with earnest labour to awaken the active members to a lively sense of the sorrowful declension found within their borders. It was a painful exercising time, great insensibility having prevailed over many; yet I believe it was a season of comfort and relief to a living remnant, who travail for the prosperity of Truth amongst them: may their number increase! We had the return of sweet peace in the discharge of our duty, and departed with cheerfulness of mind.

On the 21st of the fourth month, we visited the Quarterly Meeting for the county of Norfolk, held in the city of Norwich; where, as usual, having drawn up the state of their Monthly Meetings with some remarks, the same was solidly laid before the meeting. Divine goodness was manifested; in the wisdom and strength whereof much earnest labour was bestowed, in order that all the active members especially, might be stirred up to an exertion of godly endeavours, for restoring comely order and discipline in several very weak meetings within their county; and not to be at ease in their ceiled houses, whilst the ark of the testimony of God was exposed to reproach, by the defection of many under the same profession. It was a good time, and I hope serviceable to some; yet we could not help lamenting, that the memorable opportunity we lately had at Norwich Monthly Meeting, had not made greater impression than appeared by some not very agreeable instances in this meeting, relating to their fully uniting for the county's help, as there was apparent necessity for the same.

The 24th of the fourth month, we visited the Quarterly Meeting of Suffolk held at Woodbridge, and laid before them in writing, the state of their Monthly Meetings, as the same appeared to us in our visit, with some remarks thereon. Much labour was bestowed in the free extendings of divine love, which was comfortably shed abroad in that meeting, that Friends might be stirred up to use endeavours for a general reformation. Fervent labour and close admonition were extended to such as knew not their own spirits subjected by the spirit of Christ, but dared to presume to move and act in the affairs of the church of God, by the strength of their own understandings as men: these not having true zeal, can wink at wrong things, great disorders and flagrant unfaithfulness, smoothing all over, and blending all together deceitfully, crying peace, and all is well, when it is evidently otherwise. Oh, how doth the Lord abhor such unsoundness! surely then his people should see the weight and authority of his power standing over such.

A principal cause of desolation and waste in the house and heritage of God, is the want of more prepared stones for the building, hewn and polished in the mountain. But great inconveniency arises, when some are made use of as stones for the building, in their natural state, which renders them unfit materials to erect a house for the glory of God to abide in; so that what such build, is nothing but a habitation for anti-christ; for he will content himself in any form of religion, whilst he can keep the power out of it. His first subtle working in the mystery of iniquity, is to persuade the mind that there is no need of any more power and wisdom than they have as men; that if they will exert their endeavour, they may be useful members; thus withdrawing gradually from the Fountain of living water, to hew out cisterns to themselves, which will hold no water. Oh, how dry and insipid are all the religious performances of such! and what they do, is only to beget in their own image, carnal lifeless professors like themselves. These are very apt to be doing, being always furnished; but the true labourers must, in every meeting, and upon all occasions that offer for service, receive supernatural aid and the renewed understanding, by the immediate descendings of heavenly wisdom and power, or they dare not meddle. Where there are but two or three in each Monthly Meeting, carefully abiding in a holy dependance upon God to be furnished for his work, great things may be done by his mighty power, in and through them. This is evident, by observing the state of meetings where such dwell, though all is not done which they ardently desire; but praised be the Lord, there are many yet up and down, who know and experimentally feel their sufficiency for every service in the church to be of God.

The 28th of the fourth month, we attended the Quarterly Meeting I belong to, held at Coggeshall, for the county of Essex. Having drawn up the state of the several Monthly Meetings in writing, with remarks thereon, it was laid before this meeting, and solid and weighty endeavours used for a general reformation, by the earnest labour of our friends on the visit, which was very edifying and comfortable to the honest hearted amongst us. We drew up a summary account of the

state of the Society in the counties before mentioned, and our satisfaction in that solemn undertaking; with thankful acknowledgment of the Lord's gracious assistance through the whole, which was read in the Yearly Meeting, 1761. Before I close this account, it may not be amiss to say, that such was the effect of our labours in most or all the Monthly Meetings, that committees were appointed of their own members, to visit particular meetings and also individual members, for their help, as occasion might require. The Quarterly Meetings also appointed large committees to visit their Monthly Meetings and others, as they found freedom, for their assistance.

A few days after the Yearly Meeting in London, 1761, Thomas Corbyn, Joseph Row and myself, set out in company with divers other Friends, on their return from the Yearly Meeting, in order to visit the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings of Friends in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Leicestershire. Matthew Mellor joined us at Oatby, near Leicester; Joseph Taylor having concluded to meet us in Yorkshire. On the 24th of the fifth month, we visited Balby Monthly Meeting, held at Sheffield, and found to our comfort, a living body of Friends therein; yet much slackness and defection appeared in many members of most ranks. Truth opened and largely furnished with wisdom and strength, to lay before them the dangerous consequences of some prevailing and undue liberties. Those advanced in age and profession, were entreated and laboured with in much earnestness, to be more zealous and diligent, in a godly care over themselves and the flock, as those that must shortly give an account to the great Shepherd.

The 25th we visited Pontefract Monthly Meeting, held at Highflats. Here was a very numerous body of Friends, whose outward appearance was very becoming our self-denying profession; and I really believe this plainness, in a considerable number amongst them, was the genuine product of a well regulated mind; yet I fear, in many, it was more the effect of education, which, however, I would not condemn, where people are not prevailed upon by the subtlety of satan to take their rest therein; since the form must follow the power, and not the power follow the form. We had close labour, in order to arouse those who had settled down in a false rest, and also to promote a better regulation in some respects; yet I think it might be said that discipline, in most of its branches, was pretty well maintained in that meeting. It was a time of high favour; and counsel and admonition were plentifully extended. The 27th we visited Brighouse Monthly Meeting, held at Bradford: here Jonathan Raine and William Hird joined us. This meeting was exceedingly large; some slackness and defection appeared, yet in the main, discipline and good order were well supported in divers branches. It was indeed a time of signal favour, as the canopy of divine power and love overshadowed this large assembly, wherein much fervent labour was extended, that all might be brought into and preserved in, that humble self-denying way which leads to lasting peace and happiness; and that none might rest satisfied in a form of religion, without the daily quickenings of heavenly life, whereby only the daily sacrifice can be offered, and the abomination that makes desolate, kept out of the holy places. The heart of man is only made and preserved holy by the powerful presence of God; no longer can it be so, than his presence is there.

The 29th we visited Knaresborough Monthly Meeting, held at Rawden. This was also very large, perhaps nearly five hundred of both sexes attended, and nearly as many at each of the before mentioned meetings. Here we found a weighty, solid body of Friends, who were zealously concerned to preserve discipline and good order on its ancient bottom; yet there was also a very heavy, clogging, lifeless body, at rest in a profession, in whom little or no living concern appeared to keep undue liberties out of their families, and to show exemplary diligence in religious duties. Divine goodness, as at other times, was eminently manifested, in which, abundance of sound advice, caution and counsel, was freely administered, wherewith many hearts were deeply affected, being made willing to arise, in order to promote a reformation where things appeared out of order. The 1st of the sixth month we attended Settle Monthly Meeting, which was a laborious exercising time, in a deep and painful sense of the numbness and formality of too many members, and the great decay of primitive zeal; yet through the merciful arising of heavenly power and wisdom, ability was received to administer suitable advice, warning and counsel, in order to awaken the careless, lukewarm professors, as well as to extend comfort and relief for the encouragement of a sincerely concerned remnant amongst them; that so, what appeared out of the holy order of the Gospel, might be regulated.

The 3d of the sixth month, we visited Richmond Monthly Meeting, held at Aisgarth; the number of members here was very considerable, yet the life of religion seemed at a low ebb. That sorrowful mistake, of imagining themselves God's people without the real sense of the indwelling of his

holy Spirit, and of being the children of Abraham without the faith and good works of Abraham, has, I fear, very much prevailed upon the posterity of faithful worthies who are gone to their rest. In those parts, great slackness and defection in some very important respects appeared in many, who, through the powerful efficacy of the everlasting Word, were closely and very pressingly admonished to more care and diligence. Great endeavours were used, that our Christian discipline might be more duly put in practice; a living remnant amongst themselves, heartily joining with us in our deep labours for promoting that salutary end. The 5th, Thirsk Monthly Meeting was visited; Joseph Taylor joining us here. We were now seven in number, which we did not find too many, the work we were engaged in being very weighty and laborious. In this meeting, a remnant were sincerely concerned to maintain discipline and good order, in the spirit and life thereof; yet great lukewarmness and many deficiencies appeared; an earthly carnal spirit having much the ascendency in parents, and rawness, insensibility, and a deviation from plainness, in divers of the youth; which caused us deep and painful labour; yet, through the descending of heavenly virtue, we were enabled to speak closely to their states, which, I hope, had a good effect on some of them. This opportunity afforded much relief to our spirits, and we went away with peace.

The 8th we were at Gisborough Monthly Meeting, held at Kirbymoorside; where a very large number of members attended, with an outward appearance becoming our holy profession, and we found a truly concerned remnant amongst them. But at this, as well as at other places, we had, with sorrow of heart, to view the great desolation that an enemy had made in the time of outward ease and liberty. He could not prevail upon our worthy predecessors, by depriving them of their liberty, in jails and stinking dungeons; separation, by banishment and otherwise, of those in the nearest ties and connexion of life. Nay, the loss of all their outward substance, and the lives of many, could not deter them from maintaining their testimony for God in public worship and other things; yet he hath mightily prevailed on many of their inconsiderate offspring, who seem to have very little besides the husk left to feed upon. Divine goodness was wonderfully extended, in which much fervent labour was bestowed, and it was an awakening time. The foundation of the builders upon the sand was shaken, and Jesus Christ, the everlasting rock and sure foundation, was exalted, as the only safe rest and defence of his people.

The 11th we visited Malton Monthly Meeting; the state whereof appeared very low, and things relating to our discipline much out of order. Divine goodness being near, our minds were strengthened and our mouths opened, in earnest endeavours for their help and recovery; a small remnant amongst themselves joining with us herein. I hope it was a profitable time to some. The 13th we visited Scarborough Monthly Meeting, held at Whitby, where, although we found a sincere remnant with whom we had unity in spirit, and they had a satisfactory sense of our close and earnest labours in that meeting; yet many under the same profession were greatly backslidden and revolted from the primitive power and purity of that undefiled religion, which the faithful amongst us have been and are led into. Divine help was eminently manifested, in order to heal their backsliding, and to bring them into a due sense of the weight and great importance of those testimonies to the blessed Truth, given to us as a people to bear, which made good impression on some; but others seemed at so great a distance, that it was hard to make them rightly sensible of their true interest. We departed from thence with ease and peace of mind.

The 14th, Bridlington Monthly Meeting was held, which was very small, and the life of religion very low; but little ability and judgment to manage the affairs of the church appeared. It was our opinion, they were too weak to subsist honourably as a Monthly Meeting, and that it would promote the general good, to join them to some other Monthly Meeting. The 17th, Oustwick Monthly Meeting was held at Hull. Upon the usual inquiries, it appeared that much lukewarmness and defection had crept in; and for want of a godly zeal in most of the active members, discipline had not been strictly and impartially maintained, so that darkness and weakness had prevailed. In this mournful state of things, our labours were painful and exercising; yet, through divine assistance, the testimony of Truth in its several branches, was exalted, and judgment set upon those who had violated the same. The few sincere-hearted labourers amongst them were earnestly advised and encouraged to bear the ark of the testimony of the Lord as upon their shoulders, in the people's sight, which I hope had a good effect. The 19th, we visited the Monthly Meeting of Cave. The appearance of the members was plain, yet we found great deadness and insensibility amongst them, which must be the case where people are contented in an empty form of religion, without the power of it. Much Christian la-

bour was bestowed in order to kindle a living zeal; but, alas! little impression was made on some, yet I hope this visit was of considerable service to others, and may tend to general benefit; but all the increase is of the Lord.

The 21st we visited York Monthly Meeting, wherein appeared much want of a lively sense of Truth on the minds of active members, and many deficiencies and some disorders, had crept in and remained, by a neglect of proper dealing and the exercise of sound judgment. Here we had cause to see, as well as at many other places, that a literal knowledge of our discipline, without heavenly life influencing the minds of those exercised therein, brings nothing effectually to pass, to God's glory, and the edification of his church and people. Great and deep was our labour, under a weighty sense of the divine power, and also of the low, languid state of the church in this city, desiring she might be favoured to arise and shake herself from the dust of the earth, strengthening the things which remain. This finished our visits to the Monthly Meetings in this county; and though I have not particularly mentioned the opportunities taken by us in select meetings of ministers and elders, yet we had such opportunities in most or all the Monthly Meetings; where the queries were read and answered, advice, caution, counsel and reproof also, were administered, as we found ourselves led and influenced thereunto.

The 24th of the sixth month, the Quarterly Meeting was held in York. We had drawn up the state of their Monthly Meetings, being fourteen in number, as the same appeared to us from their answers to the usual queries, and other inquiries made by us in our late visit to them, with remarks thereon, particularly on the great and mournful slackness in, and neglect of, divine worship; especially on week-days, which discovers an indifference and lukewarmness much to be lamented. Earnest labour was bestowed in that great meeting, to fasten on the minds of Friends the weight and great importance of qualified members coming more earnestly and feelingly under a deep sense of the care of the churches; that so an increase of zeal and diligence may be exercised throughout, in warning the unruly, comforting the feeble-minded, and in supporting the weak. It was a solemn time, the members being sensibly affected with the great need of a better regulation in divers respects; and a large committee was appointed to visit and assist the Monthly and Particular Meetings, as they saw cause, in order to help forward the necessary work of reformation. The Monthly Meetings also, except one, in consequence of our visit appointed committees to visit Particular Meetings and individuals, as their way might open, to promote the better putting in practice of our Christian discipline. In this city, our friend John Hunt of London joined us; and here we parted with Jonathan Raine, Matthew Mellor and William Hird.

We went next into Lincolnshire, and on the 29th of the sixth month, visited their Monthly Meeting, held at Gainsborough, where John Oxley of Norwich met us. Things appeared very low and defective, as to the discipline and good order of the church in this place; many of the members being, through indifference and weakness, insensible of its great worth and usefulness. Our spirits were deeply baptized into a sense of their states, and we received ability, with great plainness, to lay before them the dangerous consequence of such an unsavoury, unfruitful condition, and the great duty which the members of society owed to God, themselves and to one another, in a religious capacity, which for the present seemed to affect their minds; may the impression be lasting! We had also some things to offer by way of encouragement, to a few sincere, though weak ones amongst them. The 2nd of the seventh month, we visited Wainfleet Monthly Meeting, finding things distressingly low and much out of order; and but few who had the cause of Truth at heart, so as to mourn because of the great desolation and waste made in the Society there, by earthly-mindedness and other fleshly liberties. Our minds were deeply engaged that Truth might break through, and soften the minds of those dry, carnal professors, who, instead of helping forward the necessary work of discipline, were great clogs and hindrances thereto, being as dead weights on the more lively part of the body. Through the holy efficacy of that pure life, which graciously attended us from place to place, we were enabled to discharge our consciences at that meeting, in much plain dealing, to our own peace and the comfort and relief of the few upright-hearted amongst them.

The 4th we visited Spalding Monthly Meeting, where also much disorder and slackness appeared in some; others, who would seem to be something in religion, were but too much like the unfruitful fig tree, on which, when it came to be nearly examined, nothing was to be found but leaves; having, like Ephraim and Demas, forsaken the dew and tenderness of their youth, and embraced this present world. Such, though they retain something of the outward resemblance, cannot prosper in religion, as they are dry and insipid. In this low, mournful state of things, Truth arose, and furnished with suitable matter and

utterance, in plain dealing with formal professors, and proper encouragement to some hopeful youth and others, to come up in a more lively zeal and concern for God's cause, than had been maintained of late at that meeting, which I hope was of good service. The 6th we visited Lincoln Monthly Meeting, held at Broughton. This meeting appeared in a very low condition, as to a lively sense of Truth; the discipline thereof was not rightly managed, being done much in the will, wisdom, and temper of man. Some appeared hopeful and tender, especially of a younger rank, to whom, I hope, our deep and earnest labour amongst them was profitable.

The 8th of the seventh month, the Quarterly Meeting was held at Lincoln; before which we laid in writing, the languid and disorderly state of the Society in that county, with close remarks thereon, pointing out, in some measure, the cause of the great declension found amongst them. This was accompanied with our joint and earnest endeavours, to bring the weight of those things upon the members, that they might feel a proper engagement of mind to arise and repair the breaches made, which had a good effect on some minds, and a committee was appointed in order to promote the work of reformation; which was also done at most, or all their Monthly Meetings. From Lincoln, John Hunt and Joseph Row returned home to London, and John Oxley to Norwich; Thomas Corbyn, Joseph Taylor and myself, went into Nottinghamshire.

The 13th of the seventh month we visited Retford Monthly Meeting, as it was called, wherein we found a few tender and hopeful, and had some openness to administer counsel and advice, tending to their help and improvement, which appeared to be well received, and some minds were affected therewith; yet very little was discovered by us of discipline being put in practice, but almost every thing relating thereto was neglected. It was our judgment they ought to be joined to some other Monthly Meeting, yet their situation rendered that somewhat difficult; however, we concluded to lay the case before their ensuing Quarterly Meeting. The 14th we visited Mansfield Monthly Meeting, which also appeared very low and weak; but very little of the business of a Monthly Meeting being properly done, as the number was very small that generally attended, and in most of them the essential qualification for service in the church of Christ was much wanting. It was therefore our judgment, that it would be for the general good, that Mansfield Monthly Meeting should be joined to that of Chesterfield, except Oxon Particular Meeting; which from its situation might better be joined to Nottingham. The 15th we visited Chesterfield Monthly Meeting, wherein divine goodness was livingly manifested, in order to administer proper assistance, by way of advice, counsel, and encouragement, to this small, weak meeting, wherein discipline, in divers of its branches, was much neglected; yet there appeared an openness in the members to be instructed and helped forward in that weighty work, which, through the strength and efficacy of divine love, was largely extended to them, in which we had satisfaction of mind.

The 16th we went to Breach, called a Monthly Meeting, but we found it in that respect, almost desolate. The testimony of Truth, so precious to their ancestors in that place, was by them suffered to fall, in most of its branches; but few of those who were active members, appearing clear in its support. Darkness had greatly prevailed over their minds, yet our deep labour, under the influence of heavenly good, had a tendering effect upon some of them. One thing aimed at by us was, that the members of that meeting might be joined to the Monthly Meeting of Nottingham, they being unfit to remain in their present condition, which was consented to by them, a minute made, and some of their members appointed to propose the same to Nottingham meeting. The 17th we visited Nottingham Monthly Meeting; the number here was pretty large, but the pure virtue of heavenly goodness, without the sensible experience whereof there can be no prosperity in the Truth, seemed to be much depressed and obstructed by earthly-mindedness, covered over with a form of religion in some heads of families, by whom undue liberties were winked at in their offspring: such not having zeal enough to suppress wrong things in their own families, are not likely to promote good order and discipline in the church. We found some who united with us in a deep and earnest labour for a better regulation, and much sound admonition, caution and counsel, were administered, which seemed, at least for the present, to have an awakening effect on some.

On the 20th of the seventh month, the Quarterly Meeting was held at Nottingham, and as we understood, a junction of that and the Quarterly Meeting of Derbyshire, was agreed on between them, and shortly to be completed, we drew up the state of the Monthly Meetings in both the said counties, as the same appeared to us in our late visit, with remarks on the mournful declension found amongst them, pointing out to them in some measure, what we apprehended to be the cause thereof, that those concerned might both examine themselves and be more watchful, in order

to prevent such consequences for the future. This was read in this meeting, and endeavours used verbally also, that the meeting might come under a solid sense of the state of their Monthly Meetings, that proper assistance might be extended for a general reformation. But, alas! there were but few amongst them enough devoted, heartily to engage in so good and necessary a work; however, we were enabled to clear ourselves, by leaving the weight of things upon them, and to depart with ease and sweet peace of mind. All praises and humble thanksgivings to our holy Head, for his gracious and comfortable support, in our deep exercises and labour from place to place. For, alas! we should soon have fainted under the weight of that painful service, had he been pleased to withdraw, even but for a little time; but we found him a never-failing Fountain of all we stood in need of, and when our service for this time was over, we could not say we lacked any thing.

The 21st of the seventh month we visited Castle-Donnington Monthly Meeting in Leicestershire, wherein divine favour was largely extended, in which we received strength to labour earnestly, for the reviving of a living concern in the members, that discipline and good order might be better maintained, which, through the indifference of some, and the backward, cowardly disposition of others, was but poorly supported in sundry respects. This opportunity seemed to have a good effect, by a considerable reach upon many of their minds, and I hope may prove of great advantage to that meeting, as the members thereof seemed rather weak than wilful. The 24th we visited Hinkley Monthly Meeting, which, as to the support of discipline and Gospel order, appeared almost desolate. Our earnest labour for their help and recovery had little visible impression on some of their members, the insensibility was so great; though others were awakened to a degree of feeling and tenderness, who, I hope, received some benefit thereby. The best expedient that appeared to us, was their being joined to Leicester Monthly Meeting, which was accordingly recommended. The 25th we visited Dalby Monthly Meeting; and as it appeared in the same state as that last mentioned, I shall refer to that account, and only say, we advised it should be joined to the Monthly Meeting of Castle-Donnington, except a small branch thereof, which lay contiguous to Leicester.

The 27th we were at Oakham Monthly Meeting, where much slackness and indifference appeared, too many of the active members being at ease in a profession, whilst wrong things prevailed, and death instead of life, overshadowed their meetings. The Lord engaged us in a deep and fervent labour, to stir them up, that they might arise and shake themselves from the dust and clogging things of the earth, to receive the eye-salve of God's kingdom, whereby they might come to see their own state as individual members, and also the general state of the church. Oh, how ashamed would some then be, of their poverty and nakedness! We found a few amongst them in a humble, teachable frame of mind, with whom we had good satisfaction, hoping this opportunity might tend to their help and improvement in the best things. The 28th we visited Leicester Monthly Meeting, in which we found some honest labourers for Sion's prosperity, and Truth opened our way, as at other places, to look carefully into the state of things, and to apply suitable counsel and advice, as the same immediately opened, for restoring good order and wholesome discipline, which appeared much neglected; and I hope the opportunity was of good service to that meeting.

On the 29th of the seventh month, the Quarterly Meeting for the county was held at Leicester, before which, we laid in writing the state of their Monthly Meetings, as it appeared to us, with such remarks as seemed proper and necessary; and were deeply concerned, to bring a weighty sense of their great declension upon the spirits of the active members, and the great necessity of a speedy exertion of their Christian endeavours for a regulation, lest a general desolation should ensue. But, alas! the stupefaction was so great in this as well as other places, that it was hard laborious work; yet not without hope of a revival, as some concerned members were, by the overshadowing of divine power, made willing to give up their names, to contribute their endeavours for carrying on the necessary work of reformation, so happily begun in the Yearly Meeting.

Here ended our visit to Monthly and Quarterly Meetings for the present; and I have, with deep reverence, humbly to acknowledge, that a remarkable evidence of divine approbation attended us throughout; making us of one heart by the baptism of his unerring Spirit, so that scarcely a difference of sentiment from one another appeared during the whole journey. Another thing which appeared to me a token of divine favour attending, was the open reception we met with, notwithstanding the plainness used by us, in very close searching inquiries and remarks upon many disorders. I hope my usual freedom, in laying open the states of the Monthly Meetings, will give no just cause of offence to any who wish well to Sion, since nothing is more likely

to strike the minds of succeeding generations with fear and care, than to have the lukewarmness and defection of many, who have been so wonderfully favoured, set in a true light before them, together with such a remarkable account of the Lord's compassion and condescending kindness, in seeking their restoration, and offering his mercy to heal all their backslidings. How can any, without being somewhat affected with fear, read the sorrowful degeneracy of some Christian churches, even in the apostles days; like the first fruits in the Gospel vineyard; particularly that of the seven churches in Asia Minor, discovered to the beloved John, in his state of banishment for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ, and by him with great plainness committed to writing, as a call and warning from God to them, and to remain, for the same end, to all succeeding generations? I have no other end in what I have written concerning the state of our Society; for whose help and preservation I have been freely given up in body, soul and spirit, as well as in what outward substance the Lord hath bountifully favoured me with, to contribute my small endeavours, that her light may go forth as brightness, and her salvation as a lamp that burns.

A summary account of this visit and service was drawn up by us, and read in the Yearly Meeting of 1762, as had been done the year before, when engaged in a service of the like nature. A similar visit was also performed by other Friends, who had, since the Yearly Meeting, 1761, engaged therein in different parts, and all the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, in that part of Great Britain properly called England, had then been visited; which, as far as appeared, had been performed to general satisfaction. The Yearly Meeting then recommended to the Friends appointed in 1760, the care of extending the same brotherly assistance to the meetings of our friends in Wales, Scotland and Ireland, as their way might open in Gospel freedom. Neither did the Yearly Meeting omit sending a warm, lively epistle to those already visited, to corroborate, revive and strengthen the great labour bestowed, that the same might be made effectual. I shall now close this narrative with just adding, that I have found by solid experience, it was a blessed work, and greatly blessed in carrying on. May it be so in the fruits arising therefrom, is the sincere desire of my soul.

The 21st of the eighth month, 1762, I set out, in order to visit London and some other parts, and on first-day the 22nd, I went to Ratcliff meeting in the morning, where I had close, thorough service; Truth and its testimony having considerable dominion. It was an awakening time to careless professors, and of refreshing consolation to Sion's travellers, of whom I believe there was a considerable number there; I had with satisfaction to believe that meeting was on the improving hand. I went in the afternoon to Horslydown; this was a time of deep travail and painful labour, as the life of religion seemed to be greatly depressed, by much indifference of mind in many, and the prevalence of fleshly liberties in others; yet through infinite condescension, at length the power and virtue of Truth arose, whereby the testimony thereof was exalted over wrong things. On the second-day following I attended the morning meeting, and went on fourth-day to their Monthly Meeting at the Peel, in which, through the extending of heavenly good, I had open, edifying service; Friends being favoured with a degree of that holy leaven, which, as it is abode in, preserves the several members of one heart and one mind. Oh, then the work goes sweetly on, the body edifying itself in love, as well as with one voice giving forth sound judgment against wrong things.

On first-day, the 29th, I went in the morning to Westminster, which was a very open good meeting, the testimony of Truth went forth freely and largely, wisdom being given to divide the word aright, so that the disobedient were warned, and the mourners in Sion comforted. I went in the afternoon to the Peel meeting, which was large and very laborious, in suffering silence throughout; which, in sympathy with the depressed Seed of God's kingdom, and for an example to the professors thereof, appeared to be my proper business at that time. I attended the morning meeting on second-day, and went on third-day to Plaistow week-day meeting, in which I had some close service; but the life of religion appeared to me low there, the professors of Truth neglecting a constant labour for daily bread. I spent that afternoon and the next day, chiefly on a visit to our worthy friend John Hayward, who appeared green in old age. On fifth-day, the 2nd of the ninth month, I went to Tottenham; there being two considerable Friends' schools, one for boys, and the other for girls. By the free opening of the living fountain, it was a very precious, comfortable meeting, doctrine and counsel being plentifully handed forth, suitably adapted to the childrens' weak capacities, as well as to those of riper age: through the divine blessing, it was a time of favour and refreshment to the upright in heart. That afternoon I had a very comfortable reviving time with our friend Josiah Forster and family, he being in a very poor state of health,

in appearance not likely to continue long in this world; with much tenderness, he expressed great satisfaction in that opportunity.

On sixth-day, the 3d, I went to Grace-church street meeting, which was low and laborious; it appeared my proper business to sit in silence. On first-day, the 5th, I went to Grace-church street in the morning, where the meeting was exceedingly large, and for a time, very trying and painful; yet in the latter part, it pleased the Lord to arise and his enemies were scattered; then was Truth exalted, and its testimony went forth freely, having great dominion. In the afternoon, I went to the Peel meeting, where I had large, open service, and Truth was over all; it being a time of much comfort and relief to the sincere-hearted. Next day I was at the Monthly Morning meeting of ministers and elders, so called, because the members more generally attend, especially the women. It was a blessed time, wherein I had open good service, showing the great difference between the ministers of the letter and those of the Spirit: that the letter without the Spirit, kills that which is begotten of God in the hearts of people; and that it is the holy power, efficacy and demonstration of the eternal Spirit, which render the Holy Scripture, outward ministry, and all other means ordained of God, for the comfort, help and preservation of his people, effectual. I had to observe, that the ministers of the letter were most of all concerned for the external appearance of their ministry, viz. that the words and doctrine may be curiously adapted, not to disgust, but rather to please those who have itching ears; on the contrary, the ministers of the Spirit are least of all concerned about the outward appearance of their ministry; having no doubt, if they are careful in the spring, ground, and moving cause, which they know should be the constraining power of the holy Spirit, the other will be agreeable thereunto; seeing that power is able to render the most low and simple expression, in man's account, exceedingly efficacious.

On third-day, the 7th, I set out, accompanied by several Friends, in order to have a meeting that afternoon at Charley-wood; it was a time of awakening labour, I hope not easily to be forgotten. On fourth-day, the 8th, I had a precious, open, serviceable meeting at Jordan's in the morning; it was a time of general awakening, at least to a present sense of duty: the afternoon meeting at Uxbridge was painful and laborious, and what made it more afflicting was, that the Gospel endeavours used for the help and recovery of lukewarm professors, seemed to take very little effect upon their minds. On fourth-day, the 8th, I went to Staines meeting, which, in the fore-part, was a time of very heavy, painful, silent labour; in which, as at many other times on the like occasion, I fully expected the cloud and distress would remain, till we separated one from another; yet near the conclusion, through infinite condescension, Truth arose and obtained a complete victory over wrong things; their states being spoken to with great plainness; but, alas! the life of religion seemed low amongst most of all ranks there. I went next day to a meeting at Godalming, which proved a time of much favour, in the sweet and precious enjoyment of the consolating streams of that river, which maketh glad the whole city of God; in the blessed efficacy whereof, the doctrines of Truth were largely opened, setting forth the nature of faith, hope and charity; that the greatest of all is charity, as faith will be swallowed up in open vision, and hope in the full enjoyment; but charity never fails nor changes its nature, being the same in time and in eternity.

On first-day, the 12th, I was at Alton in Hampshire, where we had a very large precious and baptizing meeting; in the morning, the testimony of Truth had great dominion, and the living members were sweetly comforted together. The afternoon meeting was very heavy and laborious, and held in silence. I had a very open satisfactory meeting at Esher, on third-day the 14th, and another at Wandsworth the next day; after which I went to London, and the next day, being the 16th of the ninth month, I returned home, finding my dear wife and family well: having, through infinite kindness, been much favoured in my service this small journey, and found more openness in the city of London than heretofore. It was with great comfort I saw a growing hidden remnant in that city, who will be exalted in Israel in the Lord's time; who hath, and will yet open a way more and more, for his pained travelling children to exalt his name and Truth, by removing the stumbling-blocks and other impediments which remain in their way, and hinder them, in some measure, from taking the rule and government, which is their due and right in the kingdom of Christ; and usurpers shall see, that none can sit with Christ upon thrones, but those who faithfully follow him in the regeneration, agreeably to his gracious promise, viz., Mat. xix. 28, and Luke xxii. 30.

To this period of time, being now in the fiftieth year of my age, I have continued an account of divers occurrences of my life, labours and experience; with observations on the state of the Christian Society of which I am a member; and though done in a way of plain dealing, yet in truth and sincerity, as my mind has been immediately led and opened

thereunto. Let none take any undue advantages thereby to reproach the Truth; for no society of Christians, that I have had any knowledge of, has any advantage of this people, either in principle or practice. Here I intend to lay aside my pen for the present, not knowing that time or ability will be given to add any more, which is all in the Lord's hand; to whom I humbly commit this, with my soul and body, for preservation, during the short space of time he may be pleased yet to lengthen my days; beseeching that his blessing may attend what is done; without which, our endeavours are fruitless, for all the increase is in him and by him, who is glorious in holiness, and fearful in praise. To whom be dominion and glory, through all ages and generations. Amen.

CHAPTER X.

Prospect of a religious visit to America and his proceedings preparatory thereto—embarks at Gravesend—arrival in Philadelphia—labours within the limits of that Yearly Meeting—visits Virginia and Carolina—returns to Philadelphia—sets out for New-England and proceeds as far as Boston and Salem—then to Oblong and New-York—attends meetings in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, and in Delaware and Maryland—returns home.

From the year 1762, to the seventh month, 1765, I have preserved no particular memorandum of my travels and service that I can find, and although I travelled no considerable journies, yet, as I always thought it my incumbent duty, from my first acquaintance with God's everlasting Truth, I diligently attended meetings when at home and well, both first and week-days, also the Quarterly and Yearly Meetings, as they fell in course; as well as some adjacent Quarterly and other meetings. In the year 1764, I attended the Yearly Meetings of Colchester, Woodbridge and Norwich, to good satisfaction and comfort, being favoured with free open service therein, especially the two last. In the same year, having an inclination to visit London and some parts adjacent, as my way might open; and likewise having a manuscript by me, which I had written about two years before, containing brief remarks upon sundry important subjects, divers Friends, whose judgment I valued, having perused it, expressed their unity therewith, generally apprehending there might be a service in making the same public. Being thus encouraged, I laid it before the Second-day morning meeting of London, as is usual in such cases, and attended the revising of it for the most part: Friends agreed it should be printed, which was accordingly done. It was afterwards reprinted here, in Ireland, and in America.

Having had a view, for several years, of visiting Friends in the American colonies, as I waited with earnest desires to be rightly directed in so solemn and weighty an undertaking, both as to the thing itself and the proper time to enter thereupon, I was favoured with clear and full satisfaction, in both respects; and had seen, for a considerable time, that I should embark for that service soon after our Yearly Meeting, 1765. This I esteemed a particular favour, as I had thereby the better opportunity to order my outward affairs timely, so that I might, with more freedom and ease, leave them so long a time; yet, except to my wife and two or three Friends, who were enjoined secrecy, I kept all to myself, till about the time it became necessary to lay my concern before the Monthly Meeting. I readily obtained its concurrence, and a certificate very fully expressive of unity; which I carried to our Quarterly Meeting, laying the same, with my concern, before that meeting; and obtained its concurrence, signified by an endorsement on the Monthly Meeting certificate. This I laid before the Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders in London, and after a time of weighty consideration, Friends drew up and signed a certificate of their full unity with me and my intended undertaking. The ready and unanimous concurrence of my much esteemed friends, was a great strength and comfort to me in entering upon and throughout this solemn engagement. I was very sensible it was of such a nature, that the whole body of Friends were interested in the right and proper performance of it; and therefore found my mind much resigned to the divine will, and to the determination of his people.

I returned home from the Yearly Meeting, to complete the settlement of my outward affairs, having partly concluded, with divine permission, to embark in a ship likely to sail in two or three weeks. I went to our Quarterly and Yearly Meeting at Colchester; where, being taken very ill of a fever, I returned home with my wife in a post-chaise, being unable to ride on horse-back, and was confined to my chamber about ten days. This put a stop to all preparations for my intended voyage; and on account of my illness, I had wholly given up the expectation of going in the before-mentioned ship; but when I recovered, so as to be able to move a little about, my mind did not seem easy to let that ship go away without me. I therefore wrote to the merchants or owners, who were desirous I

should go in her, to know what time they could allow me to get ready; their answer was, about ten days. The time was short, and I was very weak in body, and had some affairs of consequence to settle, which would take time; however, the will being good, I set about them in earnest, and beyond expectation succeeded, recovered strength apace, and got through my affairs in time to satisfaction. I could not help looking upon this as a providential success, far beyond human probability: the Lord in his dealing with us his poor dependant creatures, sometimes brings us very low, baffling all our skill and contrivance, that he may clearly show us, that our success in spiritual things, and even in temporals also, is by his providence.

On the 9th day of the seventh month, 1765, I took leave of my dear wife and family, and accompanied by several friends, went to meet the ship at Gravesend, where we were met by about fifteen or sixteen Friends from London; we dined together, and lodged there that night. Next day being the 10th of the seventh month, I took leave of Friends in much tender affection, and went on board the Carolina, James Friend master, bound for Philadelphia. We got under sail about eleven o'clock, but it was nearly a week before we took our departure from the Land's-end of England. We had for a few days, a pretty fair wind and a good set-off from the land; yet on our passage we had a great deal of contrary winds, and often a head sea. About the 9th and 10th of the eighth month, and for some time before, things had a very discouraging aspect, having got but a little on our way for about twenty days; and most of the company seeming to be affected with sadness on that account. At the same time I had a strong persuasion of mind, that the wind would turn in our favour before night, and had an inclination to tell them so, in order to cheer their spirits, but was fearful of presuming too much upon the certainty of what presented to my view, lest I should prove a false prophet, and thereby bring dishonour to the good cause; however, it proved true, and held favourable to us a considerable time, so that we sailed next day seven or eight miles an hour the right way.

The 21st of the eighth month, we found ourselves upon the banks of Newfoundland, having about twenty-eight fathom water. It was some satisfaction to find ourselves so far on our way; I was favoured with very good health, and a good appetite all the time, and through divine favour, generally with a quiet resigned mind, having full satisfaction that I was in my place. The captain was very steady and well qualified for his station, and very kind to me; the passengers also were generally civil in their behaviour, though they often burdened and wearied my spirit with their trifling, vain, empty discourses, in which I could not join, but was rather a reprover and a weight against them, which I am persuaded they frequently felt, and I am sensible I was a considerable awe upon them; yet I thought it was prudent, as we were confined in one another's company, to uphold a family respect. I often reproved their vanity and corrupt conversation, and was enabled, in a good degree, to bring judgment over them, so that some would own I was right. Alas, I had sorrowfully to observe how empty, vain, trifling, and even corrupt, the conversation of those esteemed the genteel and polite part of mankind, in our day, is become; little or nothing to be found therein, that conveys solid, profitable instruction, either in things relating to this life or the next, but in general it tends to deprave and corrupt. Yet many thus void of self-denial and the government of their tongues, pretend, with great assurance, to lay claim to the holy and undefiled religion of Jesus Christ; surely, they do not give themselves time to think seriously about the nature of that religion, and must conclude that the name and profession without the spirit and life, is all they are to look for, except adhering to a few exterior observations: such gross darkness and stupefaction is much to be lamented, but very hard to be helped when they are so ignorant of their own states.

It was the 10th of the ninth month, early in the morning, that we first saw land, which proved to be Cape Henlopen; about six o'clock we got a pilot on board, who was a native Indian; about nine we entered the capes of the Delaware, with the tide beginning to make in our favour; about eleven our ship struck the ground three times, but soon got off. We had fine wind and weather, which made it pleasant sailing up the bay and river; we got up with that tide, within about six leagues of the city. Next day, about eleven o'clock, we came to anchor before the city of Philadelphia. I soon landed and went directly to my old quarters, being very kindly received as formerly, by my much esteemed friends Isaac and Sarah Zane. I was about nine weeks on board the ship in all, and about eight from land to land. I attended their week-day meeting on fifth-day, and had some good open service therein. I went on first-day to the great meeting, where perhaps, nearly, if not quite, fifteen hundred Friends, or those under our profession, were present; my business among them at that time seemed to be to set them an example of silence. I had, with secret lamentation, to view the remarkable declension from a true spiritual exercise,

which appeared to me very general, looking for words to feed upon; and found that craving was to be disappointed and famished, and therefore was often shut up from public service amongst them, especially at the great house, though I had some very clear, open, powerful times, in the blessed light and life of the everlasting Gospel, there also.

On sixth-day, the 20th of the ninth month, I crossed the river Delaware, and went to Haddonfield Quarterly Meeting, which was very large, and I was opened to declare the Truth amongst them with good authority. I returned next day to the city, and attended the Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders, where things seemed low: this Yearly Meeting, which was very large, concluded on sixth-day. It was in a good degree favoured with divine wisdom and strength, wherein Friends were enabled to consider and conclude some weighty affairs with unanimity and brotherly love. The Lord was graciously with me, affording wisdom and strength to be serviceable at this meeting, both in ministry and discipline, wherein I had sweet peace and comfort. I went the first-day following to Springfield meeting, in Chester county, where I had very open weighty service, and the blessed Truth prevailed. In the evening I had a comfortable meeting with a sick friend at Darby, who soon after departed this life. I then returned to Philadelphia, and attended both their week-day meetings, which were painfully laborious in silent travail. On sixth-day went to their Monthly Meeting, and was livingly opened therein, to show the reason why the church of Christ is compared to a human body, consisting of many and various members; I had good service also in the meeting of business. Their number is very large, but many appeared to me weak and unskilful as to the proper qualifications of active members in the church, and some did not appear to be redeemed from fear, favour, and affection in judgment. I had great comfort in the labour of this day.

On third-day, the 1st of the tenth month, I had a very large meeting at Haddonfield, in West Jersey; the word was given with clearness and Gospel authority, and I had to show the power and efficacy of true faith, and the weakness and insufficiency of a historical faith: it was a good time, and the glorious Truth was exalted. I then went to Chester; the meeting was very large, and I had close, thorough service therein, on the subject of self-denial and taking up the daily cross. On fifth-day, had a very large meeting at Evesham, and had weighty service therein, on the nature of that new birth, without which no man can see the kingdom of God; most of the auditory seemed much strangers thereto, which made the labour heavier, yet wisdom was mercifully given to divide the word to this numerous assembly, for about the space of two hours. Next day I had a very thronged meeting at Mount-holly, in New-Jersey; my labour in the ministry was very close and searching, to good satisfaction. On first-day, the 6th of the tenth month, was at Burlington meeting, and had an open time; also at their Monthly Meeting on the second-day following, which was very large; I was livingly opened upon these words, "Pray without ceasing, and in every thing give thanks;" also showing, that the power of the word of life ought to be the spring of action in the church of Christ.

On third-day, accompanied by divers friends, I crossed the river Delaware, and had a small poor meeting at Bristol, in Pennsylvania. I laboured according to ability received, to stir up the members to a more lively concern, but things appeared very low. On fourth-day I had a large meeting at the Falls; it was very laborious, under a sense of a dry, lifeless state in too many, and the inconsistent conduct of others; especially in excessive drinking, which I felt to cause a very ill savour: I was informed afterward, that it had greatly prevailed upon many, and that divers who were there that day, had been disowned on that account. Next day I had a large meeting at Wright's-town; and was opened therein, to show the similarity between the travels of the soul towards spiritual Canaan, and those of the Israelites towards the outward Canaan. It was a close awakening time to dry, formal professors. On sixth-day, I had a large meeting at Buckingham; to this great gathering the everlasting Gospel was powerfully preached, and the end and design of true ministry set forth. This was a blessed time of divine refreshment, to the rejoicing of many hearts, and arousing, I hope, of the lukewarm, in a good degree. After this meeting, I felt it in my mind to speak to Thomas Ross, a Friend in the ministry, of that county, to bear me company to the southern provinces, which he, after due consideration and obtaining his friends' concurrence and certificate, complied with; and not only that journey, but also to New England, &c., so that I was favoured with the agreeable company of this valuable Friend, through most of my American travels, which was to my great comfort.

On first-day, the 13th of the tenth month, I was at North Wales meeting, which was very large, and was favoured with a thorough open time, to the tendering of many hearts. The day following had a large meeting at Plymouth. I was opened upon that passage, "Believe not every spirit;" and had close

work with libertines, such as are commonly called free-thinkers, and was carried over them: Truth and its testimony was greatly exalted, and triumphed over that spirit and other wrong things. On third-day, had a large meeting at Horsham, and was powerfully opened on the words of the prophet Joel, viz., "I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh," &c., with some close remarks to those who rest satisfied with a mere profession. After meeting, came a seventh-day Baptist to the Friend's house where I was; and if I had suffered it, would have led me out into a wide field of argument, for which I had neither time nor inclination. He advanced several points, but I kept him so close to some of them that he was soon foiled; he found my method of arguing different from his; he being for a multitude of words and a great deal of ramble, and I was for few words close to the point, backed with clear Scripture proof, so we had quickly done. He seemed willing to drop it, and so was I, for such are so full of notion and so fixed therein, that the clearest reasoning seems thrown away upon them.

On fourth-day had a very large meeting at Abington, the place which I belonged to in my youthful days, and where I was first, through infinite mercy, brought to the knowledge of the ever blessed Truth; and where my mouth was first opened above thirty years before, in a public testimony. A dark cloud seemed painfully over the meeting in the fore part, yet at length Truth prevailed, and utterance was largely given to declare the doctrine thereof, showing that the children of Israel feared the Lord all the days of Joshua, and of the elders that out-lived him. It was a very awakening time, and many appeared to be pretty much affected. Next day I had a small meeting at Frankford, things appeared very low and dark for a time, yet at length, wisdom and utterance were given upon these words, "Man being in honour, abideth not: he is like the beasts that perish." There seemed a want of a living concern in the general. Next day had a large meeting at Germantown; this was a dark, painful time in the fore part; Truth measurably arose, and the word was given, viz., "Let God arise; let his enemies be scattered."

Went after meeting to Philadelphia, and on first-day, the 20th of the tenth month, over Schuylkill, to Merion meeting; things appeared low, as to the life of religion: I was concerned to call them to work while it is day, and it was a close searching time. On second-day I went to the burial of a valuable Friend at Darby, the same with whom I had a meeting before mentioned; the meeting was very large, and there was great openness to declare the Truth with clearness and divine authority, even to the confounding libertines and gainsayers, of whom I fear there is a considerable number in that place: this seemed to me the most favoured time I had had since I landed, and being also at the meeting I formerly belonged to for many years, it was a precious renewal of that sweet unity some of us had enjoyed together many times formerly in that place. Next day I went to Philadelphia; and the first-day following to Newtown meeting, in Chester county, where I had very searching laborious service; things appeared to me mournfully low, as to the life of religion, many being at ease in a profession thereof. I went next day to the Monthly Meeting at Providence, and had some good edifying service to the poor in spirit; things appeared very low and heavy in the meeting for business. On third-day I had a large meeting at Radnor, and laboured to convince them that there is something in religion besides the form and outward profession, but few seemed to me alive therein. On fourth-day went to Haverford meeting; I was opened upon the words of the apostle, viz., "Great is the mystery of godliness; God manifested in the flesh." It was a good time, though the professors are but few and in a weak state. I went on fifth-day to the Monthly Meeting at Darby, the life of religion seemed very much depressed. I was silent as to ministry, but had some service in the meeting of business, and returned to the city that night. I had been indisposed some days past, and in much pain with a kind of flux; took some medicine on sixth-day, and was soon better. Next day I went to their Quarterly Meeting of ministers and elders, where I was livingly opened on that passage, "Him that overcometh, I will make a pillar in the house of my God," &c.; showing that the beast and the false prophet must be overcome, before we can stand with safety and approbation in the great work of the ministry. This Quarterly Meeting ended on third-day, at the several sittings of which I had good open service, particularly at the Bank meeting on first-day afternoon, showing that those who are more willing to receive than to make suitable returns, are neither so honest nor grateful as they ought to be; and on third-day, at the great house, being the Youths' meeting, which was very large, concerning the nature and necessity of Christ's baptism with the Holy Ghost and fire; there was great flowing of love and enlargement of heart to the young people that way. On fourth-day I was at a meeting appointed for the poor negroes, and had open good service amongst them, in the free flowing of universal love, wherein I was enabled to open unto

them the way of life and salvation; divers of them appeared to be affected and tendered; it was a comfortable time. On fifth-day I was at a marriage in the city, and largely opened upon these words, "The blessing of God maketh truly rich," &c; showing there is no real happiness in any station of life without it. It was a good time, for Truth prevailed.

I set out on sixth-day, the 8th of the tenth month, on my intended journey towards Maryland, Virginia and Carolina; and went that night to my brother-in-law, Micajah Speakman's, at Concord. Next day began their Quarterly Meeting: through divine favour, I had thorough service at the three meetings held there: on seventh-day, at the meeting of ministers and elders, I was livingly opened upon these words of Christ, "The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his Lord;" also, concerning what was declared of Christ, "That in his humiliation, his judgment was taken away," &c. It is not to be wondered at, if our judgment in the Truth is taken away at times, that we may see who is the giver of it; it was an effectual reaching time. On first-day I was mournfully affected with a distressing sense of the apostacy of many in that meeting, from the life and power of religion; I had a very close awakening time, and Truth mercifully prevailed. On second-day I was largely opened with good authority, on these and other words, "He that cometh after me, must first deny himself." Great weakness and want of living concern was felt in that large meeting, and too much leaning to their own understanding, yet a faithful remnant is preserved; I was favoured to be serviceable in the meeting of business. I took Birmingham and Kennet meetings, in my way to the Quarterly Meeting at London-grove; these were very large, and I had deep searching service at them; but alas! the life and power of religion is mournfully departed from by great numbers in that highly favoured land.

On seventh-day, the 16th of the eleventh month, I went to the Quarterly Meeting of ministers and elders at London-grove; it was a very painful distressing time; great barrenness and carnality appeared to have prevailed in many in those stations, which was cause of sore lamentation: my public service amongst them was in much close plain dealing, showing, "that to be carnally minded is death; and that the natural man understandeth not the things of the spirit of God." Here my intended companion, Thomas Ross, met me. On first-day the meeting was very large; I had a close searching time, particularly to some who stood in the foremost rank; my spirit was much distressed in viewing the great desolation made by the prevalence of many evils. On second-day I had large thorough service to the various states of the members, and also in the meeting of business, which appeared to be well conducted; some skilful members being principally engaged therein. On third-day the meeting was very large, and through divine favour, I was raised in much strength and clearness to divide the word amongst them; showing, "That the children of Israel feared the Lord all the days of Joshua, and of the elders that out-lived Joshua, who had seen the wonders of the Lord." I was opened largely upon the degeneracy of our Society, and with great weight and dread, had to signify, that the judgments of the Lord would be poured out upon them, and that what they had yet seen, was but like the beginning of sorrows, that the stroke would fall upon their idols, their worldly enjoyments. It came before me many times, that the fruits of the earth would be smitten, whereby there would be a sore famine in the land, and that judgments, much heavier than they had yet known, would fall upon them; it seemed to me in various ways, of which the sword would be one. It was an awful deep searching time as ever I knew; I hope not easily to be forgotten.

Next day I went to Sadsbury Monthly Meeting, where I had satisfactory service, both in the ministry and discipline. On sixth-day we had a meeting at Lancaster; divers not under our name came to it; and my concern therein was to endeavour to open to the understanding of the people, what true religion is: we had a pretty satisfactory meeting at Isaac Whitelock's, in the evening. On seventh-day, we crossed Susquehanna, at Wright's ferry, and next day went to Newbury meeting; second-day to Warrington; third-day to Huntington: fourth-day to Monallen; at all which places, I had close thorough service; found the life of religion very low amongst Friends; yet a remnant was preserved sensible from whence good comes. We went from thence into Maryland, and had small meetings at Pipe-creek and Bush-creek; Friends were few in number, and seemed low in religious experience. From thence, fording the great river Potomac, we entered the province of Virginia, and on third-day, the 3d of the twelfth month, we had a very large meeting at Fairfax: Truth opened doctrine and counsel largely, showing that two things are essential to the very being of a true Christian, viz., The saving experimental knowledge of God, and the knowledge of ourselves; the last being the natural consequence of the first: it was a highly favoured time, and the living were sweetly comforted.

Next day I had a large meeting at Goose-creek; it was a dark afflicting time; my mind was deeply impressed with a sense of a corrupt, blasting ministry being amongst them; and the people having itching ears, loved to have it so; this was so strong upon my mind, that I feared for some time I should have been under a necessity of declaring it publicly in the meeting. I was an entire stranger, and did not know by any outward information, that they had any who appeared in public. After meeting, I took some of the elderly Friends aside, and told them how it had been with me, as above, for I was silent the whole meeting; I was informed afterwards, that there was a forward unruly man, who had given sensible Friends much trouble in several places, and had been much laboured with by way of advice, to refrain from his public appearance; that he had for some time settled within the compass of that remote meeting, and was encouraged by many of the members, to the great uneasiness of some others. That afternoon I put what was upon my mind in relation thereto, with a few remarks thereon, in writing, and sent it to some Friends of that meeting.

In our way to Opeckan, we had a small meeting at a place called the Gap, where Gospel doctrine, showing the way and means of salvation by Jesus Christ, was freely and largely preached. On first-day, the 8th of the twelfth month, we went to Hopewell meeting; it was a dark, afflicting time; great insensibility and lukewarmness appearing in almost a general way; I was led in as close, plain dealing, and searching a manner, as ever I remember. The third-day following we had a large meeting at Crooked-run, both Friends and many others attended. My mind was exceedingly low the morning of that day, being lately set out on a great journey, and my horse was fallen very lame, and it seemed unlikely that I could be supplied with a suitable one in those back parts: what to do I could not tell; the more I thought about my distressed condition, the more I sunk and was perplexed. In this disconsolate state, I went to the meeting: to see such a number of other societies, and some of them of high rank by their appearance, still added to my distress in this weak state, greatly fearing the blessed Truth should be dishonoured through me; yet as I endeavoured to look singly to the Lord, he was graciously pleased to be a present help in the needful time, and appeared to my soul, as it were in an instant, as a clear morning without clouds. An heavenly time I had, upon these words; "Trust in the Lord, and lean not to thine own understanding;" showing clearly, that the soul's salvation was of God and not by human ability: the oil of gladness ran sweetly. Next day, my horse being unexpectedly recovered of his lameness, we set out on our long journey towards Carolina, and he continued well all the time. I write this for the encouragement of some poor travellers into whose hands this may fall. After three days travelling, we had two poor small meetings, where the life of religion seemed to be almost, if not wholly lost, viz., Camp-creek and Fork-creek; we had but little satisfaction in our Gospel labours, and endeavours to revive true religion in these poor places.

From Fork-creek, to the first meeting we had in the back settlements of North-Carolina, was about two hundred and thirty-five miles. In our way thither, we had four small poor meetings, viz., Genito, Amelia and Bannister, and a meeting at Kirby's, on the banks of Dan river: to some of them, many of other societies came, and Gospel doctrine was opened largely for their help and information; in which labour there was good satisfaction; but, alas! few under our name in those parts, let the true light shine before men, but were most of them as stumbling-blocks in the way of serious inquirers: we were enabled to clear our minds to them, and proceeded on our journey. On the 29th of the twelfth month, we went to New-Garden meeting, in North-Carolina, which was very large, and mostly of professors with us: a thick, dark cloud overshadowed the fore part of that meeting, and it was a painful, distressing time; most of them seemed as asleep, 1 Thess. v. 6, 7, in the night; yet at length, through merciful kindness, Truth prevailed in a good degree. It was a close awakening time, and many seemed to be reached and tendered by the virtue of Truth, and I found great ease and liberty of spirit after meeting. On second-day we had a large meeting at Deep-river, mostly of professors with us, but they appeared so generally void of a spiritual concern, that there appeared to me no room for Truth to arise into dominion. I found it my place to sit the whole time in silence, which, I believe, was no small disappointment. On fourth-day, there being a marriage, we went to New-Garden again; wisdom and utterance were given to speak largely and with good demonstration, in a very searching manner to their states. On fifth-day we had a meeting at Centre; it was extremely cold, and as some observed, the like had not been known there in the memory of man; and being quite an open meeting-house, and very little of any thing to be felt amongst them of religious warmth, it was really a distressing time inwardly and outwardly; yet, through

divine favour, I was preserved in a good degree of resignation.

Next day we had a small meeting at Rocky river. I could find little evidence of the wrestling seed there; we sat the whole meeting silently, yet a Friend had something to offer very suitable to their states. On seventh-day we went to the Monthly Meeting at Cane-creek, which was large, but most of the members seemed void of a solid sense and solemnity; a spirit of self-righteousness and contention was painfully felt; the leaven of the pharisee seemed to prevail, and the few living sensible members were borne down and discouraged. Most of the meeting of worship was held in silence; yet towards the conclusion, some very close remarks were delivered to their states, and very plain dealing in the meeting of business. It seems to me, that when affairs of importance come before such a meeting, they are very likely to be perplexed and made worse by ill management, which I have reason to believe has been much the case in that meeting. I am persuaded many of those under our name have removed out of Pennsylvania and other places to these parts, in their own wills, having taken counsel of their own depraved hearts, and when they have got thither, have set up for something in the church; but it seemed to me most of them were very unfit for the spiritual building, not having been hewn in the mount. We went to their meeting on first-day, but there was much darkness and death over them; I found it my duty to sit the whole meeting in silence. On second-day we went to the Spring meeting. I was led therein to speak largely upon the subject of water baptism, which I wondered much at, not knowing of any being there who did not profess with us; for as people in general in those parts clothe in a mean way, the difference is not great in their dress and appearance. After meeting I understood that the Baptists gained ground much that way, and even had prevailed on some of our Society to join with them, and that their teacher was there; and also a woman brought up amongst us, who thought it was her duty to be baptized, but her husband opposed it; and that the Baptist preacher took her and her husband into the meeting-house, when the people were gone, to undo, as it was supposed, that day's work, or to prevent its having effect upon the woman: it was a time of great favour, and the one saving baptism was exalted above all types, signs and shadows. Next day we had a small, poor meeting at the Hawfield's; and and on fourth-day we had one at Eno, which was the last we had in the upper settlement: this was a laborious meeting, in close, plain dealing with wrong spirits, for which, we understood afterwards, there was a cause.

On the 9th of the first month, 1766, we set out, having two guides, for the lower settlements of North Carolina, being about two hundred miles, and had but two small meetings in the way, viz., Richsquare, and at one Stephens's; at the first, many of other societies came in; and the Gospel was freely declared with good authority and clearness, to the reaching of divers present: at the other place there seemed to be very little, either of form or substance; we were quite shut up as to ministry. We got to our friend Thomas Newby's at Piney-woods, on third-day the 14th, being pretty much fatigued, and rested a few days there. On seventh-day we went to the funeral of a woman Friend, and had a meeting; after a time of deep wading, the word was given in counsel and searching doctrine to their states, who seemed mostly to be settled in a mere form and profession: after meeting we went to our friend Thomas Nicholson's. The first-day following we were at Little-river meeting, which was large, but very low and dark in the fore part; the professors we felt were much at ease and in a state of indifferency; yet at length, in great mercy, the blessed power of Truth arose, and afforded counsel and doctrine suited to their state. It was a searching time, I hope not easily to be forgotten. On third-day had a large meeting at Simon's-creek; through divine favour Gospel truths were opened with clearness and good demonstration, to the affecting of many hearts. Next day had a meeting at Newbegun, which was pretty large and open. On fifth-day we had a very large meeting at Oldneck, near the centre of Friends in this settlement, and others came together in abundance. I was shut up the whole time in silence, which I apprehended they had not been much used to. Next day we had a large meeting at Wells, in which I had a close searching time; but alas! it seemed to me that many of the professors of Truth hereabout, are far gone from a lively sense of true religion, and are become harder to reach than people of other societies.

On first-day the 26th of the first month, we had a very large meeting at Ringwood's, it being the last we were to have in Carolina; some Friends came to it, I believe, from all the other meetings, with many of other societies: at first it was a time of painful travail, but at length the great Master was pleased to give wisdom and strength in Gospel authority, to open the state of the Society in those parts, and to divide to them severally; also to show that in every dispensation of God to man, he

was pleased to give to those who are sincerely attentive, clear evidence of his will and approbation of their obedience; it was a highly favoured time, which I hope, will not soon be forgotten. Next day we travelled into Virginia, and on third-day had a meeting at Summerton; the doctrine of Truth was largely opened, and some close remarks made on the state of our Society; many others also being present: the testimony had a considerable reach. Next day we had a large meeting at the Western Branch of Nansemond: those under our profession appeared too generally unacquainted with the work of religion upon their hearts; many weighty truths were closely delivered, but did not seem to take so much effect upon the minds of many, as could have been desired.

On fifth-day we had a large meeting at Black-water: the greatest number of negroes were at it that I ever saw in a meeting not appointed on purpose for them. This was a highly favoured time; the everlasting Gospel was preached with clearness and good demonstration, showing that the inward and spiritual knowledge of God, is the substance of true religion; and that according to the prophet, this knowledge is to cover the earth as the waters cover the sea. I had great satisfaction and comfort in the labour of that day. We went from hence to the Quarterly Meeting at Black-creek; the number here was large, but alas! great deadness, insensibility and darkness were felt to prevail amongst them; close labour, in great plainness was used, showing the cause thereof: amongst other things, that which appeared none of the least was their keeping the negroes in perpetual slavery. I was often concerned to use plainness in families where I went, in respect to this matter, and am satisfied Truth will never prosper amongst them, nor any others, who are in the practice of keeping this race of mankind in bondage. It is too manifest to be denied, that the life of religion is almost lost where slaves are very numerous; and it is impossible it should be otherwise, the practice being as contrary to the spirit of Christianity as light is to darkness. Through divine favour, the testimony of Truth prevails against it in most of the American colonies, especially in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys.

We took meetings from this place at Burleigh, Petersburg, at Curl's, over James'-river, Wain-oak, John Crew's, Black-creek and the Swamp; most of which were very laborious, in a sorrowful sense that the life of religion was too generally departed from; yet in all of them, except Wain-oak, a degree of wisdom and utterance was given, to labour in the love of the Gospel for their help and recovery; which I hope was not altogether in vain. The next meetings we went to were Cedar-creek and Caroline, being the last we had in Virginia: they were large, not only those under our profession attending, but also many others, as was often the case in these parts. I think it may be truly said, these were memorable meetings: the Gospel was preached in the demonstration of the spirit and with power, which appeared to reach and tender many, if not most present, and my mind was comfortably relieved from that painful weight of death and darkness which mostly attended it in these greatly corrupted colonies. On fifth-day the 13th of the second month, we set out for Maryland, crossing Rappahanock-river at Port-royal, and the Potomac, about three miles over, at How's ferry. We got to West-river meeting on first-day, the 16th of the second month. We found very little if any thing in that meeting, of that simplicity and self-denial so conspicuous in our ancients; but a conformity to the fashions and corrupt customs of a vain world. The Gospel power arose, giving ability to set forth the nature of Christianity, and how far the professors had deviated therefrom in life and practice. The judgment of Truth was set over libertines and unfaithful professors thereof. The next meetings we had, were at Indian-spring, Sandy-spring, Elkridge, Patapsco, Gun Powder, Little-falls, Bush-river and Deer-creek; we were also at Deer-creek Monthly Meeting next day: in all which meetings, ability was mercifully given, to divide the word suitably to the various states, which seemed in a general way, much out of the order, and from under the government of Truth; yet the labour tended to solid satisfaction and peace; I hope it may be remembered by some to advantage.

Thus having visited the western shore of Maryland, we crossed the great river Susquehanna, and went to the house of our friend John Churchman, near East Nottingham. On first-day the 2nd of the third month, we went to that meeting, which was very large, the professors of Truth being numerous hereabout. To this great assembly the Gospel of life and salvation was powerfully preached, showing the force of Truth, how it gained the general assent of people, yet few were concerned to know the same in experience or practice. It was a highly favoured time, and the meeting seemed to be generally affected. From Nottingham we went to the following meetings, viz., New-garden, Hockesson, Center and Kennet, which were mostly large, abundance flocking to them from adjacent meetings. The travail of spirit in these meetings was very deep and painful; much distressing flatness and insensibility were felt;

yet, through merciful help, Truth prevailed and largely opened doctrine and counsel suitable to their states; showing, there is not the least ground to hope for happiness in a future state, unless true religion becomes the principal concern of the mind; and much more, in the free extendings of Gospel life and power, to the reaching of many hearts: everlastingly adored, reverenced and worshipped, be infinite condescending love. Amen.

From Kennet I went home with my sister Speakman, to Concord, and staid there one night, and next day to Goshen Monthly Meeting, which was very large. There was a great body of Friends, generally under a plain appearance; but alas! it proved a painful, gloomy time of silent travail to me, the whole time of worship; and through the meeting of business, though in a good degree regularly and decently conducted, the cloud still remained. This I am persuaded was occasioned by the lukewarm careless state of many members; there being a great want of that living concern and holy ardor of soul, which the Lord is often pleased to own in our religious meetings. The members engaging in his work, without his presence to animate and endue with heavenly wisdom, cannot fail to cause thick darkness, which may be felt by those who are truly alive and have their spiritual senses exercised. After meeting, my valuable companion Thomas Ross and I parted for the present, he returning home, and I staid Goshen meeting, on first-day the 9th of the third month. It was very large, and in the fore part low and cloudy; yet at length I was favoured with a degree of faith, which enabled me to stand up, and as I continued in patience, I found an increase, with considerable enlargement to speak closely to their several states, from these words, "Trust in the Lord with all thy heart, and lean not to thine own understanding." But alas! very many of of them seemed to be far gone into the spirit of the world and at ease in a profession; so that instead of Goshen being a land of light, darkness has prevailed in a sorrowful degree, and many are not sensible of it to lament it. I went from thence to Philadelphia, taking Darby meeting in my way; and got thither on sixth-day the 14th of the third month, having been on this journey about four months. I was received with affectionate kindness by my friends in that city, and attended three meetings on the first-day following; at two of which I was silent, as was often my lot there, I believe to disappoint and famish the unsanctified desires and cravings of many after words. I attended their week-day meetings, and had considerable service therein.

On seventh-day began the general Spring meeting, which ended on third-day following; some of those large meetings were held mostly in silence. I had then as has often been the case, a deep travail upon my spirit, that the people might be led by the example of ministers and elders, to find the comfort and advantage of true silent worship, all coming to sit under their own vines and under their own fig-trees, where none could make them afraid. I had, notwithstanding, at some of them, good open public service. I staid in the city till their Monthly Meeting was over on sixth-day, where I had some close service, and then went to the Yearly Meeting at Wilmington, and was at four meetings in two days. At three of them, the truths of the Gospel were largely and with clearness declared, to much satisfaction and comfort. I returned towards the city, attending Darby Monthly Meeting in my way, where things appeared mournfully low; some of the active members seeming very unskilful in the management of the discipline: earnest labour was bestowed, but I thought it had very little effect. On sixth-day I went to the children's meeting in the city; I suppose there were about two hundred in all, of both sexes.

On first-day the 6th of the fourth month, in company with several Friends, I crossed the Delaware at Gloucester point: the wind blowing very hard, it appeared dangerous; yet, the boatmen being very careful, through mercy we got well over, and went to Woodbury meeting, which was very large, and the Gospel power livingly arose, wherein many weighty truths were delivered, showing the great use of that propensity in man of seeking after happiness, if rightly directed; also, wherein true happiness consists, and how to attain the same. It was a good time, through the gracious extendings of merciful regard. I went home with my near friend Isaac Andrews, who bore me company in this journey, three or four weeks in the Jerseys. We had meetings that week at Upper Greenwich, Pilesgrove, at the head of Alloway's-creek, Salem, and Alloway's-creek, which were mostly large; great lukewarmness and insensibility were painfully felt, many seeming to rest in only professing the religion of their education; for these I had a deep concern and travail of mind, that they might come to know Christ formed in them. The Lord was graciously pleased, in great condescension, to furnish with matter and utterance in an awakening manner, in order to make them sensible of the nature and importance of true religion and worship: may it not be in vain!

On first-day the 13th of the fourth month, we went to Greenwich meeting; the glorious Gospel power eminently manifested itself that day,

by clearly opening divers weighty points of doctrine, suitable to the various states of that large auditory; among other things, showing that the true and saving knowledge of God, whereby we obtain the right knowledge of ourselves, is essential to the very being of a real Christian; and by what means that knowledge is obtained. It was a highly favoured time, for the Lord's heavenly power was over all, and the people appeared to be generally affected. Next day we had a large meeting among the Presbyterians, at a place called New-England Town; their minister having given notice the day before from the pulpit, of a meeting for us; he attended it himself, with, I suppose, most of his hearers, who behaved solidly and respectfully. The universal love of God, through Christ, to mankind, was largely set forth, and people directed from outward observations, to the substance, whereby victory might be obtained over sin: it was a favoured time, and the people seemed generally well affected and very loving, though divers things were delivered which are usually controverted between us and those people; there was no visible opposition, but all passed off in quiet and peaceably.

On fourth-day we travelled a day's journey through the pine-barren wilderness, to Cape-May; had one meeting there, and two at Great Egg-harbour. We found the number of professors small, and the life of religion low; yet we were enabled to minister suitably to their states for their help and recovery, and had a good degree of satisfaction and peace therein. On third-day, the 22nd of the fourth month, we had a large meeting at Little Egg-harbour. After a time of trying poverty and deep travail, Gospel-life and power mercifully arose, in which, doctrine and counsel flowed forth freely to divers states, particularly to a libertine youth. Next day we had a meeting in a new Presbyterian meeting-house, near Barnegat; it was large, and held more than an hour in silence, which the people were not accustomed to. At length the word was given with authority and clearness, showing the necessity and advantage of silence in worship, and distinguishing Christians of the letter from Christians of the Spirit, as also ministers of the letter from ministers of the Spirit; and that those who are always ready to preach, must either have the Spirit at command, or act without it. It was a great and good time; the people appeared to be generally affected, and all passed off quietly, without any opposition. We travelled on by the sea-side, to a place called Good-luck, where we found a large meeting-house erected, though not quite finished, by one Thomas Potter, intended by him, it seems, for all preachers to make use of who would preach freely, except papists, who would not be admitted even on those terms. We had a meeting in it, but notice not coming timely, and Thomas Potter not being at home, it was small and to little satisfaction. We met him that afternoon on his return, he seemed sorry he happened to be out at that time; he sees beyond hireling ministry, and I understand, inclines most to Friends of any, but joins to none. On sixth-day we had a poor, low meeting at Manesquan; but very few therein seemed alive in religion; yet some Gospel labours were bestowed for their help. We went after meeting to Shrewsbury, intending to be at their Quarterly Meeting, which began on first-day, the 27th of the fourth month. It was very large; some solid Friends were present, also many loose, libertine people under our name, and of other societies. In that sad mixture, the life of religion was exceedingly depressed, and my mind in sympathy with it: I could not wade through so as to get ease and satisfaction, though I laboured very hard. In the meeting next day, the power of Truth in marvellous kindness arose, and the Gospel was preached with good authority and clearness, to the various states of that great auditory. The meeting of business followed; there seemed but little judgment to maintain good order and discipline; and unity appeared not so general as could have been desired. On third-day abundance of people flocked to meeting, perhaps with much expectation; but my way was shut up as to ministry, and but very little from any other; I found peace and satisfaction by abiding in my place.

On fifth-day I went to Chesterfield Monthly Meeting; it was very large, and I had deep and painful wading therein, in my public service, showing what man is by nature, with whatever mode or form of religion he decks and adorns himself; for that which is born of the flesh is but flesh, and cannot see the kingdom of God. I got through at last to pretty good satisfaction, but found much close labour in the meeting of business, and saw great deviation from the right thing, in some high ruling members, who had carried an affair through that meeting against the most lively part of the body, which they themselves had sufficient cause to repent. On sixth and seventh-days, I had meetings at Upper-Freehold and New-Springfield; and on first-day, the 4th of the fifth month, had a very large meeting at Mansfield in the morning, and another at Bordentown in the evening. The people seemed full of expectation from one come so far; but it pleased the great Master,

without whose gracious aid the poor servant can do nothing to advantage, to shut me wholly up as to ministry, in both places, to the great disappointment of many; but there was no remedy; I durst not contrive or form any thing for them, and, I have no doubt, that silence was the most profitable lesson for those meetings. I went next day to Burlington Monthly Meeting, it was large and divinely favoured; the doctrine of Truth flowed forth freely, showing what it is to be a fellow-citizen with the saints and of the household of faith. On third-day I had a laborious meeting at Ancocas, yet had some good open service towards the latter-end, which seemed to fasten on divers minds.

I got to Philadelphia next day, and on fifth-day, the 8th of the fifth month, went to the marriage of John Pemberton and Hannah, the daughter of my worthy friends Isaac and Sarah Zane. It was at the great meeting-house, the assembly was large, and there appeared much desire and expectation after words, which often hurts meetings and blocks up the way of ministers, which was the case now for a while; yet at length some, I hope, profitable labour was bestowed, from the words of our Lord, "Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness." On first-day, the 11th of the fifth month, I attended three large meetings in the city, in all which, I thought it my duty to set an example of silence. Near the close of the evening meeting, it was a sweet refreshing time; the thirsty soul had to drink of that river that maketh glad the whole city of God; in the enjoyment whereof, there was comfortable solacing rest from the painful labour of that day, and full satisfaction, with thankfulness that I had been preserved in my place. I staid their meeting on third-day, which was large; the power and wisdom of Truth opened deep counsel and doctrine, pointing out the different states of professors in that city, that some of the true wrestling seed dare not choose or contrive for themselves, which way to be fed; whether immediately by the great Shepherd's own hand, or instrumentally by his servants; and that there were many others anxiously choosing to be fed with testimonies and outward declarations, which state ought to be famished; also, that the time would come, when the word of the Lord, by way of ministry, would be very precious, and he would command the clouds to rain no rain upon such; that it was already a time of parching drought, because of idolatry; yet the Lord would open springs to the seed of Jacob, in the midst of the vallies, and in his own time bring them to Rehoboth. It was a great and good time, and the meeting was much affected. I set out next day for New-England, and had meetings in my way to Long-Island, at Byberry, Middletown and Stonybrook, where my old companion, Thomas Ross, met me: my service was very close and searching at these meetings. Alas! how hath an indolent spirit prevailed on the professors of Truth, a small remnant excepted, who are preserved in most places, to rejoice in the painful labours, in great mercy yet continued to the churches.

In company with several other Friends we proceeded on our journey, in order to attend Flushing Yearly Meeting, on Long-Island, for the government of New-York. On fifth-day, the 22nd of the fifth month, we attended the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings of ministers and elders at Flushing; in the latter I had comfortable open service, upon the blessing pronounced by our gracious Redeemer to the poor in spirit, showing the necessity and usefulness of that state; and also setting forth the essential qualifications of a Gospel minister. It was a blessed time, and the upright-hearted were sweetly comforted. Next day was held the Quarterly Meeting, which was small, and the life of religion was felt to be very low; a painful gloominess having spread itself, through a want of living concern in many of the members, and from some presuming to act in the church, too much in their own will and wisdom; yet the Lord who waits to be gracious, afforded doctrine and counsel suitable to their states; showing, there is one body and one spirit, and that all the members who act profitably, must know a being baptized by that one spirit into the one mystical body. I found great numbness in the meeting of business; my spirit was deeply baptized into suffering therein, and constrained to lay their condition before them by very close searching observations, which appeared to take some impression, and my mind was much relieved thereby. On seventh-day morning the Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders was held, which was small, and the vital part of religion seemed to be much obstructed; some close remarks were delivered, which afforded considerable relief: at eleven o'clock came on the first public meeting for worship, the time of which was taken up very unprofitably by an unskilful appearance; after which, the business was entered upon, and it was a painful, distressing time; the forward, busy, active spirit of man was let loose in a few elderly persons, who had placed themselves at the helm of government there, and who seemed to have got such an ascendency over the meeting, as to bear down whatever appeared in the right line of tenderness and Truth's simplicity, when they did not see fit to promote it. The attempt was to lay aside

the necessary queries to be answered by inferior, to superior meetings. I was favoured with a degree of wisdom and strength to withstand that spirit, and to show the necessity of proper queries, in order that the state of the Society might be better understood; how else could suitable advice be administered? But through the cowardice of many present, I was left to engage much alone; yet have cause to believe, that the weapons given both in the meeting and afterwards in private conference, wounded that spirit deeply, and gave honest Friends a clearer sight of it than they had before. In the succeeding meetings, business was managed with more harmony and peace, and the meetings for worship were very large; wherein the everlasting Gospel was preached with clearness and demonstration: many were deeply affected, and the great Author was humbly worshipped and adored, who is worthy for ever!

We went from Flushing, and had a large meeting at Cow-Neck, in which Truth opened Gospel doctrine largely, to the tendering of many hearts. Next day we had an exceedingly large meeting at Westbury: as there was general notice, abundance of people came from several parts of the island, so that there was nearly as large a concourse as at the Yearly Meeting; their expectations were much after words, but they had none from me, being shut up in silence the whole time: the Monthly Meeting of business was held at the close thereof. We had very large meetings afterwards, on this island at Matinicock, Oyster-Bay, Bethpage and Sequetague; and notwithstanding the low, languid state of the Society, Gospel truths were largely delivered, and livingly opened in them.

We then travelled towards the east end of the island, on our way to Rhode-Island, and on third-day, the 3d of the sixth month, went on board a vessel about eight o'clock in the morning, taking our horses with us, and landed safe at Gratten, opposite to New London in the colony of Connecticut, about one o'clock the same day. We got that night to our friend Peter Davis's, in Rhode-Island government, about twenty-two miles. We had a meeting next day at Westerly: the governor of the province was at it and behaved kindly, inviting us to his house; but it did not suit us to go.

In order to fill up our time before the Yearly Meeting, we had meetings at a new meeting-house near James Perry's, South Kingston, Greenwich, Neshantecut and Providence; and though we found some honest travellers for Sion's prosperity, yet, for the most part, the life of religion appeared mournfully low, indifferency prevailing in many, and divers undue liberties in others. I was much afflicted at some of the meetings with the dark principles of deism, and was favoured with ability to lay open the wickedness and gross absurdity of such principles, warning Friends and others to shun the conversation of those tinctured therewith, as they would a poisonous serpent. On fifth-day, the 12th of the sixth month, the Yearly Meeting for New England began at Portsmouth on Rhode-Island: this meeting was very large as to number; but it was a dark gloomy time of deep suffering: the glory and diadem of our religious assemblies seems to be sorrowfully removed from these people, and instead of the meeting being covered therewith, it was overspread with darkness. Here I met our friend Thomas Gawthrop, who was upon his third visit to Friends in America; we both sat the whole meeting in silence.

The meetings following, both for worship and discipline, were held at Newport, and continued till second-day was over. The public meetings were exceedingly large, both Friends, and abundance of other people attending most of them; it was supposed there were two thousand people. To these great assemblies, it pleased the gracious fountain of all good, to open much Gospel doctrine in the demonstration of the Spirit and with power, which appeared to be generally well received, and was to the great comfort and relief of those engaged therein. But the meetings of ministers and elders, and those for discipline, were for the most part very heavy and distressing; great weakness and want of living concern, were painfully felt therein; that divine wisdom which alone can build the house, was little attended to, and formality prevailed. Ability was graciously afforded to use plainness of speech, endeavouring to make them sensible of the loss they sustained, by forsaking the fountain of living waters, and hewing to themselves cisterns, broken cisterns, that would hold no water: yet we found a few sincere labourers amongst them, whose hands I hope were in some degree strengthened; but things in general were very low. On third-day we had a large satisfactory meeting on Conanicut Island, to which many from Newport went; and next day another at Newport, which was the last we had there. In this meeting wisdom and utterance were given to declare the Truth to their several states, in much plain dealing, endeavouring to show them from whence they had fallen, and how vain it was to imagine they were God's people in the state most of them were then in: there was also encouragement to the few sincere hearted. On fifth-day we had a very large meeting at Portsmouth, to which came

great numbers from Newport. It was a time of great darkness and deep suffering with the oppressed Seed: the young people are mostly gone into the air and undue liberties; and those more advanced, a few excepted, are gone into the earth; having much to do in government affairs, and many of them had got into the offices, friendships and parties, as well as into the profits, of this world.

Next day we had meetings in our way to Nantucket Yearly Meeting, at Tiverton, Little-Compton and Accoakeset. The last two were very large, especially Accoakeset; the Gospel was largely and with good authority declared in them to much satisfaction and comfort, there being considerable openness, many of other persuasions attending. On second-day, being their Monthly Meeting at Aponyganset, and notice having been given of our intention of being there, it was exceedingly large; it was supposed there were two thousand people present. In this large assembly the everlasting Gospel was preached in the demonstration of the Spirit and with power; wisdom being mercifully given to divide the word suitably to the various states: the meeting appeared to be generally affected, and the minds of those engaged, greatly relieved. Early next morning we embarked for Nantucket, in company with about twenty Friends, and landed about five o'clock in the afternoon of the same day. On sixth-day the Yearly Meeting began, and was very large: a becoming plainness appeared in the general; but, alas! the life of religion was very much departed from by numbers in that place, once so much noted for a family of love. I went on the island a stranger to their present state, though I had been there twice before, a witness of better times: much distressing anguish was felt in this meeting, and for some time I expected the current of life would have been wholly obstructed. But at length, through divine mercy, Truth arose with Gospel authority, setting forth what a great manifestation of evangelical light and Truth sprung up in the last century after a dark night of apostacy and error; when the heavenly power being embraced, brought forth the nature and spirit of religion; but endeavours now are too often used to support the same principles in a formal way, by the strength and wisdom of man; and the Lord will not own a people in that state. Many things were delivered upon this subject with great dread, and I felt the Lord's power go forth as a fire amongst the briars and thorns; many were struck with sadness and fear, and the everlasting name was exalted. Thomas Gawthrop was there and had good service. The meeting ended on second-day, much Gospel labour having been bestowed in the several sittings thereof. Notwithstanding the general state of Friends on that island appeared deplorable, yet I believe a remnant are and will be preserved fresh and lively in religion. May their number increase!

We left the island on third-day, the 1st of the seventh month, and landed that evening at Seconesset, on the continent, being about fifty in number. We had a small meeting on fifth-day, at a meeting-house near the place of our landing, and went forward to be at Sandwich Quarterly Meeting. On sixth-day we went to their Monthly Meeting, where was a burial of a Friend who had died suddenly. There were many Presbyterians present: the Gospel power arose with considerable strength and clearness, with the words of the apostle; "Give diligence to make your calling and election sure;" with remarks on the great importance of the work, how necessary to be assured of its going forward, and that a certainty thereof may be obtained, by the spirit of God bearing witness with our spirit, according to the apostolic testimony. This exhortation contradicts the dark opinion of absolute and unconditional election and reprobation; seeing this pressing advice to make it sure, implies something to be done on man's part, which may be omitted, and he thereby may miss the election of God's grace; whereas, according to that, the election is made so certain, even from the foundation of the world, by an immutable decree, that all man's endeavours will make no alteration, seeing one cannot possibly be added to the number of the elect, nor one diminished. The great absurdity of this doctrine was exposed, showing how it reflected much dishonour on infinite mercy and goodness; and some of their strongest arguments in favour of that doctrine were answered.

I was also opened upon infant baptism, so called, setting forth how unreasonable it is to uphold types, signs and shadows, unless we expect another and higher dispensation: that types always pointed to the anti-type or substance, and seeing most acknowledge the substance is come, how weak to keep up the sign. It was a good time, for Truth was exalted and the meeting pretty generally affected; and though these disputable points were closely handled, yet there was no opposition, nor the least objection appeared. On seventh-day the Quarterly Meeting was held, in which we had some profitable service, in a close, searching way; things appeared very low, yet there were some sincere, honest labourers. We went after meeting about twenty miles to Plymouth, where it is said the first colony of English landed and settled. The next day,

being the first of the week, we went to Pembroke meeting, which was but small of Friends, but a pretty many of other societies came in, considering the short notice; the truths of the Gospel were largely delivered amongst them, and seemed to be well received. We set out after meeting, intending to pass through Boston, and as far to the eastward as we proposed to visit Friends, leaving notice as we went, at the several meetings, to take them in our return. We had very large meetings at Cachechy and Dover; and although we found but little living concern amongst Friends, yet the blessed Truth favoured and opened the way for much Gospel labour suited to their states, in order to revive ancient zeal and ardour. The weather was extremely hot and the meetings crowded, so that at times it seemed as if I should have been overcome and faint; but by divine favour, I was mercifully carried through, to a considerable degree of satisfaction and peace. We returned to their Quarterly Meeting at Hampton, which began for ministers and elders, on seventh-day the 12th of the seventh month. We were sorrowfully affected to find so little living concern amongst the leaders of the people.

Next day being the first of the week, we had two large meetings composed of Friends and others. A religious labour for heavenly bread seemed almost lost, even amongst those advanced in age and profession of the Truth; yet in marvellous condescension, the Gospel power and life sprung up and extended to their various states, with great strength and clearness, even as a flame of fire against the wood, hay and stubble. It was showed what a great and glorious thing Christianity is; how complete victory and dominion may be obtained by it over sin, and the soul of man be endued with sublime virtues; but that to view the notion of Christianity which people in general appear now to be contented with, it would seem as if little real religion remained on the earth. In the afternoon I was led to set forth that there is one body, one spirit, one Lord, one faith and one baptism; that by this only, people come to be truly initiated into the church, being buried with Christ by his saving baptism into his death, and thereby witnessing with the apostle, the measure of the sufferings of Christ which are yet behind, fulfilled in us; if so be that we suffer with him, we also may be glorified together: the deep mystery of man's redemption through Christ, was largely opened, it being a time of great favour, and the people were generally affected. Next day forenoon was held their meeting of business; but as the power of Truth, the main spring of action in the weighty affairs of the church, appeared to me sorrowfully wanting, little could be done to good purpose; some close remarks were made upon the declining state of that meeting, wherein we had very little satisfaction. In the afternoon we had a very large concluding meeting, wherein Christ was freely set forth as the true light, who enlightens every man that cometh into the world; and that as the light of the outward sun is necessary for transacting the affairs of this life, so the light of the Sun of righteousness, is no less necessary to show us how to perform the great work of our soul's salvation: it was a good time. We then had meetings at Amesbury, Newbury, Salem, Lynn and Boston. At Lynn in the afternoon, being first-day, I found it my place to set an example of silence; at the other meetings I was largely opened in the service of the Gospel, to good satisfaction and comfort. From Boston we travelled to Dighton, and dined on the way at Taunton. Our guide being acquainted with a shopkeeper in that town, we were invited to dine with him: after dinner we entered upon much reasoning about religious principles, and a close dispute ensued. I was, through divine assistance, enabled to stand my ground and to maintain our principles, to the comfort and satisfaction of my own mind, and I believe in a good degree to his; who I understood had been accounted a very zealous Presbyterian, and had entertained an unfavourable opinion of our principles: he confessed they never had been cleared up so much to his satisfaction before, and seemed to be a good deal affected; we parted in love and friendship.

We then had meetings at Free-town, Long-plain, Rochester and Acushnet; in these we found things very low and languid, as appeared generally the case in New England; our Society, like others, having too much dwindled into form and profession. The last meeting was very large, but my way was quite shut up as to ministry; in the others I had close searching service. On first-day the 27th of the seventh month, we had a very large meeting at Swanzey, to which came Friends from many parts, some even from Newport. The power of the everlasting Gospel arose in this large assembly, and wisdom and utterance were given to declare the Truth from these words; "To know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent, is life eternal." The meeting was much affected; the Lord's heart melting goodness was sweetly enjoyed by a remnant. Next day we had a large meeting at Smithfield; the nature of true religion, from the apostle James's definition of it, was copiously treated of: it was a favoured time, and the people were generally affected. On third-day we

had a meeting at Wainsoket: great numbers of loose, libertine people, who, I suppose, rarely attended any place of worship, came out of curiosity; and indeed those, for the most part, who profess with us there, seem as if they knew little of the nature and importance of religious worship; but it was my duty to sit in silence.

Next day we had a very large meeting at Mendham, to which came many of our profession, and a great number of such as being dissatisfied with the established worship and an hireling ministry, had separated and held meetings in one another's houses, having such as thought it their duty to preach freely amongst them: to this meeting the Gospel was largely preached, which seemed to have a general reach. After meeting came a predestinarian, and a young man, a preacher among those separatists before mentioned, who are quite averse to that dark opinion: these two it seems, had been engaged in a dispute in the meeting-house when all were gone, upon some points of doctrine delivered that day concerning original sin and the opinion before mentioned; and as they could not settle the points, at length they agreed to come to my quarters, to ask me a few sober questions, by way of further explanation of some things delivered. When they informed me of the reason of their coming, I told them I was very willing to afford them all the satisfaction in my power, but was not very fond of disputes, which seldom tended much to edification as they were generally managed. The old man signified he had no intention of entering into any dispute; however, one thing brought on another, till we got very closely engaged: the young man, the preacher, was on my side, and I think, had as remarkable a memory in the Scriptures as I ever knew, and was favoured with a considerable understanding in the mystery of them. The poor old man, though I suppose as well furnished as most upon such a bad subject, was entirely vanquished and confounded to that degree, that his spirits appeared to be sunk with sorrow, because he could not support his principles better. The young man and I, with other friends, withdrew into another room, and had a religious conference, particularly upon the nature of Gospel ministry and worship; he appeared to be much enlightened and not far from the kingdom; but I fear he had entered into the ministry too soon. This opportunity afforded my mind a good deal of satisfaction. I found many of those high professors in New England, in rather an unsettled state, and fond of flocking to our meetings; they seemed to hear the doctrines of Truth with satisfaction, and there was great openness amongst them in many places. But what sorrowfully affected my mind was, that there is so little of the life of religion held up as a standard to these, by our Society in those parts; yet I believe there will be a gathering to Shiloh, in the New England colonies. Their esteem and regard to Friends, is very different from what it was formerly, though perhaps that in part may be owing to some in our Society being more like them, than our Friends were in early times; yet I believe the case is otherwise with many, and that it arises from their good opinion of most of our principles.

On fifth-day the 31st of the seventh month, we set out, accompanied by two guides, through the back parts of Connecticut, towards Oblong, in the government of New-York, being about one hundred and forty miles through a Presbyterian country; they generally carried themselves civilly, and we had some religious conferences to good satisfaction. The weather was very hot and the roads stony, rough and mountainous, and the entertainment but mean in many places, so that the journey was attended with fatigue to our bodies and horses. We went to New Milford meeting on first-day, the 3d of the eighth month. I had nothing to offer by way of ministry, yet in my quiet waiting, I was favoured with the first clear satisfactory glance of my being at liberty towards the latter end of this year, to return home, which I fully believed, but kept it to myself. After meeting we ascended to the Oblong, and a long ascent it was, of nearly a mile to the summit of that called Quaker hill; the weather being extremely hot, I feared it would have killed my horse, and I was not able to relieve him by walking. On third-day we had a very large meeting at a commodious house built by Friends on that hill. They who attended were generally professors of the Truth as held by us, and mostly plain and becoming in their outward garb; yet alas! when they came to be viewed in the true light, they appeared dry and formal; many, I fear, having clothed corrupted nature with a form of religion, and in a plain dress sit in their religious meetings like dead images. After a time of deep suffering in spirit with the oppressed Seed, the word was given with good authority, and went forth like a flame of fire against the wood, hay and stubble, to the arousing, I believe, and awakening of many for the present. The condition of man in the transgression, as set forth by the inspired writers, was opened; that he is in a state of enmity to, and separation from God, and consequently must experience a very great change, before he can be acceptable to his Maker: showing how this change is to be effected, and that the operation necessary thereunto, makes indelible im-

pressions on the minds of all who are so happy as to experience the same, without which none can be true Christians. Truth had great dominion that day.

We had a very large meeting next day at the Nine Partners, and had close service therein. Next day we had a very painful afflicting meeting at Oswego; I was quite a stranger to them, and did not know by any outward information, that they had any one who usually appeared in public among them; yet my mind was strongly impressed with a sense that the meeting had been much hurt by a wrong ministry, and for that reason chiefly, my mouth was shut up there in that respect: it seemed as if the very person was shown to me in the meeting, though I had never seen him before that I know of; but I found afterwards, it was a true sense, and I told Friends in his hearing, how things appeared to me in that meeting, which seemed to strike him, and he struggled a little, but I left it upon him: may the great and gracious helper of his people, have the praise of his own works, saith my soul, now and for evermore! On first-day, the 10th of the eighth month, we were at the Oblong again; and my travail during the whole meeting was in suffering silence. From hence, in our way to New-York, we had the following meetings, viz., Peach-Pond, North-Castle, the Monthly Meeting at the Purchase, Mamaroneck, and Westchester; at most of which, the Gospel power was largely manifested, by opening doctrine and counsel, in a close, searching manner, to the various states of the people.

On first-day, the 17th of eighth month, we were at two meetings in the city of New-York; in the morning I was silent; in the afternoon, Truth opened the way to public service, showing the beautiful order and economy of human life; all seeking for some mansion, possession or settlement, and agreeably to the laws of prudence and justice, endeavouring to increase their store, that they may have something of their own against the time of need: if prudence requires to provide the necessaries for this short and uncertain life, how much more incumbent is it upon us, in regard to the immortal part; and that our eyes should be turned to view the order, harmony and beauty, of the new creation, and to seek an inheritance in the holy city? It was a blessed time, and many hearts were tendered. I had a good deal of satisfaction among Friends in that city, and hope there is a growth in the best things experienced by divers.

On second-day we crossed the bay and Staten-Island; ferried from thence at Elizabeth-town Point, and went to Rahway. On third and fourth-day we went to the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings at Woodbridge; and I was enabled to labour largely in a searching way, with much plainness and Gospel authority, for their help and recovery from a weak, languid, unconcerned state; yet we found some solid, valuable Friends amongst them. From thence we proceeded on our way to my companion's house in Pennsylvania, and had large meetings at Plainfield and Kingwood, wherein the Gospel was preached with great openness, to good satisfaction. On seventh-day evening, the 23d of the eighth month, having crossed the Delaware at Howell's Ferry, we got to my companion's house, and attended two meetings at Wright's-Town, where he belongs. Next day there was a considerable number of professors assembled at meeting, but spiritual idleness was felt sorrowfully to prevail over many, craving to be fed with words; I found it my duty to be silent at both the meetings. Having taken a cold after some of the late large and hot meetings, I was much indisposed, and staid at my companion's till fifth-day, and then went to the Quarterly Meeting for the county of Bucks, held at the Falls, which was exceedingly large. Truth greatly favoured that meeting, in opening doctrine and counsel, for the help, reproof and encouragement of many, beginning with these words, It is especially worthy to be noted, that the inspired writers, both in relating their own experience, and in administering advice and counsel to others, on a religious account, lay the whole stress of religion upon the inward, saving and spiritual knowledge of God. It was a great time, and many hearts were tendered. The Youths' meeting was held next day at Bristol; it was a low, poor time, and I had nothing to offer by way of ministry.

On first-day, the 31st of the eighth month, I went to Makefield meeting, which was an exercising time; a careless, earthly spirit was felt to be very prevalent; I had some service there, in a very close, searching manner. In the afternoon I had a very large meeting at John Beaumont's, wherein much Gospel doctrine flowed to the people, upon the nature of self-denial and bearing the yoke of Christ; many, not of our Society, were present and pretty much affected; it was a favoured time. Next day I went to Buckingham Monthly Meeting, which was very large, a numerous body of Friends living in those parts; I had great openness for public service therein, showing, that the promises of God in him, are yea and amen for ever; yet we are not entitled to them but upon certain conditions, that is, being in those states to which they are applied. It was a good time, Truth being

exalted. On third-day I had a large meeting at Plumstead, many attending from Buckingham and other places. The word was given with authority and clearness, to declare to this numerous auditory, upon the nature of true religion and worship, showing, that it principally consisted in an inward exercise of the soul towards God, and especially depended on a spiritual acquaintance with him; it was a favoured time, and many hearts were tendered. For some time past I had been indisposed, being, through the extremity of the heat, much afflicted with a rash, called the prickly heat; and having taken a great cold, my asthmatic disorder was much increased; yet, through merciful help supporting soul and body in the great work to which I was called, I was enabled to proceed on my journey, having a strong desire to visit some meetings in the back parts of Bucks, Philadelphia and Chester counties, before the approaching Yearly Meeting for Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, to be held in Philadelphia towards the latter end of the ninth month: apprehending if I could accomplish that, I should have little to do after, except on the eastern shore of Maryland and in the lower counties upon Delaware.

Here my valuable friend Zebulon Heston, joined me for a companion to the back parts. We travelled next day to Richland, and the day following had a large meeting there, mostly consisting of those under our name: great lukewarmness and want of a living concern was felt; yet it pleased divine goodness to favour with ability to labour in the Gospel with plainness, in a very awakening manner, which seemed to have some tendering effect, at least for the present. We travelled next day to Oley, called also Exeter, and went to their meeting on first-day, the 7th of the ninth month. They appeared to me mostly ignorant of the importance of that worship and service which they pretended to meet about, and as if the chief waiting was to hear what the poor servants had to say: they were disappointed in respect to me, finding it my place to sit the meeting in silence. We afterwards went to Maiden-creek, and had a large meeting the next day. I believe there were some valuable Friends there, but many appeared in a state of indolence as to religion, looking for words. There was a considerable space of silence; at length Truth arose and obtained dominion, and the Gospel was freely preached; showing the nature of the work of man's salvation by Christ, and the great danger of a neglect thereof. On third-day we had a meeting in Reading Court-house, to which many came, not of our Society, mostly Germans, who behaved in a solid, becoming manner; the word of the Gospel was given, and ability to declare it with good authority and clearness for a considerable time, to the tendering of many hearts. Next day we crossed Schuylkill, and had meetings at the Forest, Nantmill, Providence and Pikeland, in all which, ability was given to labour in the Gospel, for stirring up professors to a more lively sense of religion, which was felt to be at a low ebb amongst them, as in many other places. There is cause of mournful complaint, where people go no deeper into religion than what comes by education or outward conformity: many in these parts have entered into the outward possessions and profession of their worthy ancestors, at a very easy rate; yet the Lord, in great mercy, is causing his trumpets to sound very loud, to awaken such to a sense of their danger.

On first-day, the 14th of the ninth month, we went to Uwchlan, which was a very large meeting of itself, and Friends came to it from most of the adjacent meetings. The fore part was a time of deep travail and silent labour, in a painful sense that many present were at ease in a bare profession of the Truth. At length the word was given with considerable weight and Gospel authority, showing what a powerful efficacious thing Christianity was, when it made its first entrance into the world, and so continued for a considerable time, mightily prevailing by its own force and efficacy, against all opposition and worldly interest, until the world smiled upon its professors; the name then spread, but they gradually loosing the power and life, many disorders, great corruptions and desolating contentions about trifles, got in. Close application of these things was made to the states of the inhabitants of this highly favoured province, earnestly pressing the auditory to seek after the substance of religion. The afternoon meeting was solid and comfortable in silence. On third-day we had a large meeting at East-Caln, in which I had thorough service, to good satisfaction; and next day we had a very large meeting at Bradford, in the Forks of Brandywine; things were felt to be much out of order, and religion to be at a very low ebb amongst them, yet, through infinite condescension, Gospel authority was given, with much clearness in doctrine, showing, that in order to possess a valuable religion, man should be feelingly and experimentally convinced, that in matters of religion, he must wholly resign his will to God, and give himself up to be guided by the holy Spirit; until then, he cannot say, with acceptance to his Maker, "Thy will be done in earth, as it is done in heaven." It was, through divine mercy, a highly favoured baptizing time, and

the blessed Truth was in dominion over hard, unmortified spirits. I went home with my brother-in-law, Micajah Speakman, to Concord, where I rested quietly three days, after long fatigue of travelling and hard labour; yet all was made easy through the efficacy of that heavenly power which mercifully attended from place to place, filling my soul, at times, with true contentment and perfect resignation to the Lord's will, either to do or suffer; in which happy state, my peace flowed as a river.

On first-day, the 21st of the ninth month, I went to Middletown meeting, but had no public service therein, and on second-day proceeded to Philadelphia; attended their week-day meeting next day, and on fifth-day I went to Haddonfield, in West-Jersey, to the burial of Thomas Redman, a public Friend in good esteem, who formerly told me he was first reached or convinced through my ministry, in the Bank meeting at Philadelphia, about thirty years ago. The meeting was very large, consisting both of Friends and those of other societies; the truths of the Gospel were largely declared, with clearness and good demonstration; the auditory being very solid and attentive, Truth had good dominion to the comfort of many. In the afternoon was held their Quarterly Meeting of ministers and elders; it was a low time. Next day was held their Quarterly Meeting, which was very large; there seemed to be great expectations and looking after words, as is sorrowfully the case with many in these parts, especially if the poor instrument had been favoured before, and it pleased them: this sometimes tends to deprive them of that which they so anxiously seek after, which I believe was now the case, for I was quite shut up as to public service, but had some good service in the meeting of business. On seventh-day, the 27th of the ninth month, I went to the Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders at Philadelphia, for Pennsylvania and the Jerseys. It was large, and I had some service therein. I informed Friends that I expected liberty to return home that fall, requesting a few lines by way of certificate, to my friends in England, according to the good order used amongst us; this was the only one I requested on the continent of America, yet Friends, of their own accord, sent certificates from most or all the parts I visited. A certificate was readily granted, and signed by a great number of ministers and elders, testifying their unity with my Gospel labours and conduct while among them. I diligently attended the several sittings of this Yearly Meeting, both for worship and discipline, and had some weighty service in them.

On first-day, the 5th of the tenth month, I went to Fair-hill meeting, and returned to the evening meeting in the city. On third-day, the 7th of the tenth month, I set out in order to attend the Yearly Meeting on the eastern shore of Maryland, being accompanied by Samuel Eastburn. We had meetings in our way at George's-creek, and the head of Sassafras; Truth made way for close, weighty service, to the states of those present. We went, the 11th of the tenth month, to a small poor meeting for ministers and elders, at Cecil, in Maryland; and next day being the first of the week, the Yearly Meeting began there, to which came many people of divers sorts, most of whom seemed loose, and void of a solid, religious concern. Death and darkness were felt to reign in the general, yet the Gospel power, in great mercy, broke through, and opened suitable doctrine to their states, showing the general consent of all ages and nations, to the immortality of the soul and future rewards and punishments; and although the professors of Christianity were favoured with more clear apprehensions thereof, than others, yet numbers of them live as if they had no such belief, or as if they did not look upon themselves to be accountable creatures. The succeeding meetings, both for worship and discipline, were, I hope, through divine assistance, profitable to many. The Yearly Meeting at Choptank began on seventh-day, the 18th of the tenth month, and ended on fourth-day afternoon; many of the meetings were very large, and the truths of the Gospel powerfully declared in them, and the everlasting unchangeable Truth was exalted over all of a contrary nature to itself: this Yearly Meeting afforded great relief and satisfaction to my mind. We set out on fifth-day, in order to attend the Yearly Meeting to be held at Little-creek, in Kent county, on Delaware. It began on first-day, the 26th of tenth month, and held two days; I had very open service therein. After this meeting I found myself at liberty to seek a proper opportunity to return to my native land, and so went from hence directly toward Philadelphia, and attended the Monthly and Quarterly Meeting there, wherein I had good open service.

I found a vessel bound for London, the captain intending to sail about the middle of the eleventh month. I went on board, accompanied by divers Friends; we sat a while in the cabin in solemn silence; my mind deeply engaged to be rightly directed; and finding, as I thought, rather a freedom to go in that ship, I signified to the captain and owners, that I intended to embark in her, which they appeared to be well pleased with. I then went

to Chester county, to take leave of my relations and friends, and to attend the Quarterly Meeting at Concord; which I did, and had large open service in the several meetings, to great satisfaction and comfort. On third-day I went to a large meeting at Chester; over which death and darkness seemed to reign, so that I had no power to move, as to ministry. I got to Philadelphia next morning, the ship being to sail from thence the next day. On sixth-day, about nine o'clock, I took a solemn leave of sundry valuable Friends in the city, and set out for Chester to meet the ship; many Friends from thence and Darby accompanying me, after dinner, in near affection we took leave, never expecting to see each other again. I embarked on board the ship Phebe, captain Mungo Davidson; we got under sail about two o'clock next morning, and on first-day, the 16th of the eleventh month, about four o'clock in the afternoon, we got to sea.

I find this remark amongst my memorandums, written, I suppose, after I had been some time at sea, viz., "It is fit to be remembered, in humble and awful acknowledgment, that the Lord has been with me ever since I came on board this ship, in love and mercy unspeakable, causing sweet peace to flow as a river in my soul, so as to make me forget all my former anguish. For the former things are all passed away, so that through infinite condescending love, I have learned to sing the song of Moses and the song of the Lamb, and even upon the mighty foaming unstable ocean, to speak in myself in psalms and hymns, and spiritual songs, making melody in my heart to the Lord. He hath been pleased to preserve me through many, oh! very many heights and depths; heights in my service and in the affections of my friends and others, I hope from being lifted up or exalted above measure, by the revelation I have been favoured with; and through the deep baptisms I have experienced, in sympathy with the precious Seed, borne down and pressed by the sins of mankind, as a cart is pressed with sheaves; the Lord enabling me to be resignedly contented in that state. Whether in suffering or rejoicing, in silence or in words, he mercifully gave me this support by the power of his own Spirit, and now is so gracious as to reward my mind with sweet peace for abiding in that station wherein he alone preserved me. I was, through unspeakable kindness, when I sat down in a meeting, mostly enabled to say, 'Thy will be done, whether in making use of me as thy instrument to sound an alarm to the people, or to set them an example of silent waiting upon thee.' What shall I say or return to the Lord of everlasting loving kindness, for preservation by sea and by land, in many perils; I am at a loss for expressions to set forth his bountiful goodness, and the greatness of his love and mercy to those who trust in him. I therefore humbly desire with silent reverence, or otherwise as ability is afforded, to magnify, worship and adore him, who is glorious in holiness and fearful in praises, working wonders, who alone is worthy now and evermore! Amen!"

We had a strong new ship which had been at sea but one voyage before, and was very tight in the river and bay, but we had not been a week at sea before she sprung a leak, so as to require much labour to clear her of water. This seemed to affect the captain and the passengers pretty much, not knowing but the leak would increase, and we were but poorly manned, the captain having been deceived in some whom he had taken for good hands, and who proved of little use, nay, one of them rather a burden. In this gloomy time, through merciful help, I found a blessed support to my mind, in humble confidence that he who is Lord of all, in whose counsel I apprehended I was there, would conduct me safely to my outward habitation. Yet I was sorry for such an addition to the work of the sailors, as we were obliged to keep one hand at least, at the pump night and day all the passage, which was stormy and rough, and very unpleasant to the body. The captain and passengers were very civil and obliging to me. It was the 19th of the twelfth month, before we found ourselves in soundings on the English coast. After we had sailed a considerable way up the channel, the wind came ahead of us, so that we beat about there for several days, and were once in great danger of being shipwrecked upon the island of Alderney. On the 25th of the twelfth month, in the evening, we put into the safe port of Dartmouth. I then resolved to leave the ship, being about two hundred and thirty miles from home, where I arrived the last day of the year 1766, having been upon this journey one year and a half, lacking a few days. I understood it was six or seven weeks before the ship arrived at London, after I left her.

As I have already far exceeded in what I intended to leave behind me in the way of journal, I must forbear adding much more; yet may just hint, that in the year 1768, I went to the Quarterly Meetings of York, Kendal and Lancaster. I had divers other meetings in the north, and accompanied by my worthy friend Samuel Fothergill, had several meetings in North Wales, in town-halls, where none under our name resided. I passed afterwards through a part of England, into South Wales, and so to Bristol; from thence I re-

turned home; having passed through, in England and Wales, about twenty-five counties, and attended sixty-three meetings, and travelled about one thousand and sixteen miles.

In the fourth month, 1770, I set out, accompanied by my wife, intending to be at the Circular Yearly Meeting, to be held this year at Ormskirk, in Lancashire. We were at Manchester meetings on first-day, and attended a very large Monthly Meeting on the second-day following, at Warrington. Truth and its testimony was exalted, and had great dominion over libertine spirits, to the joy of the upright in heart. The Yearly Meeting before mentioned, began the 17th of the same month, and held three days: there was a very convenient booth erected for the purpose, which it was thought, would accommodate two thousand people; yet it was not sufficient to contain the numbers who came, so that other meetings were held out in the open air at the same time. The people in general behaved with civility and respect; there was considerable openness, and the meetings were well conducted. We returned from thence homewards, taking Warrington meeting on first-day: the journey was very satisfactory, the whole being about four hundred and eighty-eight miles.

In the year 1772, I went in company with my friends Sarah and Deborah Morris of Philadelphia, to the Yearly Meeting at Bristol; it was large and divinely favoured. I attended, this year, four other Yearly Meetings, to very good satisfaction and comfort, viz., London, Colchester, Woodbridge and Norwich, accompanied by my wife to the last four, as well as by the two Friends before mentioned, who were in this nation upon a religious visit.

Being now in the sixtieth year of my age, and having laboured for twelve or fourteen years, at times, under an asthmatic complaint, which has caused riding to be frequently painful to the body, which difficulty age is likely to increase, I expect that my travelling any considerable journies will of course cease, and having written so much already, I here intend to lay down my pen, committing myself, and what is done, to the providence and blessing of God, in whose power alone it is to grant patience, resignation and perseverance, to his poor, helpless servants, and an increase of their Gospel labours: So be it!

A Testimony from the Monthly Meeting of Witham, in Essex, concerning JOHN GRIFFITH, *deceased.*

THE character of this our well beloved Friend being so generally known, we esteem it unnecessary to extend our testimony concerning him, further than the time of his arrival and residence amongst us.

In the year 1747, being a member of the Monthly Meeting of Darby, Chester county, in Pennsylvania, he was concerned to visit the churches in Great Britain and Ireland. During this engagement his mind was impressed with an apprehension of duty to settle in this nation; the importance whereof was the occasion of earnest supplication to the Lord, that he might be rightly directed. After deliberate consideration, finding the expediency of his removal clearly confirmed, he returned to America, and having settled his affairs, with the concurrence of his brethren he removed to England; and entering into marriage covenant with Frances Wyatt, of Chelmsford, he became a member of this meeting; wherein, we trust, the fruits of his labour afford substantial evidence of able talents faithfully applied. Few were his companions zealously concerned for the restoration of good order, which rendered the task more arduous; yet in regard to the exercise of the discipline, compared with the state in which he found it, considerable regulation has been effected.

His gift was eminently adapted to service: in ministry sound, powerful and clear; in discipline, diligent and judicious; searching impartially into the causes by which the circulation of life was obstructed. This care, disturbing the false rest of lukewarm professors, at times, excited their displeasure; yet being mercifully preserved from the spots of the world, and endued with authority to speak feelingly to the states of his hearers, in him that proverb was remarkably verified, "When a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him."

In doubtful cases, he manifested an exemplary tenderness and forbearance, particularly respecting such as appeared forward in launching into religious engagements above their qualification, being disposed to afford full opportunity for trial; observing, upon these occasions, that it would be most acceptable, deluded persons should perceive their error by its effects. But when thoroughly convinced of unsoundness, he faithfully discharged the duty of an elder, in the application of plain dealing, which indeed, was his peculiar talent; yet so tempered with discretion, both in ministry and discipline, that we believe few have filled these important stations with more general approbation: nor were his amiable qualities confined to the notice of our Society, having a large share in the esteem of others, especially those of his neighbourhood.

Much of his time was devoted to public service; and a foretaste of the reward pro-

mised to them who persevere in well doing, proved his substantial support through a long course of painful infirmity, being affected with an asthma about fifteen years. At length the disorder producing a dropsy, indicated that his dissolution was near; yet in this condition he continued about eight months; during which season of deep trial, the fruits of faithfulness were conspicuous, being at intervals, favoured with strength to speak intelligibly. His mind appeared to be centered in sweet consolation, which, in great measure, overcame the sense of bodily pain, though evidently hard to bear.

His mental faculties seemed rather enlarged in quickness of sensibility, having frequently to express thankfulness and admiration, that during this sharp probation, Infinite Goodness had not suffered his mind to be clouded, but continued to lift up the light of his countenance upon him; under the influence whereof, his spirit was engaged to encourage those present to faithfulness, the happy effect of which he experienced at that awful period.

Divers who assisted during his illness, have declared that his patience in suffering, kind acknowledgment of their care and instructive admonitions, so far alleviated their anxiety occasioned by the sharpness of his conflict, that they esteemed it a favour to attend him.

After a laborious winter, gradually declining, he quietly departed this life the 17th of the sixth month, 1776, and was interred in Friends' burial ground at Chelmsford, the 23d of the same; aged about sixty-three years; a minister about forty-two years.

Signed in and on behalf of Witham Monthly Meeting, held at Chelmsford, the 28th of the tenth month, 1776, by twenty-two Friends.

The annexed testimony being read in our Quarterly Meeting, held at Coggeshall, the 11th of the third month, 1777, was approved and signed in and on behalf thereof, by

JOSEPH DOCWRA, Clerk.

SOME BRIEF REMARKS

UPON SUNDRY IMPORTANT SUBJECTS, PRINCIPALLY ADDRESSED TO THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

BY JOHN GRIFFITH.

PREFACE.

WERE it not apprehended by me to be a duty, to offer to his serious perusal the following plain and experimental observations, the reader had not heard from me in this way.

I have often, with many brethren and sisters in the Truth, been deeply affected in viewing the great danger to which Christian professors are exposed, through indifference of mind. When a lethargic stupefaction has gained the ascendency, religion in notion and fruitless speculation, satisfy a mind so depraved. A renovation of heart, without which none can be truly religious, is not sought after. Pleased with the shell or form only, such are not sensible that they want the substance.

When the subtle adversary finds men in this kind of sleep or stupefaction, it is then his opportunity for sowing the tares amongst the wheat: by such means the field of the Christian church became in process of time covered therewith. That which came nearest to my heart and most earnestly engaged my attention towards the present undertaking, not without ardent desires for the lasting advantage of Christians of all denominations, was, that the descendants of a people, who a little above a century ago, were marvellously brought out of, and redeemed from, all lifeless shadows and empty forms of religion, to enjoy and be grounded in the blessed power and life thereof, might be preserved truly sensible of the way and means whereby our worthy predecessors obtained a firm establishment in the Truth, as it is in Christ Jesus: for it is evident where the means are neglected, the end cannot be attained.

That many of these descendants in this day of outward peace and plenty, inclining to false liberty and ease, shun the cross of Christ, which would crucify them to the world, is a mournful truth, too obvious to be denied. In consideration hereof, I found a concern to throw a few observations before them, suited

to the present state of things; endeavouring, in some degree, to offer to the view of the present and succeeding generations, the means by which our worthy predecessors became a living honourable body of people; that the necessity may fully appear of the same blessed power operating upon their minds, in order to qualify all, that they may rightly succeed those valiants in maintaining the cause of God.

The objection which cast some discouragement in my way, may also occur to some readers, viz., that the subjects treated of in this small tract have been divers times heretofore judiciously written upon by different authors. This is no more than may be said of most religious subjects. Divine wisdom and goodness hath seen meet to revive the same truths, by different instruments, from generation to generation; the Lord's servants speaking the same thing, as with one mouth. Herein God's gracious condescension to human frailty is very conspicuous, causing those excellent truths, so essential to be received that man's soul may be saved, to be frequently revived and inculcated, seeing he is so liable to forget God, and his reasonable duty to him.

I shall only add my earnest prayer to the God and Father of all sure mercies, that these truths, which I have cast into the treasury, may meet the serious reader, of whatever denomination, with the divine blessing! If that graciously attend, though what is here offered may be justly accounted as the barley-loaves, the hungry soul may receive some strength and refreshment thereby.

30th of Eighth month, 1764.

SECTION I.

Containing tender advice, caution and counsel to parents and children.

First to parents. Very much depends upon the right education of children. I therefore find it in my mind to make a few observations thereon, as it shall please the Lord to open my understanding; without whose assistance and blessing upon our labours, they prove altogether fruitless.

The people of Israel were strictly enjoined to make the training up of their children in the law of God, their constant care: viz., "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord; and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might. And these words which I command thee this day, shall be in thine heart, and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up."

Exceedingly great is the trust reposed in parents and the heads of families. It is certainly their indispensable duty, as much as they can, both by precept and example, to form the tender minds of their offspring to virtue, as saith the apostle, "And ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath; but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." And, "Train up a child in the way he should go; and when he is old, he will not depart from it."

Parents must first be acquainted with the way of Truth, and the nurture and admonition of the Lord themselves, before they can train up their children therein. That which is likely to have the greatest influence upon their tender minds, is a steady, circumspect example, in a self-denying conduct before them; which will beget reverence and honourable thoughts in children and servants too, concerning those whom Providence has placed over them.

Great care should dwell upon the minds of parents, to make it fully evident to their children, that they are much more desirous they should possess an heavenly than an earthly inheritance; and are more concerned that their souls may be adorned with the graces of the holy Spirit, than that their bodies should appear decked with outward ornaments.

Children will be very likely to value that which they see is preferred by their parents, whether it be the things of the world, or religion. If this be the case, which I think will be allowed by considerate persons, O then! how much depends upon them for the promotion of truth and righteousness on the earth, both in regard to the present time, and generations to come. This fully appears by the Lord's testimony concerning Abraham; "And the Lord said, Shall I hide from Abraham that thing which I do? seeing that Abraham shall surely become a great and mighty nation, and all the nations of the earth shall be blessed in him. For I know him, that he will command his children, and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment; that the Lord may bring upon Abraham that which he hath spoken of him." His godly concern appears earnest, even for the child of the bond-woman; viz., "And Abraham said unto God, Oh! that Ishmael might live before thee." Which petition was answered.

Constant and faithful endeavours, with secret cries to God that his blessing may attend them, may prove effectual to the preservation of children. This care should begin very early, even as soon as they are capable of

distinguishing what pleases, and what displeases their parents. A self-willed perverse disposition may soon be discovered in children, which is very earnest to have its own way, before they can judge what is best for themselves. This should constantly be subjected to those who are to judge for them. Children should never be suffered to prevail by an untoward fretful temper, not even when what they crave is suitable for them to receive, were they in a submissive disposition; that they may clearly see, which they soon will, that it is more to their benefit and comfort to yield an entire subjection to their providers, and that nothing is to be got by a fretful self-willed temper. This should be done by a firm and steady hand, and it will make the work of parents abundantly easier in the government of their children, and may prove a great ease to those concerned with them, perhaps through the whole course of their lives; since by crushing their perverseness in the first buddings, it may so die away, as never more to gain the pre-eminence. This would be a great blessing, and they would owe their watchful parents more for suppressing that and other pernicious buds in them, than for a large outward inheritance. Indeed, every thing of an evil nature should be kept down in them by such careful steady means. Oh! what a hopeful generation of youths should we have, were parents in general to exercise this prudent care in all things! I verily believe, instead of sober virtuous youth being as speckled birds amongst others, the rebellious, disobedient and froward, would be so; and this would bring judgment over them.

A conscientious discharge of this great duty, would bring an ample reward to such parents as have no greater joy than to see their children walking in the Truth: and if they should prove unsuccessful, as it sometimes has happened, they will be clear of their children's blood in God's sight, which is a very great thing; so that though the rebellion and evil conduct of their offspring may be their sorrow, it will not be their sin.

I have sometimes been much grieved, when I have seen youth in the way of being ruined by the imprudent indulgence of their parents, especially mothers; making themselves and others mere slaves to the perverse humours of their children; taking abundance of pains to extinguish the flame of their untoward tempers, by such means as add fuel to the fire; inverting the order of nature, in becoming subject to those who should submit to them, by answering their unreasonable cravings; making themselves more work, and that too of a very disagreeable nature, to educate one, than were they to follow the method before hinted, it would require to educate a number, and in the end not so well done. Parents, who are so very imprudent, have less reason to reflect upon their children for being self-willed, and not subject to them when they grow up: because they themselves have cherished, fed and supported that temper in them from their cradles; whereby, unless religion lays deep hold of them, and changes the state of their minds, they are unfitted to be a comfort either to themselves or others; not being formed for good servants, husbands, wives, or members of society.

Alas! when I take a view of the world, and reflect how it wallows in abundance of wickedness and corruption, which mankind possess in a kind of succession from parents to children, like outward inheritances; I have no words sufficient to set forth to the full so deplorable a case. How sorrowful it is to observe even children, by the power of example, become as grown men in wickedness and hardness of heart! Custom and general practice have, as it were, changed the views entertained of some gross evils, so that there appears very little remorse in the almost constant practice of them. Many children are brought up, like their parents, much strangers to their duty both to God and man. This almost universal infection of evil, forgetfulness of God, and of many relative duties, and wallowing in the pollutions of this world, are very alarming, and call loudly for a reformation, lest the Lord break forth in judgment upon the nations, as the breach of waters. It is indeed a painful task for godly parents, amidst so general a depravity, to educate their children without receiving some tincture from this pollution, which runs down like a strong torrent. The safest way is, with great strictness to keep them out of such company; though an inconveniency may attend this in some outward respects; but oh! the souls are the most precious part of them, and parents, above all other considerations, ought to be concerned to preserve them untainted with the defilements of this world.

There is no better rule to act by in this important task, than the Spirit of Truth, promised to lead us into all truth. If we mind this, we shall not indulge our children in any thing which that testifies against in ourselves. We shall be far from pleading that because they are young, some greater liberties may be allowed them in dress or otherwise; but shall feel that as they are a part of ourselves, the same divine law should be a rule for them and for us.

I have taken notice, that some parents, who, as to their outward appearance, seem to have learned, in degree, the lesson of humility and

self-denial, as far as could be discovered by their dress and address, yet seem to have no aversion to their children's making a different appearance; but will even introduce them into it whilst very young; by which it is plain they have a pride in seeing them so, and cannot help, notwithstanding their outward show, discovering great unsoundness, and that they themselves are not what they would pass for. I sincerely wish that parents, who indulge wrong liberties in their children, by suffering them to deviate from that pure simplicity and self-denial into which Truth led our ancestors, and still leads those who follow it, would consider the injury their children sustain thereby; being placed in a difficult and dangerous situation with respect to temptations, which may be presented to them by the children of the world: for doubtless, the more like them they appear, the more free and intimate will such make themselves with them, that they may draw them out into undue liberties; whereas, did they make an appearance consistent with their plain self-denying profession, that sort would be more backward in attempting to gain access to them.

There is no doubt with me, but those unprofitable associations have opened a way for many under our profession to ruin themselves, by going out in marriage; and their parents have been, by their imprudent indulgence, the original cause thereof. Suffering them to be so much like the world, and so little like what Truth leads into, they are put out of the way of the best connexions in marriage amongst us, viz., the most religious; as such dare not seek to, or join with, those who give way to undue liberties; I mean such as Truth doth not allow us, as a people who ought in all things to hold up a true standard to the nations, to continue in. Inconsiderate tender youth, through their aptness to crave the glittering gaiety of the world, and their imprudent parents indulging them therein, are, as it were, prepared for ruin, unless divine mercy interpose; and are also removed out of the way of the greatest blessing that can be enjoyed in the things of this life; viz., a truly religious husband or wife.

Some parents have been pierced through with much sorrow by such means, and have had great cause to repent when it was too late, and there has been reason to fear that the blood of their children would be required at their hands. How dishonourably have some leaned to unsuitable connexions for their children, when there has been a large outward prospect! It is to be feared some parents have looked at little else. This has sometimes appeared to be the case, by the slight put upon the offers of those, who have wanted nothing to recommend them but wealth; the want of which has proved so offensive, that they seem to have been rejected on that account. This is very wrong, and ought never to have entrance amongst any professing the Christian name; "For the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof."*

Some perhaps may think I am very close and severe upon parents; that it is not always their fault when children take undue liberties; which I have already granted, and that they are frequently very self-willed and ungovernable. This is saying something, when children become their own rulers, by age, or otherwise, and have to clothe and provide for themselves; but I think it has little weight while their parents provide for them, who have not only power to advise and persuade, but also to command and restrain. They certainly may and ought to be absolute, in cases where the testimony of Truth is in danger of suffering.

It is very observable, that Eli was greatly blamed, because he did not restrain his wicked sons; though he had power, and it plainly appears he much disapproved of their practices, expostulated with them on that account, and laid before them the pernicious consequences of their evil conduct. How very affecting it is, to consider the fearful calamities which came upon that house, and also upon Israel, probably in some measure on the same account.

The neglect and imprudent indulgence of parents in training up their children, is also a painful loss to the Society, as the consequence thereof tends greatly to obstruct the progress of Truth, by standing in the way of serious inquirers as stumbling-blocks. When such see that the undue liberties they are called out of, are indulged amongst us, they are offended. Oh! that parents, children, and all who are unfaithful, and who easily suffer the important branches of our Christian testimony to fall, (and indeed they would all appear important, if they were seen in the true light,) would deeply consider the mournful consequence thereof, in retarding the progress of Truth, and grievously eclipsing the beauty of Sion! Then I greatly hope a more lively zeal and holy ardour would prevail, and that the careless sons and daughters would arise, and shake themselves from the dust of the earth, putting on the beautiful garment of holiness and Truth, that she might become more and more a praise in the earth.

* These hints are not intended to encourage any to aspire after great things; but that all should, with a single eye, earnestly seek for divine counsel, both in making and accepting offers for marriage.

Having offered a few remarks concerning the important duty of parents, it now remains to do the same respecting the indispensable duty of children to honour and obey their parents in the Lord, which is strongly enjoined in the holy Scriptures, and is of lasting and indispensable obligation.

The command is, "Honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee." Read Mat. xv. 4. Mark viii. 10. Luke xviii. 20. Eph. vi. 2, 3. In that which is consistent with the law of God, no child can stand acquitted before the supreme Judge, for disobeying or dishonouring its parents. This obedience and honour not only extend to yielding to what they enjoin or direct, but also to the preservation of a reverent awe and honourable esteem in the heart, arising from love, which would on all just occasions cherish and protect them. It is a sin of a deep dye to disregard and slight parents, as appears by Deut. xxvii. 16: Cursed be he that setteth light by his father or his mother; and Prov. xxx. 17: The eye that mocketh at his father, and despiseth to obey his mother, the ravens of the valley shall pick it out, and the young eagles shall eat it. Chap. xxiii. 22: Hearken unto thy father, and despise not thy mother when she is old. Chap. xxviii. 24: Whoso robbeth his father or his mother, and saith, It is no transgression, the same is the companion of a destroyer.

On the other hand, very memorable is the kind and watchful Providence which attended such as feared the Lord, and those who loved, honoured and obeyed their parents; as Jacob, Joseph, Ruth, Samuel and David; also the Rechabites. Read the account concerning them, Jer. xxxv. Respecting such as lived in the fear of the Lord, let me recommend the case of Daniel and the three children, who, because of their faithfulness to God, were preserved unhurt, when exposed by their adversaries to great torment and danger.

It would far exceed the bounds of my intention to particularize all those excellent patterns and examples we are favoured with the account of, which are wonderfully adapted to instruct, encourage and improve the youth, as well as others. There are also, for caution and warning, very affecting instances of fearful judgments and calamities, which fell upon the rebellious and gainsayers. May the tender minds of youth, by reading these things, as recorded in the holy Scriptures and other good books, be deeply impressed with proper sentiments concerning good and evil, and the very different rewards of virtue and vice, both in this world and in the world to come.

It is a very commendable, as well as a very profitable thing, to be conversant in those sacred writings. Remember what Paul said of his beloved son Timothy, viz: "From a child thou hast known the holy Scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus. All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." But let the youth and all duly consider, that profiting unto salvation by the sacred writings, entirely depends upon the holy, living, powerful faith of Christ, which worketh by love, purifying the heart; whereby we come to see Him who is invisible, and consequently to understand the precious mysteries of his kingdom, as far as is proper and necessary for us to know them, which is all that is lawful for us to desire. There are many other good and profitable books, but none in which is contained such a store of rich treasure and sublime heavenly mysteries, wonderfully wrapped up and concealed from earthly wisdom and carnal policy. For none can know the things of God, without the assistance of his Spirit, as appears by 1 Cor. ii. 10 to 15, and many other texts.

Great has been the concern of the church in its largest collective body; as appears by frequent and very pressing affectionate advice, caution and counsel to the youth, to read the holy Scriptures and other profitable books; carefully to refrain from all which may have the least tendency to alienate their minds from the holy fear of God, and a sober virtuous course of life, or which are barely for amusement, being unprofitable: time is very precious, short and uncertain; therefore it should be carefully improved to the soul's everlasting advantage. Moreover, that the youth do yield strict and careful obedience to the divine monitor within, to parents and all those who have the rule over them, carefully to shun the vain unprofitable amusements, as well as the corrupt conversation of the world: earnestly admonishing all to avoid every thing in their dress and address, which might have the least tendency to draw them into a league or amity with the children of the land; or of a depraved degenerate world, that wallows in pollution and great defilements, lest they should be drawn aside, as Dinah was, by going out to see the daughters of the land; and as the children of Israel were, by their woful intimacy with the daughters of Moab and Midian. Read the whole chapter; not forgetting the dreadful fall of Solomon, the wisest king, who, by contracting intimacy with those who were strangers

to God and his holy covenant, had his heart drawn away from the living and true God, who had appeared to him in Gibeon; and so greatly debased himself, as to bow down to their paltry dumb idols. Time would fail to recapitulate the mournful instances recorded in the holy Scriptures, and other authentic accounts, concerning the hurtful consequences of God's people mixing and joining with the nations. It is their safety to be separate and to dwell alone.

Our youth have been also highly favoured with a living, powerful ministry, which has often reached the witness of God in their hearts. What a great favour is this? when we consider that the greatest part of Christendom, almost ever since the apostles' days, have deprived themselves thereof, by substituting human wisdom and learning in its place; so that the panting, thirsty soul, could meet with little from their ministers, but the muddy waters of Babylon; neither could they direct to the pastures of Christ's flock; but counsel was darkened by a multitude of words without knowledge, and the commandments of God made void by the precepts, inventions and injunctions of men. In what a blessed time is your lot cast, even when evangelical light and truth has discovered itself in perfect purity! Oh! that our youth would consider and deeply ponder in their hearts, that notwithstanding the great and earnest labours many ways bestowed in godly love and zeal for the preservation of the Society in the way of truth and righteousness, yet very sorrowful and obvious has been the declension in practice of many amongst us. A mournful inundation of undue liberties has flowed in; many have made grievous advances in those corrupt perishing pleasures and trifling amusements, which our truly pious predecessors wholly denied and turned their backs upon, and have left us large and lively testimonies, by way of warning and caution, carefully to avoid being entangled with such yokes of bondage. These things have prevailed for want of abiding in the fear of God, and duly considering that he is ever present, beholding all our words and actions, be they ever so much concealed from the view of mortals; he knows them altogether. When the mind is suffered to turn to his pure witness in the heart, we find reproof, correction and judgment, for giving way to wrong things: and as the youth abide in subjection thereto, they will be afraid to transgress its pure law in the mind; which they will find to agree exactly with the precepts and injunctions recorded in holy Writ, respecting their duty to God, to their parents, and all mankind.

The reason why many who see their duty, fail in the performance of it, is their departing from the perfect law of liberty, and of the spirit of life in their minds. They may be informed concerning their duty by outward means and law: but the ability is only to be found arising from the inward law, agreeably to Rom. viii. 2; For the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus, hath made me free from the law of sin and death. In obedience and humble subjection to this holy law, youth would enjoy that pure peace, heavenly serenity and sweet consolation of soul, which infinitely surpass all the treasures and pleasures of the earth; and would have a well grounded hope of a happy eternity. It is the adversary who leads to obduracy and a self-willed, rebellious state of mind, to be observed in some of the youth, who, by their uncontrollable dispositions, administer great sorrow and anxiety to their parents and friends, being puffed up with the vain conceit, that they are more capable of judging for themselves, than those of greater experience are for them; by reason whereof, many, it is to be feared, have rushed on to the ruin of body and soul.

Very great is the danger when the young and inexperienced are proud and opinionated. This naturally raises them above instruction, putting them out of the way of being truly profitable, either to themselves or others. Such, unless their hearts are mercifully turned by a supernatural power, are never likely to be fit for governing families, or to act as members in the church of God. Seeing, unless their unmortified wills and tempers are submitted to, however unreasonable, they will break the peace of Society and violate the wholesome order thereof, being like the unsubjected bulls of Bashan.

When any assume the outward form of religion, and take upon them to be active members, without a change of heart, they prove a painful burden to living members; neither can such make suitable help-mates as husbands or wives; nor can they in that state rightly fill up the honourable stations of parents, masters and mistresses, friends, neighbours or tradesmen. I do therefore, in much affection and desire for the welfare of tender youth, caution and warn them carefully to avoid the company and conversation of such, though under the same profession, who disregard their parents and those who have the rule over them; who slight or speak contemptuously of their betters, such as ministers and elders, &c., or of the Christian advices frequently given forth by the Yearly and other meetings, or of the wholesome discipline established amongst us as a people in the wisdom of Truth.

Let not the religious minded join such in marriage, however great the outward prospect may appear; for tender religious minds cannot be happy with such in that connexion. The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and that which makes and keeps the heart clean; learn it in tender age, and by it you will be taught to remember your Creator in the days of your youth, and agreeably to the injunction of our blessed Lord, to seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all things necessary will be added. Divine wisdom, as it is regarded, will direct your steps in the course of this short pilgrimage, in the choice of proper helpmates, and in all other affairs of consequence.

The same watchful Providence will be over you in care, guidance and protection, if you look to Him who attended those that lived in his fear, as you may read in the holy Scriptures.

It greatly behooves you to look diligently to the footsteps of Christ's companions, who walked with him through many tribulations, having washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. Be truly contented with that low, humble, self-denying way which you see they walked in; you can never mend it. If you seek more liberty than that allows of, it will only bring upon you darkness, pain and vexation of spirit. Read the writings of Friends in early times, and observe how wonderfully the power and love of God was with them, and how marvellously they were protected amidst the raging, foaming waves of earthly powers, combined to lay waste the heritage. What encouraging and excellent accounts had they to leave upon record for us, concerning the powerful overshadowing of heavenly love and life in their religious assemblies, and of the glory of God shining forth amongst them? This, through the mercy of God, is not departed; though there have been some removes thereof.

Dearly beloved youth, lay to heart the great slackness of zeal which appears in too many; the dimness, flatness, and painful gloominess, which spread over our assemblies in this day, hard to break through, many times depriving us of the heavenly places in Christ Jesus our Lord! It is not of him that we are in this condition, but it certainly is our own fault, because wrong things are suffered to prevail. Oh! that our youth may be stirred up in a godly zeal to cry out fervently with the prophet Elisha, "Where is the Lord God of Elijah?" and to be vigilant in ardent endeavours to be endued with the same spirit, to succeed those honourable worthies who are removed from works to receive a blessed reward. Consider that the business of your day is to come up in a faithful succession, maintaining the cause and testimony of God, left with you by your ancestors. Stand fast, therefore, in the liberty purchased for you by great sufferings and the shedding of innocent blood; be afraid to trample thereon; which all certainly do who turn away from the Truth as it was received, held forth and maintained by them. May it be very precious in your eyes from generation to generation, until time shall be no more! Those who lightly esteem it, turning their backs upon it, violating the blessed testimony thereof in its several branches, will, unless they repent, be wholly rejected and cast off, as being unworthy of so great an honour as that of holding forth a standard of truth and righteousness to the nations; and others will be called and chosen for that great and glorious work. The Lord is able to raise up of those who may be compared to the stones, and to make them Abraham's children, by doing his works; while those who might have been the children of the kingdom, may by disobedience provoke him to exclude them.

I shall conclude this affectionate address to our youth with the words of Christ, by his faithful servant John, to the church in Philadelphia, "Behold I come quickly; hold that fast which thou hast, that no man take thy crown. Him that overcometh, will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out; and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, which is New Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from my God: and I will write upon him my new name."

SECTION II.

Observations concerning the nature and necessity of the new birth.

The doctrine preached by our Lord Jesus Christ to Nicodemus, of the necessity of being born again, John iii. 3–8., and what is delivered by John the Baptist concerning the baptism of Christ with the Holy Ghost and fire, being the same in substance, which is also set forth by the prophet Malachi, under the lively metaphors of a refiner's fire, a purifier of silver, and fuller's soap, with many other passages of like import in holy Writ, although of the utmost consequence to be rightly understood and deeply pondered by all, is by the generality much overlooked and neglected. That which alone can lay a sure foundation for happiness, both in time and eternity, is hardly thought of by many with desire, or

even with any degree of seriousness; unless it be to shun and evade the force of that power, which would separate them from their beloved lusts and fleshly gratifications. Many and exceedingly absurd have been the conjectures and dreams of mankind; but all to shun the cross; that corrupt self, with all its seemingly rich treasure and adorning, might be saved. This self, in many, has been more fond of a religious kind of ornament and treasure, than of any other sort; and the subtle transformer hath not been wanting plentifully to furnish with temptations to it, those minds who have a religious turn. Anti-christ, as an eminent author observes, can bring forth in his church a likeness or imitation of every thing that is to be found in Sion. O then! how greatly it behooves mankind to press after a certainty; since nothing can possibly land the soul in a more deplorable state, than a mistake of this kind in the great work of salvation.

But some are apt to doubt whether such a thing as an infallible evidence of our adoption is attainable here; though so fully asserted in the holy Scriptures. This is not to be wondered at, with respect to those who are in the natural, unrenewed state; seeing the natural man, according to Paul's doctrine, "understandeth not the things of the Spirit of God, neither indeed can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." But I am persuaded none, who have really experienced the new birth, remain doubtful or scrupulous concerning this important truth. It seems to me altogether unreasonable to suppose Infinite Goodness, who knows the fallibility and great weakness of his creature man, should leave any, whose hearts are fully devoted to yield obedience to his will, under a mistake with regard to the same, or ignorant of his divine approbation, upon a careful discharge of their duty to him. This holy evidence in faithful souls, is indeed the white stone, and in it a new name written, which none know save those who receive it; being an assurance that their names are written in heaven: from whence arises a joy which is unspeakable and full of glory.

A sense of the wrath of God against evil, often makes deep impressions upon the minds of many, so that in painful remorse they are ready to cry out for mercy and forgiveness of their sins. This conviction upon the mind of man, that he hath displeased his Creator, neither doth nor can proceed from any thing in man, but the pure witness of God placed there; so it is quite reasonable to conclude, that this divine witness, upon our faithfully discharging the duty we owe to God, according to its discoveries, will impress our minds with a sweet sense of divine approbation, agreeably to Rom. viii. 16; The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God. With many other passages in holy Writ of like import.

When any are really disposed to be religious, great care should be taken in their first setting out. Many have been marred upon the wheel, for want of patience to endure proper tempering; endeavouring to be formed into vessels, before they have passed through the necessary operation. This has been for want of thoroughly knowing themselves. Every thing that appertains to the creaturely will, and forwardness of desire to choose and act for itself, must die upon the cross; and there must be a remaining as without form and void, under the Lord's dispensations, until the effective Word saith, "Let there be light!" making by his own power a perfect separation between the light and darkness in man, as he did in the visible world. Until this is really experienced, man is not in a condition to be placed upon the wheel, to be formed into a vessel of honour, and there must also be a time for drying, and enduring the furnace.

These wonderful operations, which I have, in an allegorical way, only just touched upon, make very deep and lasting impressions upon all, who have experienced the nature of that regeneration, without which none can see the kingdom of God. When any are come thus far, there will be no occasion to make use of dreams and uncertain conjectures in forming a judgment concerning their adoption. That divine birth which is raised in them, naturally cries, Abba, Father! and when he is pleased to appear, for which they are taught to wait in the patience, they have no room to doubt of having passed from death unto life; or being translated from under the power of darkness into the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ; which consisteth in righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.

The great danger of man's being deceived, lies in the mysterious workings of satan, who has a strong hold in those, who, upon their first awakening by the call of Christ, have not suffered his power so far to prevail, as to make them willing to part with all for his sake. There is something exceedingly reluctant in the strong spirit and will of man, to fall into nothingness of self, and be wholly given up to be guided and upheld by another. This in part arises from the excellency of his frame, and nobility of his understanding, who finds himself in naturals capable of effecting great things, and knows not, till his eyes are opened and enlightened from above, but that he is equally capable of comprehending what

relates to him concerning the world to come. Instead therefore of wholly ceasing from his own will, and relying altogether upon the guidance of the holy Spirit, he is very apt to be active, and imagines God will be pleased with his diligence, in the performance of what he apprehends to be religious duties; such as praying, singing, preaching, or seeking to join others in those performances; often telling his experiences, and hearing those of others. Whereas it would be abundantly more pleasing to the Almighty, and profitable to himself, to lay his mouth in the dust, silently to commune with his own heart and be still, until it pleased the Lord to send forth his light and his Truth, that the poor helpless creature may move and act in a religious sense, with an understanding informed thereby; seeing every thing that is done in religion and worship, without the guidance of the holy Spirit, is will-worship and idolatry; for if the Spirit of Christ doth not move and actuate us in religious performances, we are liable to the influences of the spirit of antichrist.

Some perhaps, by way of excuse for their not being influenced by the Spirit of Truth in their religion, are ready to call it enthusiasm and presumption in those who assert the necessity thereof, seeming to imagine there is no such thing in our time, yet will readily own it was so in the apostles' days. But they can give no good reason why the divine power and efficacy of the holy Spirit should forsake the true church; since mankind have equal need thereof, and the nature of God's dispensation is now the same as it was then.

Common prudence teaches us to examine strictly into the clearness and validity of our titles to earthly estates, that we may be fully satisfied we are not deceived or imposed upon by false glosses and specious pretences. Shall we be less solicitous about that which is of infinitely greater moment; viz., our title to an everlasting inheritance? Man should be very jealous over his own heart, which is apt to be partial towards itself, and through the transformation of satan, to soothe and flatter him into an apprehension that he is in the way to everlasting happiness, when in reality it is quite otherwise. His criterion to form a judgment of himself by, may be the same as that of the pharisee, who went up to the temple to pray, or rather to recapitulate his own supposed excellencies. He perhaps measures himself by himself, or by comparing his principles and conduct in life with those of others; whereas nothing should be received as a standard in this very important case, but the stamp of divine approbation sealed upon the heart by the holy Spirit; agreeably to Rom. viii. 14, 15, 16; For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God. For ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear; but ye have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father. The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God.

Having offered these hints by way of caution, that all into whose hands they come may examine themselves without partiality, lest they fall inadvertently into an irretrievable mistake respecting the salvation of their own souls, I shall now endeavour to set forth, from my own experience, a little of the nature of that new birth without which none can see the kingdom of God; consequently none can be true members of his church. It cannot be supposed, that a person wholly unregenerate is properly qualified for the performance of any religious duty or service in that kingdom, which he doth not so much as see.

I have, by experience from my childhood, found two spirits or seeds striving in me for mastery or rule. I have discovered them to be irreconcileable enemies one to the other; and that I could not serve them both at the same time. I had an understanding given me, whereby I knew one of those seeds was a manifestation of the all-powerful inexhaustible source of Goodness; and the other, which had in a manner leavened the whole lump, was of a wicked and diabolical nature. By means of this corrupt leaven, I had a strong bias to evil of many kinds; nevertheless, I often found the good Spirit striking at the evil, as an axe laid to the root thereof, agreeably to Mat. iii. 10, in order to destroy that which deprived the Heir of all things of his inheritance. I was long in a kind of suspense, unresolved with which to join; yet saw all depended upon my determination, and that I had full power of choice. On the one hand, when the awakening visitations of God's Spirit were upon me, it appeared very dreadful to provoke an ominipotent Being, of unmerited kindness and mercy, to cast my soul into everlasting perdition. On the other hand, especially when those blessed impressions were somewhat worn off, it was next to death itself to yield up all my sensual gratifications, and to expose myself to the scorn and contempt of the world. However, in process of time, the Lord in gracious condescension broke in upon my soul, by his judgments mixed with mercy, in such a powerful manner, as that I was made willing to yield up thereunto, come life or death. Indeed I looked for nothing else at that time, but expected my frail body would sink under the weight of the unspeakable distress which was upon me, and

that my sinful soul must be centered in a state of everlasting misery. Then my cry was, like that of Saul, with trembling and astonishment, "Lord! what wilt thou have me to do?" There was no holding back or secret reserve then, but whatever was called for was given up with readiness: this being all I could do. As to performing religious duties, I had them all to learn, though I had been trained up from my infancy in a strict religious way by godly parents. But the very best outward helps, and the most consistent set of religious principles, only professed, cannot at all enrich the soul with heavenly grace.

By carefully inquiring of the Lord, I clearly perceived my business was to watch and pray continually; to commune with my own heart, or the witness of God there, that I might receive fresh instruction and help as I had need. Self-denial and taking up the cross daily, was to be my constant employ; in doing which, I had much inward peace and comfort, and a well grounded hope that I should thereby find, in the Lord's time, the body of sin so weakened, as that the yoke of Christ would become easy, and his burden light.

In order to a happy progress in the life of religion, it is necessary, by abiding in the divine light, to preserve a clear and distinguishing sensibility between the flesh and the spirit. This cannot be done without great care and a steady waiting upon the divine gift. If the eye goes from this, it is blinded by the darkness; then the man is liable to be misled by a counterfeit light, and various resemblances which satan will cast in his way for guidance and instruction, persuading him all is well and right. To be so misled and therein established, is a truly deplorable state; it being very unlikely such will ever be persuaded to believe they are mistaken, as they often deride whatever appears doubtful concerning their religion and worship. This was evidently the case with a set of professors of uncommon outward sanctity and punctual exactness in the exterior of their religion, in the time of our Saviour's personal appearance upon earth; notwithstanding which, these very people appeared to be the most inveterate enemies he had amongst mankind. Seeing therefore, that frail mortals are liable to such dangerous mistakes, how exceedingly circumspect and watchful ought all to be! and what frequent and strict scrutiny ought they to make into the state of their own hearts! which can be known no otherwise by any, but as the Lord is pleased to send forth his heart-searching light. This is a high favour, which none receive but those who are turned from the darkness, and are fervently concerned to put away all the works thereof. Very gross is the deception of those, who imagine the whole work of regeneration to be instantaneous. This can be nothing else but a delusion of satan, to settle people at rest in a state of self-security as soon as he can. Oh! what a length of time it takes, to work out that rebellious, stiff-necked, backsliding nature, which was born in Egypt, before the new generation is raised up, that is fit to enter the promised land!

From what is before hinted, it may be understood, that the good Seed or holy Spirit, arising into ascendency in us over the evil seed or principle, and leavening the soul into its own nature, is essentially a being born again with water and the Spirit, or being baptized with the Holy Ghost and fire; or man's enduring the operation of the refiner's fire and fuller's soap, and being purified as silver; all which metaphors signify, in a very instructive manner, the different operations of the holy Spirit; which, to the willing soul, is sometimes as water, to wash and bathe in, and also freely to drink of; at other times as a refiner's fire, to purge away the filth and dross, that man may be as pure gold, prepared to receive the image and superscription of the King of heaven; that so, wherever he goes, or whatever he does, all who have their eyes opened, may see whose subject he is.

It is very observable, that the prophet Malachi, when he had set forth the nature of the new birth, breaks out in the fourth verse of the third chapter on this wise; "Then shall the offerings of Judah and Jerusalem be pleasant unto the Lord, as in the days of old, and as in former years;" which clearly implies man's unacceptable state with his Maker in religious performances, until he has previously known the cleansing and refining operations before mentioned. What then will become of those who have intruded themselves into religious services, and amongst his faithful followers, not having on the wedding garment! who would pass for his people, yet cannot find, on examining the state of their minds respecting religion, that they have trodden the path of regeneration or passed through the pangs of the new birth.

When man has, through the powerful prevalence of the holy Spirit, obtained victory in a good degree over evil, his soul abounds with evidence and tokens of his happy attainments, through the Lord Jesus Christ; to whom with the Father, through the influence of the holy Spirit, praise, adoration and thanksgiving, are offered up as incense with acceptance; he enjoys an abundant flow of heavenly love, to those especially of the same lineage, begotten of the same everlasting Father, agreeably to 1 John iii. 14; We know

that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren. It is then become as his meat and drink to do the will of God; he looks with indifference upon worldly enjoyment, when compared with religion and the weighty concerns thereof; his body, soul and outward substance are offered up to the great Giver; being given up to spend and to be spent for the promotion of Truth, according to the Lord's requirings; careful that all he doth may tend to God's glory. These particulars, and much more than I can set forth, are the result of a humble and steadfast obedience to the heart-changing power of the Spirit of Christ, which produces great peace and heavenly solace, whereby he is encouraged to persevere.

Oh! that mankind would but come clearly to see the necessity of beginning in the spirit and walking therein, agreeably to the advice and practice of the primitive Christians! then they would not fulfil the lusts of the flesh. The spirit that lusteth to envy, and seeks vengeance, would be slain. Outward wars and fightings would cease of course; the cause being taken away, the effect would be no more. A selfish covetous spirit, which seeks undue advantage to the injury of others, would be purged out. Here we should have power to love our neighbours as ourselves, and to do unto all as we would be done unto, were we in their situation. All these and many more good fruits, would spring up naturally from the new creation in Christ Jesus our Lord. But those who have not the ground work in themselves, and lack the virtues of the holy Spirit, which are set forth in the Scriptures of Truth, are blind and cannot see that it is as possible to attain those exalted Christian virtues now as it was in the apostles' days; and therefore imaginations, dreams and conjectures abound amongst outside Christians, concerning the means of obtaining that salvation which is only to be known by being born from above. Some say, Lo! here is Christ! Others say, Lo! he is there! but still evade the cross. If that was not in the way, they would surely embrace the right thing, as it is so fully set forth and described in the holy Scriptures.

The views of many, both Papists and Protestants, concerning its nature, are exceedingly obscure and carnal, making the sprinkling of infants with a little water, which they call baptism, essential thereto. The manner of their expressing themselves on this subject, in the confession of their faith to the world, seems in my apprehension to make that ceremony all, or the chief that is intended by being born from above; or that the operations of the Spirit for that end are infallibly connected to the operation of water. Papists say, "We must believe that Jesus Christ has instituted in his church seven sacraments, or mysterious signs and instrumental causes of divine grace in the soul: baptism, by way of a new birth, by which we are made children of God and washed from sin: confirmation, by which we receive the Holy Ghost by the imposition of the hands of the successors of the apostles," &c.* The Protestant church of England saith, in confessing their faith to the world, "In my baptism," they mean sprinkling infants, "wherein I was made a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven." After an infant is sprinkled, the priest says, "Seeing now, dearly beloved brethren, that this child is by baptism regenerate and grafted into the body of Christ's church, let us give thanks," &c. And again, "We yield thee most hearty thanks, most merciful Father, that it hath pleased thee to regenerate this infant with thy holy Spirit, to receive him for thy own child by adoption, and to incorporate him into thy holy church," &c.† These are mere evasions: man hates death to self, and had rather look any way than that which is likely to strip him of all his beloved treasure; though if he was not very blind and ignorant concerning his true interest, he would easily see that his supposed loss would make way for his greatest gain. This unhappy reluctance to the true way, has put man upon straining his invention, to find an easier way to the kingdom of felicity; a way of becoming heir of two kingdoms, and of serving God and mammon, though we are assured this is impossible. Many would fain imagine, that man may be saved merely by the imputation of Christ's righteousness; which, if it were true, would be a very palatable doctrine to a multitude of self-lovers. Some, who do not fall in with this opinion, but believe they must repent, and that they ought to experience the evil purged out by the spirit of judgment and burning, do yet put off this great work, resting in a kind of hope, that they shall be fitted for everlasting happiness thereby, some time before they go hence; and build much upon the great mercy and long suffering of the Almighty, catching eagerly at the sudden conversion of Paul and of the thief upon the cross. Oh! how exceedingly inconsiderate are such delays! A saying of Chrysostom is worthy to be noted, viz., "God promises mercy to penitent sinners, but he doth not promise them, that they shall have so much time as to-morrow for their repentance!" Others there be, who

* Popish Manual of Spiritual Exercises, page 4.

† Catechism and public baptism.

imagine their regeneration is effected in an instant; and in order that their deception may be effectual, the false prophet causes fire to come down as from heaven in their sight; and he that is prince in the airy region, raises vehement heats and agitations in their passions. This they call the workings of the Spirit upon them for their conversion; immediately after which a kind of heaven is formed, wherein they take their rest with a seeming security, erroneously supposing their calling and election are made sure, and that they can never fall from saving grace, which they doubt not of having in their possession. Oh! how dangerous is such a security!

Much more might be written concerning the many false rests and visionary heavens which poor mortals, through the subtlety of satan and their own inattention, are deluded to repose themselves in; which might all be happily prevented, were they to enter into the sheep-fold by Christ, the door and way to the everlasting kingdom, which is opened and prepared for the soul to travel in, by his inward appearance, as before noted. He will certainly count all thieves and robbers, who come into his church by any other way.

What abundance of robbery is found in thee O Christendom! what stealing the name of Christ, and the experience of God's people formerly, to live upon, and also to feed one another with! What multitudes there are of unwholesome barren pastors, and poor, lean, starved flocks, amongst most or all societies of Christian professors! Their poor low condition, as to religion, induces them to put forth their hands and steal. Can the God of justice and truth delight in robbery for burnt-offerings? No; such sacrifices are an abomination to him. His regenerate ones, though often tried with great poverty of spirit, dare not steal; knowing nothing will find acceptance with Infinite Goodness, but that which is of his own immediate begetting. He will smell a sweet savour from that, although it be but a sigh or a groan; which may be compared with the acceptable offering of the poor under the law, of a pair of turtle doves, or two young pigeons; and with the widow's two mites cast into the treasury, taken notice of by our Lord. Those poor humble dependent ones, who are made perfectly honest by the just and upright principle prevailing in them, and waiting the Lord's time, may be, and often are furnished with larger offerings, and do greatly increase with the increase of God.

To conclude this head, I shall thus sum up the matter, viz., that man's great business, upon his first awakening out of the sleep or stupefaction of sin, is passively to yield himself into the hands of his faithful Creator, that he may be pleased to work in and upon him, to will and to do of his own good pleasure. He must, with the utmost care, endeavour to abide in that which enables incessantly to pray, "Thy kingdom come, and thy will be done on earth as it is done in heaven." This being the bent of his heart, the grace of God is a sufficient guard or defence against all the subtle attempts of satan to beguile and deceive, and nothing else. The most crafty devices of the adversary can never prevail to pluck such an one out of the Almighty's hand; and by abiding therein, he is created anew in Christ Jesus unto good works, having spiritual senses given, that he may continually exercise them in discerning between good and evil. His heart being made pure, in a good degree, by the sprinkling of the most precious blood of Christ, his constant care is, through divine assistance, to preserve it so, that he may be pleased to tabernacle with him, on whom help is laid, who is made of God, to such passive upright souls, their wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption. They receive from him those qualifications, which enable them to co-work with the Spirit, and perfectly to understand the proper business of their day, both in the world as strangers and pilgrims, and in the church of Christ, as living members thereof.

SECTION III.

Relating to the nature of true worship; with some remarks on the state of our Society, both in early times, and now.

The nature of acceptable worship is set forth by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, in a manner well adapted to the subject, viz: that it is to be performed in spirit and in truth. The reason is given, "Because God is a Spirit;" and therefore, "they that worship him, must worship him in spirit and in truth." This is not the ceremonial, shadowy, and typical worship of the Jews; which because of weakness, was dispensed to them, until the better hope and more excellent worship of the Gospel dispensation was brought in; whereby man has a nearer access to the Divinity, and a better knowledge of himself. Here such a brightness of heavenly glory appears, as causes all signs, figures and types, to vanish away, and worship is to be performed in the truth, and real substance of all that was typified and prefigured by the ceremonial law of Moses, the righteousness of that law being fulfilled in those who walk and worship in the spirit.

The soul must bow in perfect sincerity,

humble prostration, and a deep inward sense of its own frailty, want and unworthiness; being at the same time deeply impressed with a lively sense of the Lord's adorable greatness and goodness. From this sensibility renewed upon the mind by Him who is the sole object of worship, thanksgiving and praises ascend, for the multitude of his mercies received, and reverent prayer, either mental or vocal, according as the mind feels itself influenced or directed by the holy anointing, for the continuance of his gracious preservation in the way of righteousness; agreeably to Eph. vi. 18. Praying always with all supplication in the spirit, and watching thereunto with all perseverance and supplication for all saints.

It is clearly to be understood, by what our Lord said to the woman of Samaria, that acceptable worship is not confined to any particular place, mode, form, or ceremony; which was a deception mankind had generally fallen into and greatly needed to be drawn from, being then, as well as now, apt to rest satisfied with exterior performances. Although some of these were dispensed to the Jews in condescension, yet they were not even then substituted in the place of spiritual worship, nor at all acceptable without the bowing of the soul. But our Lord shows that the outward worship was to be laid aside, and not to continue any longer in his glorious spiritual dispensation; a dangerous snare for man to please himself with and rest in. But it could hardly be expected that so great a mass of outward observations could be all cast off at once; yet in the apostles' days, the church was for the time, brought out of them, as appears by those few things laid upon the Gentiles. But alas! the Christian church, so called, instead of leaving all and becoming purely spiritual, gradually decayed as to life and power, and increased in ceremonies and outward observations, until she became as full of them as ever the Jewish church was. Then she got full possession of the outward court, having nothing to enjoy but her own inventions, and nothing to glory in but Babylon, which she had built instead of Sion, until her measure should be filled up, and her determined overthrow take place.

Paul saith to the Philippians, "For we are the circumcision which worship God in spirit, and rejoice in Christ Jesus, and have no confidence in the flesh." What circumcision is here intended, appears from Rom. ii. 28, 29. Col. ii. 11. That the generality of Christian professors, of every denomination, have lamentably deviated from this kind of worship, requires not much penetration to discover. And though the great Author of the Christian religion has so fully expressed his will and pleasure in this most important point, yet many will not be satisfied without a kind of worship that the man's part can be active in, and that has something in it to amuse the outward senses. They would worship the Most High with human abilities or the work of men's hands; and by an unjustifiable veneration, which some endeavour to keep up for old mass houses and other places of worship, calling them churches, houses of God, holy places, &c., they seem to maintain a doctrine contrary to the testimony of that holy martyr Stephen; who says, "Howbeit the Most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands, as saith the prophet;" and that of the great apostle of the Gentiles; "God that made the world, and all things therein, seeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands; neither is worshipped with men's hands, as though he needed any thing, seeing he giveth to all life and breath, and all things."

Most Protestants, though they have cast off much of the Romish superstition, still retain some outward ceremonies and observations very unsuitable to the spirituality of the Gospel dispensation, for which they have no divine authority, nor any warrant but what is patched up from the example of some in the primitive church; which being then just arising out of a load of ceremonies, was not wholly weaned from every thing of that kind at once; and therefore several of these things were for a time condescended to. For although it was a very glorious beginning, and the Christian church abounded with heavenly power, in order to make her way in the world, yet it was but the morning of the Gospel day; and as the Sun of Righteousness, who rules the everlasting day of God's salvation, rose higher and higher, she was to put on all her beautiful garments; to make herself ready for the bridegroom, and by a gradual increase of clear discoveries, was to grow into maturity of wisdom and ripeness of judgment.

Our Lord clearly intimates the great danger of tacking any thing of the old ceremonial dispensation to the new Gospel dispensation; showing they would by no means agree, or safely subsist together. This the experience of many generations fully declares. Oh! what rents and schisms, have there been by means of retaining some patches of the old garment!

Yet there has been a godly travail and an ardent labour preserved, even through the darkest ages of superstition and idolatry, by the true church, though hidden from carnal eyes, as in a wilderness, that she might cast off this heavy eclipsing mass of outward ob-

servations. There were many risings up, through the divine power, against it, especially the grossest part thereof; but the most extraordinary, as to its consistency with the unmixed purity of the Gospel, was about the middle of the last century. Then evangelical light and truth appeared, without the blending of ceremonies and outward observations. When the Lord by his overruling power, had erected this blessed standard of simple truth and pure righteousness, many thousands flocked to it, and spoke the language, in a considerable degree, set forth in Cant. vi. 10; Who is she that looketh forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners? Terrible indeed they were to the man of sin, the son of perdition, and mighty instruments in the Lord's hand to reveal him. They were a great annoyance to the merchants of Babylon, and those who enriched themselves by her superstitious wares; which, through her witchcraft and enchantments, mankind were deluded to buy; though now the wicked craft is much more seen in all its transformations, than it was at its first rising.

They endured a great fight of affliction; but through all, with patient but undaunted firmness maintained their ground, and were made victorious through sufferings, as was the Captain of their salvation. The everlasting Gospel was preached by them in demonstration of the Spirit and with great power; in substance as it was to be preached after the apostacy; "Fear God, and give glory to him; for the hour of his judgment is come: and worship him that made heaven and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of water."

This was indeed coming to the substance, after men had wearied themselves with abundance of toil in vain, catching nothing but vanity and vexation of spirit. If any receive this Gospel, thus preached according to the true intent and meaning thereof, there is no room to evade the cross of Christ, which is the power of God to salvation. There is no liberty here to retain a few ceremonies for decency's sake, and to invite the Papists over, as pretended by Protestants; but all are to embrace the substance, not daring any more to touch the beggarly elements, so much prostituted and defiled during the night of apostasy. The virgin daughter of Sion is well assured the bridegroom of her soul will never more appear to her in these uncertain polluted things, which have been, and yet will be, more and more terribly shaken, and pass away as a scroll; that those things which can never be shaken, may remain, agreeably to Rev. xxi. 1. And I saw a new heaven, and a new earth; for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and there was no more sea. There was no more sea; nothing unstable, fluctuating and uncertain; nothing of that element from which the beast ariseth, and therefore no danger of a beast rising thence any more. The second, third and fourth verses of the same chapter, wonderfully set forth the glory of the New Jerusalem coming down from above, the tabernacle of God being with men, and God's dwelling with them; of his wiping away all tears from their eyes; and that there shall be no more crying, sorrow and pain, because the former things were passed away; viz., there was no more sea; all is purged away which was the cause of those dreadful calamities and miseries set forth in this divine revelation, by opening the seven seals, sounding the seven trumpets, and pouring out the seven vials full of the wrath of God, who liveth for ever and ever. The fifth verse saith, "And he that sat upon the throne said, Behold, I will make all things new!" Now there is nothing of the old garment, nor old wine left, to tear and break to pieces the new garment and the new bottles. Oh! glorious Gospel time! May the Lord of hosts hasten it more generally in the kingdoms of the earth!

Having offered a few general observations upon the state of things, it now remains to make some further remarks upon those people so remarkably raised, as before hinted, in the last century, in this land. Their beginning and first progress was here; though many other lands were also sharers in the brightness of Truth's arising in them; and it may without vanity be said, that through them a light has extended, or at least glanced, over a great part of Christendom, so called, which has discovered the hidden mystery of the false church more clearly than heretofore, and given a great shake to the long continued kingdom of anti-christ.

They have been, through divine wisdom, established into a compact body, amongst whom subsists the comely order of the Gospel, as an hedge, by divine appointment, for their safety and preservation from the destroyer, and out of the polluting defilements of a greatly corrupted world. Notwithstanding which, their preservation depends upon their diligently seeking unto, and waiting singly and carefully for a daily renewing of strength and wisdom from above, whereby alone all things must be directed and ordered for their safety and perseverance.

I have often accounted it a great favour and blessing, that my lot was cast in a time when primitive Christianity, in its power and purity, is restored in the world; and that I was so happy as to have my birth and education

amongst the before mentioned people: for though that did not make me a real and living member of their body, yet it happily put me more in the way of being so, than if my lot had fallen in some of the foregoing dark ages, and afforded me greater means of restoration, than if I had been educated amongst superstitious bigots; for which favour, enjoyed by me and many others, there must be proportionate returns of thankfulness and obedience, or it will surely add to our condemnation; for where much is given, much will be required.

Before I had quite arrived to man's estate, I was, through merciful goodness operating upon my soul, brought into a better knowledge of, and a nearer intimacy and fellowship with, these people, in a spiritual sense, than before, to my unutterable consolation: for I found the glorious Lord was their king and law-giver, and that he was indeed become to them a place of broad rivers and streams; and that man's splendid inventions, comparable to a galley with oars, or gallant ship, could not pass amongst them: "For the Lord is our judge, the Lord is our law-giver, the Lord is our king, he will save us." This was the blessed language sounded within their borders. My spirit has many times been reverently bowed and awfully prostrated before the Lord, in beholding the comeliness, beautiful situation and safety of these his people; in an humble sense whereof I have been ready to say, "Happy art thou, O Israel! who is like unto thee, O people saved of the Lord! the shield of thy help, and who is the sword of thy excellency! Thine enemies shall be found liars unto thee, and thou shalt tread upon their high places!"

It may be objected that the foregoing contains high encomiums on a people, amongst whom we cannot discover these excellencies, but have looked upon them as a mean contemptible body, who affect a kind of awkward singularity; and we observe many amongst them as eager after the world, and who love it as well as any people whatever; and others, who take undue liberties, are as deeply involved in the pleasures and gaieties of life, and as much strangers to self-denial, as people of other persuasions. And it is further to be noted, that when we go to their places of worship, and observe the manner of their sitting in silence, a Laodicean lukewarmness is very apparent in many of them, by the easy, careless condition they seem to sit in, at the same time they profess to be waiting in silence of body and stillness of soul, for the descending of the Holy Ghost, that their spiritual strength may be renewed. Surely, if this is not really so, it must be a mockery and deception of the most contemptible and provoking nature in the sight of the all-seeing eye.

In order a little to open the state of the case, and to answer the foregoing objections, I shall now make some observations upon the defection in practice that is to be found amongst us as a people, especially of late years, which hath caused abundance of pain and heart-aching distress to the living body, who fervently travail that Christ may be formed in those who have a natural birthright in the Society, which at present seems to be all the title some have to be accounted of us. As to the first part of the objection, this people have been viewed in that light by carnal professors from their first rise, which discovers the same undistinguishing blindness, that has deprived the children of this world of seeing any beauty or comeliness in the children of light. I have before noted, that though educated in the same profession, I did not see that the Lord was amongst them, in such a manner, until he was pleased to open my eyes, agreeably to Mat. xvi. 16, 17., where our Lord pronounces Peter blessed, in that the Father had revealed the Son to him. He said to his disciples, "Blessed are your eyes, for they see; and your ears, for they hear." It is through the same blessing, my eyes are yet preserved open to see, that notwithstanding the great declension in practice, which prevails over many of us, the glory is not departed from amongst us: the King is known by the upright hearted still reigning in his beauty. Princes do yet rule in the spirit of judgment given them of God. My faith is, at times, greatly strengthened to believe that it will never cease to be so amongst this people, but that they will be preserved by the Almighty power, through all generations, a living body; and that the principles of Truth, as held by them, will yet spread far and wide in the kingdoms of the earth. This, I believe, was the blessed end for which they were first raised and marvellously supported. This glorious work has been in degree going on, though very much impeded by the unfaithfulness of many amongst us, who, like the foolish woman, are in some measure pulling down what the wise woman hath built up. Oh! that all who take upon them our holy profession of the unchangeable Truth, would deeply consider the weight of that obligation which they take upon themselves thereby! It is far, very far! from being a light or easy thing; for it may, in a proper sense, be esteemed an entering into the solemn covenant, to which those people are bound by their God, of holding up a standard of truth and righteousness, meet and suitable for the nations, with safety and well grounded confidence, to draw unto. None

amongst us need to be ashamed to call unto mankind, Look upon Zion, the city of our solemnities! It is a lovely sight to behold her walls and bulwarks of salvation, and her gates praise; when none of her stakes are broken down, nor any of her cords loosened; being indeed the Lord's habitation, as set forth Psalm cxxxii. 13, 14, 15, 16; For the Lord hath chosen Zion: he hath desired it for his habitation. He saith, This is my rest for ever: here will I dwell, for I have desired it. I will abundantly bless her provision; I will satisfy her poor with bread. I will also clothe her priests with salvation, and her saints shall shout aloud for joy.

Many under our religious profession disregarding or lightly esteeming this solemn covenant, and resting in the profession only, is the principal reason why we find them insensible, and harder to be reached unto and awakened by a living powerful ministry, than people of other religious persuasions. This may seem strange to some, but I know it is lamentably true; having frequently felt it so in my Gospel labours. To me this is not hard to account for, when it is considered, that amongst us there has been dispensed greater spiritual favours, of various kinds, than amongst any society of people that I know of: which has not proceeded from any partial regard in the Almighty towards us more than others, but the better to enable us to keep our covenant with him, in the discharge of that great work to which he hath called us. Where any are so inconsiderate as to disregard and neglect such opportunities of lasting benefit and improvement, they become more hardened and impenitent than those who have been more out of the way of receiving heavenly impressions. The portion of such, unless they in time embrace the gift of repentance, is very dismal, as in Prov. xxix. 1; He that being often reproved, hardeneth his neck, shall suddenly be destroyed, and that without remedy. And Heb. vi. 7, 8; For the earth that drinketh in the rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them by whom it is dressed, receiveth blessing from God: but that which beareth thorns and briars is rejected, and is nigh unto cursing: whose end is to be burned.

Great indeed hath been the bounty of heaven to us as a people, both immediately, by the solacing influences and guidance of the holy Spirit to all that would receive it, and also by the abundant flowing of a truly evangelical ministry, raised up and continued for the greatest part of this last hundred years. But now the Society is much stripped of a living skilful ministry; yet it is not, and I hope never will be, wholly destitute. This, through the divine blessing, has been a means of our being gathered into and preserved a people! but many amongst us have leaned and depended thereupon; and therefore it may be, and I believe it is, consistent with divine Wisdom, to try how the Society will stand without so much outward help in that way; though perhaps more may be afforded, in raising up a spirit for promoting sound discipline and good order, which will prove a blessed means of its preservation. And this must be proceeded in by the help and holy influences of the same Spirit, which furnishes the ministry. It looks as if the Lord was about to make his people still more inward and spiritual, showing them plainly, that Gospel worship does not depend upon outward means.

It is quite obvious that abundant preaching, praying and singing, do not bring a great part of mankind any nearer to heaven, nor more acquainted with God and themselves, than they would be without it. So that it may be truly said, and indeed lamented, that they spend their money for that which is not bread, and bestow much labour without real profit to themselves. With respect to us, the ministry approved has abounded with heavenly bread, and refreshing streams of living water have flowed through the conduits to the plantation of God; and although many have not improved thereby, yet some have grown and flourished. But the Lord of the vineyard cannot be confined to any particular means for the help and preservation of his church, not even such as he has made use of in time past; seeing he can make other means, unthought of by short sighted mortals, as effectual. We may see that he made use of the people of Israel to fight his battles, wherein they seem, in some sort, to have been the cause and instruments of their own deliverance and preservation: yet it was not always so; for there are instances of his destroying his enemies, and working the deliverance of his people immediately by his own power. This appeared more marvellous and astonishing, both to his people and their enemies, than the ordinary means usually employed. Upon the whole, although it appears to me something like a chastisement, that so many worthy valiants have been removed, and few raised up in the ministry to succeed them with equal brightness, and this may prove a trial, which, to discerning eyes, may fully distinguish between the professor and the possessor of religion; yet I believe the true church will grow under this dispensation of God's dealing with his people. She will be more grounded and settled in that which is within the veil, viz., the holy sanctuary and house of prayer.

There is her place of safety, out of the reach of satan's transformations.

An holy, awful, silent waiting before God, is spiritual Israel's abiding in their tent, where no divination nor enchantment can prevail against them. This is exceedingly beautiful, reaching and convincing to all, whose spiritual eyes are in degree opened; as set forth Numb. xxiv. 5, 6, 7; How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob! and thy tabernacles, O Israel! As the vallies are they spread forth, as gardens by the rivers-side, as the trees of lignaloes which the Lord hath planted, and as cedar trees beside the waters. He shall pour the water out of his buckets, and his seed shall be in many waters. Oh! what encouragement have the Lord's chosen people, to abide faithful in that station wherein he hath placed them, whether in silence or speaking, in doing or suffering, in prosperity or adversity. There is not the least occasion to be ashamed of silent worship, unless we are so naked, as to be void of a right sense of what true worship is. Then indeed it is exceedingly contemptible, and cannot fail of rendering us more despicable in the eyes of mankind, than such are who have a form, ornamented with man's curious invention and adorning. This state of insensibility to the nature of true worship in those who profess to be spiritually minded, is set forth by our Lord under the metaphor of "Salt that hath lost its savour, which is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and trodden under the feet of men." Therefore all professors of spiritual worship should greatly fear being found in this dreadful state, of holding the form which Truth leads into without the life and power: if this is with them, it will raise them above contempt.

In my travels for the promotion of Truth, which I have been engaged in through most parts of our Society, I have seen and painfully felt much of this sorrowful idleness and insensibility, which has caused me many days and nights of mourning with sackcloth as it were, underneath. I have seen that it proceeds from various causes, but principally from an over anxiousness in seeking after earthly things, lawful in themselves, but the pursuit of which is idolatry, when they have the chief place in the mind, and are made its principal treasure; which they certainly are, when most delighted in and thought upon. Can it be supposed that idolaters can worship the true and living God, any otherwise than in a mere form? With such the several branches of our Christian testimony are no otherwise regarded than for outward decency's sake, to keep up the form in the sight of men. There is a dead form and an insipid fruitless bearing of our testimonies, which can never beget to God, though perhaps it may sometimes beget into the form. But this brings no increase to the Lord's people, except of pain and distress. Visible disorders and immoral practices in particulars have often wounded us, and hurt the cause of Truth; but not in such a dangerous manner; because, where sound judgment and the spirit of wholesome discipline have been preserved, these things have been judged and cast out of the camp. But the greatest wounds we have received have been in the house of our seeming friends, by their unsanctified endeavours to maintain our principles, or at least what they liked of them, worship, ministry and discipline, in that form only, which the faithful have been, and now are, livingly led into. Anti-christ has always made more havoc by transforming himself, than by direct violence and opposition. Let it be ever remembered what Paul saith, "For he is not a Jew which is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision which is outward in the flesh: but he is a Jew which is one inwardly; and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter; whose praise is not of men, but of God." None, I think, will deny but it would be equally true, if the word Christian was substituted in the room of the word Jew: if so, the form, appearance and character may be attained without the heart work. We read of some who had the form of godliness, yet denied the power, though perhaps not in words; for to me it appears the most emphatical denial of it, to live and act in the form without it; as this may seem by practice, which speaks louder than words, to declare to mankind there is no need of the power, seeing they can do without it. Certain it is, those who inordinately love this world and the things of it, cannot have the power of godliness whilst in that state; as saith the apostle, "Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him."

I do earnestly entreat all, into whose hands these remarks shall come, seriously to pause, and examine their own hearts without partiality, that they may see, before it be too late, what state they are in. If by a narrow and strict scrutiny they should find that the religious structure, which some of them have been many years in building, was not erected by the ordering and direction of divine Wisdom, it would be much more safe and prudent to have it all pulled down, so that there may not be one stone left upon another; and lay the foundation of repentance from dead works, and of living and powerful faith to-

wards God, and our Lord Jesus Christ, in a conscience purified by his blood.

These lines are principally intended by way of an alarm and warning to the careless, lukewarm and formal professors. As for the sincere, upright, humble seekers and worshippers of God, they will be established upon the Rock of ages, which the gates of hell shall not prevail against, and reap the blessed fruits of the painful travail of their souls; and in due time, if they faint not, their parched ground will become a pool, and their thirsty land springs of water: yea, through generations to come, they will enlarge, and become as a fountain of gardens, wells of living water and streams from Lebanon. The beloved of their souls will call, saying, "Awake, O north wind! and come thou south, blow upon my garden, that the spices thereof may flow out." Then will they say, "Let my beloved come into his garden, and eat his pleasant fruits."

SECTION IV.

Remarks upon the true and the false ministry.

The prophet Joel, in a remarkable and excellent manner, sets forth the spring of Gospel ministry; "And it shall come to pass afterward, I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy." What prophesying is here intended is clearly described, 1 Cor. xiv. 3; He that prophesieth, speaketh unto men, to edification and exhortation, and comfort. Indeed great part of this chapter is excellently employed in setting forth Gospel ministry, and the Christian liberty all have to exercise a right call thereto. But let it be observed, that the daughters were to be engaged therein, as well as the sons, by Gospel law and rule; which was accordingly allowed and practised in the apostolic church. But where the learning and wisdom of man have been introduced in the place of Gospel ministry, it has, directly contrary to Christian liberty, wholly excluded women therefrom. What pride and arrogance must men have, who exclude all from the ministry but themselves, for filthy lucre's sake! assuming the name clergy, calling others laity; a distinction the true church and the holy Scriptures are strangers to, which say, "As every man hath received the gift, even so minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God. If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God: if any man minister, let him do it as of the ability which God giveth: that God in all things may be glorified through Jesus Christ."

Here is the precious comfortable language of truth indeed, and perfect Gospel liberty, which excludes none who have received a gift; that is, who are immediately called of God thereto, as was Aaron. Exod. xxviii. 1 Chron. xxiii. 13, shows at large how Aaron was called, and with his posterity, separated by the immediate appointment of God himself. The manner of their qualification, and how they should conduct themselves in the priest's office during that dispensation, are recorded with that exact clearness and punctuality, always used by the Almighty towards his poor dependent creature man, when he is pleased to enjoin the observance of any law or ordinance. Therefore no man ought to receive any thing as an ordinance of God, unless it appears indisputably clear that he has commanded it; nor yet receive those men who have engrossed the ministry to themselves, unless they appear to have better authority for their undertaking, than being taught by human means at schools and colleges.

But, alas! the powers of the earth enable many such to take the fleece, whether they feed the flock or no: having learned this trade, they appear as anxious how to make the most of it as any others. If any refuse to receive them as the Lord's ambassadors, and conscientiously forbear putting into their mouths, the usual method has been to call to the magistrate, help! help! and to prepare war against such. But through the breaking forth and arising of the light of Truth, they have it not in their power now to make such drudges of magistrates as heretofore. Neither do I think the generality are so much inclined to persecution themselves, especially among Protestants, as in time past; but do really believe many or most of them abhor the severest part of it, and are men of moderate principles. Their great unhappiness seems to be that of suffering interest to blind their eyes, and make them believe it is so much for their outward advantage to keep mankind from receiving the true Light, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world, lest their craft should be endangered by the arising thereof. Here the blind lead the blind, which exposes both to the utmost hazard; yet such leaders frequently despise and deride those, who, from the constraining power and love of God, testify against their blindness; to whom the answer of our Lord to the learned rabbies amongst the Jews may not be inapplicable: "And some of the pharisees which were with him heard these words, and said unto him, Are we blind also? Jesus said unto them, If ye were blind, ye should have no sin: but now ye say we see; therefore your sin remaineth."

Where men have suffered themselves to be swayed by interest to embrace a profitable

craft whereby they get wealth, they have frequently been found very hot and fierce in supporting it, endeavouring to suppress whatever has risen up against it. Hence the experience of many generations can testify, that after preaching became a gainful trade, by which to get money and worldly honour, the clergy, so called, have always been the greatest stirrers up of force upon conscience, and persecution for differing from them in religion; for which they have not the least shadow of example or precept, either from Christ or his apostles. All that his ministers were allowed to do, with respect to such as would not receive them and their doctrine, was to shake off the dust from their feet, as a testimony against them. These had received the gift of the ministry from Christ; they had it without money and without price; and his command is, "Freely ye have received, freely give." But mercenary preachers do not receive their ministry freely; for they allege, it is attended with great charge to be properly qualified for it; and therefore they must make an interest of it, or they should be great losers. The plain truth is, they do not receive their ministry from Jesus Christ; neither can they produce any evidence to prove that they have received a commission from him for what they take upon them. Their using the words of Christ and his apostles affords them no authority from him; for the very worst of men, yea the devils themselves, may do the same. Oh! what pity it is they should pretend to be sent of God, as ambassadors of Christ and the apostles' successors, when they are so manifestly unlike him and them; and have evidently the marks of the false prophets and hirelings we read of in the holy Scriptures, as has been fully proved against them by authors of good account.

Let us take notice what Paul the great apostle of the Gentiles saith upon this subject; "Not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think any thing as of ourselves; but our sufficiency is of God; who also hath made us able ministers of the New Testament, not of the letter, but of the spirit; for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life." This plainly showeth, that ministers in the Gospel times are to minister in the quickening spirit of living and heavenly virtue; agreeably to Mat. xxviii. 19, 20; Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in, or into, the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Lo, I am with you always to the end of the world. That this baptizing teaching with the Holy Ghost was the kind practised in the primitive church, appears by many passages in holy Writ; particularly Acts x. 44; While Peter spake these words, the Holy Ghost fell on all them which heard the word; also xi. 15, 16; And, said Peter, as I began to speak, the Holy Ghost fell on them, as on us at the beginning. Then remembered I the word of the Lord, how that he said, John indeed baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost. And seeing the dispensation of God to man is the very same now as it was then, mankind as much involved in sin and estranged from God as they were then, and the Lord hath graciously promised to be with his ministers always to the end of the world, no good reason can possibly be given, why the same powerful efficacious means are not now as essentially necessary for man's recovery, as at that time. There can be no ground for a denial of this truth, though there may be a consciousness in some that they have not the assistance of the Spirit in their ministry; therefore it seems for their interest, and for the maintaining of their credit, to persuade mankind there is no such thing to be attained now. This, with many other instances which might be adduced, plainly shows them to be no other than ministers of the letter; and that, we read, only kills, when the quickening spirit doth not accompany the preaching of it.

Very judicious are the distinctions made by William Dell, in his "Trial of Spirits both in teachers and hearers," between ministers of the letter and ministers of the spirit; he being himself a man of literature, and well acquainted with the nature of university education, as he was master of Gonville and Gaius college in Cambridge. I shall make a few quotations from him, and recommend that tract and his treatise on "Baptism, &c.," to the reader's serious perusal.

"And first, let me note an objection, viz., but some will object here, if a man preach the word in the letter, even good, sound and orthodox doctrine, no doubt but such a man is to be heard, and he may do much good in the church, though he want Christ's spirit. This, saith he, I have heard from very many who have thought they have said something. But to this I answer, that they who want Christ's spirit, which is the spirit of prophesy, though they preach the exact letter of the word, yet are false prophets, and not to be heard by the sheep. Again, they that preach only the outward letter of the word without the spirit, make all things outward in the church: whereas in the true kingdom of Christ all things are inward and spiritual, and all the true religion of Christ is written in the soul and spirit of man by the Spirit of God; and the believer is the only book in which God himself writes his New Testa-

ment." He further saith, "They that preach the outward letter without the spirit, can, notwithstanding that, both live themselves in all the inward evils of corrupted nature, and allow others to do so too. Wherefore, to conclude, saith he, let us know that that church that hath the word, if it wants the spirit, is antichrist's church; and that ministry that useth the word and wants the spirit, is antichrist's ministry; and that all works, duties, prayings, preachings, fastings, thanksgivings, &c., without Christ's spirit, are nothing but the very kingdom of anti-christ, and the abomination of desolation." Thus far Dell.

Of what importance it is for mankind, of every denomination as to religion, ours as well as others, deeply to ponder these weighty observations in their hearts, especially the last. Upon that of Paul, Rom. x. 15; How shall they preach, except they be sent? Dell further observes thus, viz: "So that true preaching, comes from true sending, and this comes from the grace of God." Not, say I, from the sending of universities, bishops, presbyters, or any other man or set of men whatever, or from man's intruding himself thereinto in his own will without a proper call; but from the constraining power of the everlasting Word of God laying a necessity, as expressed by Paul, "For though I preach the Gospel, I have nothing to glory of: for necessity is laid upon me, yea, wo is unto me if I preach not the Gospel."

It is of the utmost consequence, towards promoting truth and righteousness upon the earth, that the ministry be preserved according to its original institution, viz., under the immediate direction of the eternal word of God, speaking as the oracles of God. It is properly God's speaking by his instruments to the children of men, such things as he the Searcher of hearts knows they stand in need of; at the same time opening the hearts of them to whom it belongs to receive the doctrine. Nothing but the unparalleled love and power of Christ can bring forth and support such a ministry. It is in the nature of things impossible that those, so exercised therein, can have sinister views of making temporal advantage to themselves thereby. Wherever that appears, we may be assured the Lord hath not sent them; and therefore they cannot profit the people at all.

Man should be so far from proceeding upon corrupt motives, for outward gain or advantage, in this important work, that even though he may feel good-will to mankind, flowing from the love of God shed abroad in the heart, in which strong desires may arise to do good, free from lucrative views of all kinds, and much beautiful Gospel doctrine also may open very suitable, as the party may think, for the help and edification of his or her fellow-mortals, yet all this is not sufficient to proceed upon, without the call and real gift in this awful undertaking; it being no more at best than the natural consequence of the operation of that pure love in the saints' minds, even in such as never had a call to the ministry. Yet to some, these blessed operations, influences and openings, may be given, in order to prepare them for that work which they should wait patiently under, until the full time comes: this will be clearly seen, as the eye is single. But there is great cause to believe some have launched out upon this foundation only, in the beginning of their public appearances, whereby they have in a sorrowful manner brought darkness upon themselves, and sometimes on others; having proved only ministers of the letter, though perhaps pretending much to have the impulses of the spirit. These have been instruments of much anxiety and distress to the true church, who can savour nothing with delight, but that which comes from the power of the word of life.

It may be difficult to bring true judgment over such, in the present low state of things; especially when there has been a fair outside, and nothing to blame in their morals. But it sometimes hath fallen out, that there has been something permitted to manifest the unsoundness of such, and thereby to relieve the painful sufferers under the blasting wind of such ministry.

Inconsiderate, weak persons have intruded themselves into this great work; who not duly waiting for judgment to try the spirits, and what presents to their minds, have been beguiled by transformations to go out in a false heat; and for want of the holy dread and fear upon their hearts, they have catched hold of the Gospel liberty again restored, which must be preserved open, lest the holy Spirit be quenched, viz., that all who are called to the work of the ministry, whether male or female, may prophesy or preach one by one, that all may be edified.

It has been a painful suffering case to living members in some places, when they have seen that both the matter and manner of some could have no other tendency than to expose themselves, and to burden the religious society that suffered such to assume an office for which they were no ways qualified. Certainly the church has power to order and regulate her own members; and doubtless she may wholly refuse and reject a ministry, which, upon trial, she has no unity with; and even substantial members in their private capacity, who have stood their ground well, and have large ex-

perience of the Lord's dealings, whether ministers or others, ought, in reason and the nature of things, to have great weight with such who have not yet made full proof of their ministry, nor given satisfaction to their friends in general, though they may to themselves, and perhaps to a few others of little judgment. Neither ought any to go abroad to exercise their ministry, until they know there is a general satisfaction at home therewith; not even to adjacent meetings. Some such have been very positive and resolute, hard to be convinced of their mistakes, and censorious upon those of deeper experience, but evincing much of that sign of depravity set forth by Isaiah iii. 5; The child shall behave himself proudly against the ancient, and the base against the honourable.

Good order and decency are to be preserved in the church of God, especially among the leading members, as way-marks to all. The reason and nature of the thing demands a proper regard and preference to age, gifts, growth and experience; which will be always strictly observed and paid by those of right spirits. When it is otherwise, it is a sure token of a false birth, and that pernicious self is not slain. Where that predominates, it cannot fail of mixing with their religious services.

That the hearers have a right to judge, appears from 1 Cor. xiv. 29; Let the prophets speak two or three, and let the other judge. Therefore it is very presuming for any to take upon them the sole right of speaking and judging too; or to impose that upon an auditory or church, with which they are not edified, and believe it does not proceed from the right spring; for the word preached doth not profit, unless it be mixed with faith in those that hear it.

I know of no way to evade the force and weight of what is above observed, unless it be supposed that the auditors in general are so void of spiritual understanding, as not to be capable of judging; which would discover great uncharitableness, and savor much of arrogance. I am fully persuaded, if ministry does not reach the divine witness in the hearts of the hearers, and cause them to assent thereto in some measure, it will never profit them. The right ministers have a witness to the truth of their ministry in the minds of even the rebellious; how much more so then in the honest hearted.

The danger which there is reason to apprehend from the low, languid, unskilful state of many in our Society, has induced me, feeling my mind in degree warmed thereunto, to write the more closely concerning the nature and pernicious consequences of a false ministry; being fully persuaded that the more formal and superficial we as a people become, the more danger there is of such a ministry rising, and finding encouragement to grow and prevail; for the lifeless, formal professors had rather have almost any kind of ministry than all silence. On the other hand, a right ministry cannot have a free course, nor be exalted, where there is nothing but worldly spirits, clothed with a form of religion. But true ministers must be like the holy prophet Ezekiel; "And I will make thy tongue cleave to the roof of thy mouth, that thou shalt be dumb, and shalt not be to them a reprover; for they are a rebellious house." And, "The prudent shall keep silence in that time."

These remarks upon the false, as well as the forward and unskilful ministry, though plain and close, I hope will administer no hurt or discouragement to any truly concerned in this important work; and they may, if duly observed, be lessons of caution and instruction to those for whom they are intended. I hope they will also prove a strength to the painfully exercised under the causes of uneasiness given by unskilful intruders into the work, whether through weakness or wilfulness, that they may not be slack in their endeavours to regulate the same by plain dealing, yet with true judgment, love and tenderness, justly applied where they severally belong. Their task may sometimes be heavy and discouraging, as it is hard to turn those who have taken a wrong course, and imagine themselves right, when it is really otherwise. These have been observed to be the most positive of their pretended sight and sense, yet let the weight of the sense of truth, which is strongest of all, be laid upon them from time to time, that the church may not suffer hurt and loss by the omission of its sensible members; for this cannot fail of weakening and hindering the growth of such members also in their individual capacity. I know it is those who are alive in the Truth, of good understanding and judgment therein, and no other, that are qualified to help and direct such as have missed their way in a religious sense; agreeably to Gal. vi. 1; Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual restore such an one in the spirit of meekness; considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted; and not the captious, critical, worldly wise; for they have nothing to do in the church of Christ, until they are first subjected to and taught of the Lord themselves.

The main point, in my apprehension, is to be able to form a true judgment of the source or spring from whence ministry proceeds; and if found to be right in the ground,

a great deal of tenderness is to be used, and much childish weakness is to be patiently borne with. For although some through fear, and a deep sense of the weight of so important an undertaking, may, at first, speak very stammeringly, and with considerable perturbation, yet the sweet efficacy of the quickening powerful spirit, which is felt with them in their service, by those who are circumcised in heart and ear, far exceeds the finest eloquence without it. Such should be prudently encouraged, yet suffered to feel their own feet. There are but few children, however hopeful, that can bear much nursing and applause. Great hurt has been done by the forward affectionate part, labouring to bring forth some before the right time, and pushing on others too fast, who in their beginning, were lively and very hopeful, to their great hurt and loss. Oh! then, what caution and care should be exercised, clearly to see in the true light what to lay hold of, and what to discourage in this important respect.

I intend to conclude this head with some plain honest hints, which have arisen from my own experience and observation, concerning the true ministry, as it has been restored again, through divine mercy, for about this last hundred years, in greater simplicity and purity than has been known, as I apprehend, since the apostles' days. This has not been conducted with the enticing words of man's wisdom, but in such a demonstration of the spirit and power of God, as has, though much despised by the learned rabbies, been a great blessing to this and other nations; many thousands having been thereby turned to Christ their true and saving teacher, whom they embraced joyfully, as the alone beloved of their souls. A great number of churches were gathered to sit down as under the shadow of the wings of the Prince of peace. Great was the Lord their God in the midst of them; their ministers were clothed with salvation, and their feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace. Many then ran to and fro, and the true knowledge of God was increased. The Lord gave the word, and many, both male and female, were the publishers of it. And through divine mercy it may yet be said, though the declension in practice is great in many, that there is a considerable body preserved, to bear the ark of the testimony of the Lord their God as upon their shoulders, in the sight of the people, with their feet as in the bottom of Jordan; and a living powerful ministry is yet continued, though far short of the number formerly engaged in that work. For many have grown up amongst us, who are become more superficial and easy about possessing the substance of religion than their ancestors were. Such have relied too much on the ministry, and have not profited in religion thereby. But they have greatly declined in practice, under abundant favours of this kind, the ministry becoming to many as a pleasant song. They hear the words with pleasure, but do them not; their heart going still after their covetousness of one kind or another. Therefore the Lord hath seen meet to strip the Society very much in that respect; and also to engage many of those who are true ministers, frequently to lead the people, by example, into silence. O! blessed will all those servants be, who are preserved, discerningly and with true judgment, to administer proper food, and that in due season, whether in silence or words, doing or suffering with and for Christ! This doubtless all will do, who look with a single eye to God's honour above all things, attending upon the gift received, which in its operations and requirings is self-evident. None that wait aright upon God will ever be confounded; that belongs to Babylon; but peace and infallible certainty is known through all the borders of Sion. Every one who knows Jerusalem a quiet habitation, is at no loss to understand his proper allotment of service therein, unless he falls into the conferring with flesh and blood; then he comes to confusion and uncertainty, wherein he may fret and toil in vain. But in the holy, awful waiting upon God in a sanctified heart, which is the temple wherein Christ dwells, and our house of prayer, satan can never come to deceive us, or endanger our safety.

SECTION V.

On the nature and usefulness of Christian discipline.

Upon all the glory shall be a defence.—That God intended to establish an excellent government, order and discipline in the church, under the Gospel dispensation, appears from divers passages of the prophets in the Old Testament, who saw into and wonderfully described the Christian state; a few of which I shall instance. "Behold a king shall reign in righteousness, and princes shall rule in judgment. The Lord is exalted; for he dwelleth on high, he hath filled Zion with judgment and righteousness; and wisdom and knowledge shall be the stability of thy times, and strength of salvation. In that day shall the Lord of hosts be for a crown of glory, and for a diadem of beauty unto the residue of his people: and for a spirit of judgment to him that sitteth in judgment, and for strength to them that turn the battle to the gate."

Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, Mat. xviii. 15, 16, 17, 18, clearly directs his followers how to proceed in the exercise of discipline and good order, both with respect to individuals and to the church. He assured them, that whatsoever of this kind is done under divine direction upon earth, shall be ratified and confirmed in heaven, chap. xix. 28., and promises such who have followed him in the regeneration, that they shall be exalted in his kingdom, sitting upon thrones to judge and govern his people. We find among the eminent gifts of the spirit, Paul reckons helps in government, 1 Cor. xii. 28. In chap. v., he blames that church very highly for their neglect of practising sound judgment in the way of discipline, showing them the necessity of putting those who were guilty of corrupt practices out of the community, lest as a leaven they should affect the whole lump. Verse 11., he points out how unsafe it is for the Lord's people to have any society with the workers of iniquity. Verse 12 and 13, that it is the church's duty to judge those that are within, viz., her own members, leaving the judging of those that are without to God. In chap. vi., he blames them sharply for going to law one with another before the unjust, showing that it would have been better they had suffered themselves to be defrauded, and that every matter of difference or controversy should be judged and determined by the church, in regard to its own members.

A religious society, gathered by God's power, having received diversities of gifts and qualifications, is considered as a body properly tempered by its holy Head, who is perfect in wisdom, that it may well exist by pure laws, rules and comely orders, both within and without; for the maintaining whereof, every member hath its proper office and station wherein it is to act, yet only by the guidance of the holy Head, who is known ever to preside over his humble dependent people, a present help in the needful time, supplying all their wants, as they wait his time. Pertinent to this is Eph. iv. 15, 16; But speaking the truth in love, may grow up into him in all things, which is the head, even Christ, from whom the whole body fitly joined together, and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body, unto the edifying of itself in love.

The apostle, in 1 Cor. xii., with great strength of reason and perspicuity, showeth the diversities of gifts, differences of administrations and operations, all by the same spirit, who worketh in all as he will; that notwithstanding this variety, all, and of all sorts, are baptized into one body, and made to drink into one spirit; he says, "For the body is not one member, but many;" and showeth they are all useful to and dependent upon one another, therefore none have a right to apprehend such a self-sufficiency, as to be independent of other members; nay, that those members of the body, which seem to be more feeble, are useful. The near union, harmony and sympathy of this glorious body, is set forth in verse 26; "And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it."

For brevity's sake, I forbear at present making more quotations on this subject. These are sufficient to demonstrate fully the strong obligation all baptized members are under, rightly to understand their places in the body, and to come up in a faithful discharge of their duty therein, as in the sight of God, to whom they must be accountable. It likewise appears that every member, entered as such by his or her voluntary consent, is strictly bound to keep and maintain the established rules of that body; the breach of which not only renders him or her guilty in God's sight, but also accountable to the body. It also behoves this body, immediately upon the transgression of its rules and orders, to exert itself in dealing with transgressors, and to administer sound judgment, in order to restore them; or, on failure of success in that, to disown or refuse to have unity with such, and to let the world know they are not of their body; that the reputation thereof may be preserved amongst those who are without, as well as for its own peace and safety within. By a neglect hereof, others may be infected by the corrupt member, and his evil may spread in the body like a leprosy; and which is the most affecting, the Lord may be provoked to withdraw from that body which neglects the exercise of true judgment against evil; as in the case of Achan, Joshua vii., and also that of the tribe of Benjamin, Judges xix. and xx.

It is too obvious to be denied, that the professors of Christianity, by losing the power and life of religion, lost the true spirit of discipline and good order in their churches. Instead of it, they have substituted rules, orders, and canons of their own invention, principally calculated to support that power by which the clergy, so called, got their wealth, and by which they have procured them to be enforced, where they judged necessary, by human laws. The present state of church government appears to be truly deplorable, amongst most of the different sects of Christian professors that I know of; consequently

they are in a very corrupted state, greatly lacking that judgment and righteousness which was to fill Sion, and the wisdom and knowledge which was predicted would be the stability of her times.

Cave and King, in their Primitive Christianity, clearly show, from the writings of many of the ancients, particularly for the first three hundred years after Christ, that much care and zeal were maintained to preserve the church clean and pure by a wholesome discipline.

King shows, that not only the teachers, but the whole church were concerned and active in dealing with, receiving satisfaction from, or finally censuring people in common; and also that no teachers were set over them, but only such as the whole church unanimously agreed to receive; and that the common people, generally called laity, were equally concerned with others in deposing and censuring ministers, when they ceased to have unity with them, page 22 to 25, and page 112, 116. He and Cave, from Tertullian, both show, that the manner of the primitives in giving judgment on such accounts was very weighty and solemn. "As amongst those that are sure that God beholds what they do," says Tertullian, "this is one of the highest forerunners of the judgment to come, when the delinquent is banished from the communion," &c., page 120.

Athenagoras told the emperors, that no Christian could be a bad man, unless he was an hypocrite; and Tertullian openly declares, that when men depart from the discipline of the Gospel, they so far cease amongst us to be accounted Christians. Cave, page 95.

When at any time invited to public solemnities, as marriages and the like, the prudence of the church thought fit to lay restraints upon them, and to forbid light and ludicrous actions, as leaping and dancing; but that they should dine and sup gravely and modestly, as becomes Christians; for which he quotes a council of Laodicea, second part, page 73.

They took notice of all offences against the Christian law, any vice or immorality that was either public in itself, or made known on good authority to the church. For, says Cave, the holy and good Christians of those times were careful to keep the honour of their religion unspotted, to stifle every sin in its birth, and by bringing offenders to public shame and penalty, to keep them from propagating the malignant influence of a bad example. For this reason they watched over one another, told them privately of their faults and failures, and when that would not do, brought them before the cognizance of the church. It is needless, says he, to reckon up particular crimes, when none were spared. Cave, third part, page 406. Agreeably to the nature and constitution of the church, which as it transacts only in spiritual matters, so it could inflict no other than spiritual censures and chastisements; the common and standing penalty they made use of was excommunication, or suspension from communion with the church; cutting off and casting out an offending person, an infected member, until by repentance and wholesome discipline he was cured and restored; and then he was re-admitted into church society: page 410.

Cave relates, upon the authority of Julius Cæsar, that this manner of discipline was commonly practised amongst the ancient Druids, who, when any of the people became irregular and disorderly, presently suspended them from their sacrifices; and those thus suspended were accounted in the number of the most impious and execrable persons: all men shunned their company and converse as an infection and plague, page 411.

Penitents, before they were received into unity, made open confession of their faults; this being accounted the very spring of repentance, and without which they concluded it could not be real. "Out of confession," says Tertullian, "is born repentance, and on repentance God is pacified;" and therefore without this neither riches nor honour would procure any admission into the church; a remarkable instance whereof was in the emperor Theodosius the great, who, for his bloody and barbarous slaughter of the Thessalonians, was by Ambrose bishop of Milan suspended, brought to public confession, and forced to undergo a severe course of penance for eight months together; at length, after he had passed through abundance of sorrow, with tears and great lamentation for his sin, he was admitted into fellowship again, page 418, 419. So wisely, says Cave, did the prudence and piety of those times deal with offenders, neither letting the reins so loose as to patronize presumption or encourage any to sin; nor yet holding them so strait, as to drive men into despair, page 429.

Very forward and active have professors been, and still are, in heaping up offerings, by performing what they call religious duties, whilst practical virtue has been shamefully neglected. Multitudes professing faith in Christ and accounted members of his church, are suffered to remain without control or rebuke in various sins and pollutions, to the great scandal of the Christian name; so that it may be said iniquity runs down amongst them like a mighty stream or torrent, carrying

all in a manner before it. What painful apprehensions must fill the minds of thoughtful parents respecting their offspring, when, morally speaking, no other can be expected than that they will be carried away thereby to everlasting destruction! Oh! that it were rightly considered by all Christian professors, that obedience is better than sacrifices or offerings, and to hearken unto the voice of God, in putting away the evil of their doings from before his eyes, is better than the fat of rams. To what purpose is the multitude of their sacrifices or offerings, whilst the most weighty matters of the law of God are neglected? viz., judgment, mercy and faith; even that faith which is productive of good works. Let them carefully ponder in their hearts what the Lord by his prophet hath declared, "I hate, I despise your feast-days, and I will not smell in your solemn assemblies. Though ye offer me burnt-offerings, and your meat-offerings, I will not accept them: neither will I regard the peace offerings of your fat beasts. Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs, for I will not hear the melody of thy viols. But let judgment run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream." Man is apt to begin at the wrong end, or where he should finish; presuming to perform worship and service to his Maker before he is in a fit condition to be accepted; as a being of infinite purity will not so much as look towards him in that sense, whilst he hath any fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, either in himself or others. For the Lord will be sanctified in all them that come nigh him. He is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity with any assent or approbation. The contrary of which would be implied, if man was suffered to present his offerings whilst in a defiled state. The same that I have here said concerning the acceptance or non-acceptance of individuals, is true, and will hold good, in regard to churches and countries or nations. Oh, then! how greatly it behoves all who would stand approved in God's sight, to exert their utmost care and diligence in judging, condemning and suppressing evil of all kinds, first in themselves, and then in every branch of the community, as far as it lies in their power.

I shall now proceed to show, that when the Lord was pleased to restore Christianity in its primitive purity and power, which was in the last century, church-government, good order, and wholesome discipline were also restored amongst an humble, self-denying people, who were, as God's people in all ages have been, much despised, reviled and persecuted. Yet through all the heathenish rage of their adversaries, the rising up of the rulers of the earth against them, and the people imagining vain things concerning them, their bands were not broken, nor their cords cast away. They saw that holiness was the Lord's delight, and they promoted it with all diligence amongst mankind in general, but more especially amongst themselves. The Lord, who at first raised chosen instruments, and sent them forth into the world, which was as a briery thorny wilderness, wonderfully blessed their ardent labours with increase, so that in a few years a large number of churches were planted, even amidst all the rage and fury before mentioned, and quietly settled and established under the teachings of his spirit in their hearts. Hereby they grew up in wisdom and stature, and in process of time clearly saw, in the divine light, that they must form themselves into an orderly body, to be governed under such regulations as would put them in the best capacity, as a religious society, of glorifying God, and being most useful to one another, as members of the same body; and that also, by being embodied and disciplined as an army with banners, they might make a firm stand against every appearance of evil, with their united strength, under the Captain of their salvation.

Divine wisdom was wonderfully with those worthies first sent and engaged in this blessed work, directing their steps with true judgment, as well as opening the minds of a numerous people of various growths, to receive the manner and form of government and order, which those of the clearest sight discovered, in the light of Truth, to be best adapted to promote the glory of God, and the preservation of his church and people. Yet there were some opposers, as in the primitive times, even of their own body or society; men of perverse spirits, who troubled the church for a time with litigious jangling, and corrupt disputations. But the Lord, who knows how to put a stop to the rage and cunning devices of the enemies of his church, brought a blast upon them, which has exposed the names of the leaders, to ages and generations to come. Thus the faithful were enabled to carry on this great work, designed for the defence and preservation of God's people, in defiance of all those Sanballats, Tobiahs and Geshems, who were permitted to rise up against them and their godly undertaking.

Great wisdom may be discerned by those eyes which the Lord hath opened, in his thus ranking and placing his people, that they might stand in such a situation as to be really true help-mates in Christ Jesus our Lord and holy Head; the strong bearing and helping

the infimities of the weak, supporting one another in that which is good, judging down all of a contrary nature to it, in every rank and station; none daring to be above admonition, but rather esteeming it a mark of love and sincere regard, that others extend care over them; agreeably to 1 Thess. v. 12, 13, 14; And we beseech you, brethren, to know them which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you; and to esteem them very highly in love for their work's sake; and be at peace among yourselves. Now we exhort you, brethren, warn them that are unruly, comfort the feeble-minded, support the weak, be patient toward all men.

What an inexpressible favour it is to be even one of the least members of this body, or branch of the heavenly Father's family, where help and edification may be received from those of greater growth and maturity than ourselves. On the other hand, what satisfaction it affords the fathers and mothers in Israel, to see the children and weaklings of the flock of teachable dispositions, and carefully endeavouring to walk according to the Truth. Some are made of God as saviours upon mount Sion, and as watchmen upon her walls, anointed and appointed by the Holy Ghost, to watch over the flock of Christ, as those that must give an account, whose excellent services may justly entitle them to the application of that language, wherewith Job sets forth what he had done in the time of his prosperity, Job xxix. 13, 14, 15, 16; The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me; and I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy. I put on righteousness, and it clothed me; my judgment was as a robe and a diadem. I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame. I was a father to the poor; and the cause which I knew not I searched out.

Elders ruling thus in the church are indeed worthy of double honour, whether they labour in the word and doctrine or not; being such as, agreeable to Peter's advice, 1 Pet. v. 2, 3, 4; Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind; neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being examples to the flock. And when the chief Shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away.

It is of the utmost consequence, that the members, who constitute the church of Christ, be thoroughly acquainted with the true spring of action therein, lest any should presumptuously imagine, that seeing church government carries much the appearance of outward economy and civil proceedings, human abilities, natural or acquired, are sufficient to manage it. If any fall into such a dangerous error, it must be for want of duly considering the nature of the work to be engaged in; it being no other than what appertains to the spiritual kingdom of Christ, and the promotion thereof on earth: which kingdom man by nature cannot see or understand. It is written, the world by wisdom knew not God, and they cannot know his kingdom, nor how to act properly therein under the Supreme Head, whom they know not.

To be capable of acting rightly in the discipline of the church, man must be born of the spirit, or from above, and receive a qualification from the Holy Ghost for that work. Such are the only qualified persons for maintaining good order in the churches, whether young, old, or middle aged, male or female, and should be regarded as those who are set over others in the Lord. These are seen and esteemed highly in love for their works sake, by the discerning in the church, though they may be of a low degree; yet, being alive in the Truth, they can savor the things that be of God, conveyed to them through these favoured instruments; and also reject the things which be of men, when intruded into God's work; because the innocent life raised up in them is burdened and grieved therewith.

Nothing can more afflict the souls of such, than the darkening counsel by a multitude of words without knowledge. None were properly qualified to judge and govern outward Israel, unless gifted of God for that purpose. We find they were to have God for their king; and those whom he raised up by his immediate power, to be their judges under him, (herein a perfect pattern of the Christian church) until they impiously rejected a government, than which none could be attended with more ease, security, and comfort, that they might be like other nations, that is, left more to their own power and policy, and to be less dependent upon God. Whilst they looked to the Lord for judgment, aid, and protection, how wonderfully he provided for them a Moses, an Aaron, and a Miriam in Egypt, through the Red Sea, and in the wilderness. To the help of whom the Lord also raised up a large number of inferior judges, upon whom he put his spirit as an essential qualification.

It would be needless to be very particular, in showing how the Lord was pleased to raise many, and to put his spirit upon them, under the blessed influence and strength whereof they wrought wonders for the reformation, deliverance, and protection of his people; as Joshua, Othniel, Deborah and Barak, Gideon, Jephthah, Samuel, David, Solomon, Nehe-

miah, &c. and when the people perceived the spirit of God was upon them, they joined such with alacrity in God's work, out of faithful subjection to the spirit of God in and upon them, and not to them as men.

Very remarkable is the humility and honest upright petition of Solomon, which amply discovers the state of mind such must be brought into, who are favoured with ability to judge and govern in the church of Christ. "In Gibeon the Lord appeared to Solomon in a dream by night: and God said, Ask what I shall give thee. He said, O Lord my God thou hast made thy servant king instead of David my father: and I am but a little child; I know not how to go out or come in. Give therefore thy servant an understanding heart to judge thy people, that I may discern between good and bad; for who is able to judge this thy so great a people?"

Pertinent also is the ardent concern raised in Nehemiah's mind for the welfare of God's people and city; the deep anguish of his soul, though in the midst of worldly affluence; his earnest and humble prayer to God; his manner of addressing king Artaxerxes upon that mournful occasion concerning the desolate state of Jerusalem, and his whole proceeding in the godly undertaking of raising the walls of that city, &c.

I might draw much more from the precious doctrine and experience of God's people, recorded in holy Writ, concurring to establish the truth of what I have advanced concerning the outward order, government, and beautiful discipline of the church, which is the kingdom of Christ, wherein the sanctified of God are as subordinate kings and priests; which is thus expressed, Dan. vii. 21, 22, I beheld, and the same horn made war with the saints, (viz. the power of anti-christ in the form of a church, with orders and rules) and prevailed against them, until the Ancient of days came, and judgment was given to the saints of the Most High, and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom. Paul calls this dominion the saints are to possess, Eph. iii. 10, principalities and powers in heavenly places. Oh! long hath this wicked horn had the rule and government where the saints should; so that there hath been little or nothing of the nature of that excellent government which is found in the kingdom of Christ. There has been no true vision from the prophets; the law has perished from the priests, and counsel from the ancients, Ezek. vii. 26. and the glorious kingdom of the Messiah has for many ages been as it were banished from the earth, or at least hidden from mankind, as in a wilderness, whereinto the true church fled, Rev. xii. 6. But the Lord hath been pleased in a good degree to restore again the excellent order of his house amongst a despised people; concerning whom I shall now endeavour to give some account, of what mine eyes have seen, mine ears heard, and what I have tasted and handled of the good word of life in their assemblies; particularly respecting those called meetings for discipline, and for church order and government. These meetings I have attended with diligence, as I thought it my indispensable duty, for about thirty years: the first ten whereof I was for the most part an highly pleased and comforted spectator of the sweet harmony and comely order of God's house, the love, sympathy, and care extended in each branch thereof, one towards another; in silent seeking the assistance of the holy Head, that the body might edify itself in love, and the King of saints be known to rule all that was within us. When we become members of Christ's body, we cease to consider ourselves as individuals only, but also as members deeply interested in the welfare of the body. Here is an united labour and travail, being all in one common interest.

I have often beheld the awful Majesty of the divine power amongst these people, and could say in humble admiration, at least in my heart, "Cry out and shout, thou inhabitant of Zion, for great is the holy One of Israel, in the midst of thee!" There has been no lack of any good thing in the camp of God. The glorious Lord hath been as places of broad rivers and streams, where can go no galley with oars, neither shall gallant ship pass thereby. For the Lord was our judge, the Lord was our lawgiver, the Lord was our king, Isa. xxxiii. 21, 22. and therefore all the splendid art and invention of man in religion, was to be wholly laid aside, as Saul's armour was by David, being concerned to go as he did, in the name, viz. the power and dread of the Most High. When I thus stood still, looking upon Sion, viewing her beauty and excellency, I saw great things done by mean instruments going forth against their enemies in the name of the Lord only; which has caused me to be knit to them, and I loved them as mine own soul. This sight and sense of things made me exceedingly watchful in my mind, afraid to speak and act, unless I found a well-grounded assurance that the Lord required it of me; by feeling the weight of his divine power upon my spirit, opening my understanding, and guiding my judgment, that I might clearly know what, when, and how to speak in the awful presence of God, and before the princes of his people, whose words I observed, were as goads, and as nails fastened by the master of

our assemblies, which are given from one shepherd.

Very pertinent to what I am now upon and which indeed ought to take deep impression on all those concerned, are these words in Eccles. v. 1, 2, 3. viz, "Keep thy foot when thou goest to the house of God, and be more ready to hear than to give the sacrifice of fools; for they consider not that they do evil. Be not rash with thy mouth, and let not thine heart be hasty to utter any thing before God: for God is in heaven, and thou upon earth, therefore let thy words be few. For a dream cometh through the multitude of business, and a fool's voice is known by a multitude of words." It is plain from what is before noted, and much more in holy Writ, that all the power and wisdom of man, until they are subjected, sanctified, and properly influenced by a supernatural principle, are wholly excluded and shut out of the church of God. Although those abilities are sufficient for the things of a man, viz. the concerns of this life; (for, as saith our Lord, the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light;) yet the things of God no man can know, consequently cannot rightly act in them, but by his spirit. This also in part appears from what Elihu saith, Job. xxxii. 7, 8, 9: I said, days should speak, and multitude of years should teach wisdom. But there is a spirit in man; and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding. Great men are not always wise; neither do the aged understand judgment.

Very great has been, and still is, the loss of man, for want of understanding this important point. Giving a latitude to human abilities in religion, and the concerns of it, has opened the door wide for anti-christ to become almost an universal monarch. It is this by which he has gotten great footing amongst all the divisions of Christian professors; our Society in a sorrowful manner with respect to individuals, as well as others; yet a living body is preserved. These, through the divine blessing, prevent his taking possession of the church, as he has done of some. The eyes and the cry of these are to the Lord, whom they know to be their sufficiency; and that unless he ordain salvation as walls and bulwarks to keep our city, in vain are all human endeavours.

When I have considered the low, indifferent, languid state of those under our name in many places, both in this and other nations, chiefly occasioned by an inordinate love of the world and the things thereof, my soul has been deeply humbled in awful prostration before him; in contemplating his wonderful condescension, in still shining forth upon us, as from between the cherubims of his glory, waiting to be gracious, by turning again the captivity of many of his Israel, and seeking to rebuild her waste places, and thereby to revive her ancient beauty. He is pleased to continue unto us some judges as at the first, and counsellors as at the beginning, though but few in number when compared to the bulk. May the great Lord of the harvest raise many more faithful labourers, and send them into his harvest, even such as are described by the evangelical prophet Isaiah, "The sinners in Zion are afraid, fearfulness hath surprised the hypocrites. Who among us shall dwell with the devouring fire? who amongst us shall dwell with everlasting burnings? He that walketh righteously, and speaketh uprightly, he that despiseth the gain of oppressions, that shaketh his hands from holding of bribes, that stoppeth his ears from hearing of blood, and shutteth his eyes from seeing evil: he shall dwell on high; his place of defence shall be the munitions of rocks, bread shall be given him, his waters shall be sure."

Oh! how sorrowful it is, in this and other nations, to view the great prevalence of unfaithfulness in large numbers, in most branches of our Christian testimony! much of which has been greatly owing to the laxness of discipline. Those who should have been, above all other considerations, waiting for fresh and renewed ability from God to build his house, have been most of all endeavouring to build themselves and posterity uncertain houses in earthly inheritances; living at ease in their ceiled houses, whilst the ark of the testimony of God has been exposed.

Dreadful is the account such will have to render, who have hidden their Lord's money in the earth, having wrapped it in a napkin, viz. a decent form of religion. The Lord has opened eyes that see them through their fig-leaf covering in most or all the ranks of his people; though it is much to be feared they have closed their own eyes, except towards the world. In that they may be clear sighted, it being their kingdom. Some of these may presume from their long profession wherein perhaps they have taken care, as far as appears to man's eye, to preserve a reputation free from spots or blemishes, and they have also a pretty large stock of wealth. In getting this they may have not only dried up the tenderness of religion in themselves, but also have laid a foundation for the ruin of their children, or those who succeed them in their possessions; notwithstanding which, some such may take upon them to be active members in the meetings where they belong. Lamentable indeed is the state of meetings, managed by such unsanctified spirits. The King of

Sion is banished from their councils; and her precious sons and daughters are but as suffering witnesses for God, clothed as in sackcloth, and the seed of God, which should have dominion in all our meetings, is depressed. I sincerely wish there was no cause for these close remarks; but a caution of this kind may be necessary. This spirit getting in amongst us, in any part of the Society, cannot fail to lay waste; therefore let all consider what spirit rules in them. Where such a spirit prevails, it is not the wise woman building the house, but the foolish woman pulling it down with her own hand.

It is a mournful truth, that among the many thousands of Israel, there are but few, in comparison, who really stand upright, as pillars in God's house; who cannot be at all warped by fear, interest, favour, or affection, but look beyond all, singly at truth and righteousness. Oh! what mean cringing, stooping, and temporizing, is to be found in some! It is my son, my daughter, a near relation, or friend, whom I am loath to offend, lest I should suffer in my interest or reputation, or gain his or her ill will. This spirit will never dwell on high, but must have its portion amongst the fearful and the unbelieving; and unless such repent, they will be ranked with those who deny Christ before men. They may read their portion, Luke xii. 9. True zeal and sound judgment are often rejected by this sort, whether they come from individuals, or meetings; nay by some, even when the judgment is the mature result of the largest body under the direction of best wisdom, if they do not find it to agree with their unsanctified understandings; which it would be strange if it should, as it comes from the Spirit of Truth.

It may be further observed, that those whose principal view is only maintaining the form or outward character in religion, feel very little or no pain on account of the disorderly practices of their fellow-members, and therefore they can easily daub with untempered mortar, and smooth all over, crying peace, before judgment has laid hold of the transgressing part; and all this under the specious pretence of charity and Christian tenderness. Yet when any in godly zeal are constrained to show the pernicious consequences of healing the wounds of the daughter of Sion deceitfully, some such soon discover they are too much strangers to true charity, by their opposition to sound judgment, and those exercised therein, that the wounds might be searched to the bottom. Here something of a persecuting spirit appears, and the bitter leaven of the pharisee is discovered, striking at the life of religion. But, agreeably to the usual craft of anti-christ, they must call a godly concern and labour by a contrary name, or they could not smite at it with any colour of reason. Such honest labourers have sometimes been represented as enthusiasts, too hot in their zeal, disturbers of the church's peace, &c. When there is peace with wrong things in the church, it is much better broken than kept. I take it that it was in this sense our Lord said, "I came not to send peace on earth, but a sword." It was a woful peace to Israel, when they became so reconciled to the inhabitants of the land, as to suffer them to dwell therein, contrary to the express command of God!

When the upright in heart cannot for Sion's sake hold their peace, their spirits being truly enlightened to search Jerusalem, it is very dangerous for any to obstruct, oppose, or even to discourage them in such a godly undertaking. The voice of their Almighty helper is, "Touch not mine anointed;" for he will certainly vindicate his own cause in their hands, and will recompense any injury done to it, or them, as if done to himself; so that all had need to know well what they do, and what spirit bears rule within them.

Some I have observed very blind, fruitless, and unskilful, who are not quite upon the same bottom as those above-mentioned, and who differ from them in the cause of their unfruitful situation, which arises chiefly from a gross deception in themselves, and for want of abiding in that wherein they could try the spirit that presents things to their minds. These have been moved and kindled by a false fire, and a zeal not duly tempered with that knowledge which comes from God. This proves a sore wounding to the cause of truth, where it prevails; very hard to judge down, because it is commonly very wise and right in its own eyes. In concluding this head, I am free to express an ardent prayer, which has filled my heart at times for a considerable number of years, that the Lord may be graciously pleased greatly to increase the number of those amongst us, who are made willing to leave all, and to follow the gentle leadings of his spirit, whithersoever he is pleased to lead them; who prefer the welfare, peace, and prosperity of the city of God to their chiefest joy; that truth and righteousness may be so exalted in every part of the body, as to make all the sinners in Sion afraid indeed; for they cannot stand in judgment when the Lord arises in majesty among his saints, nor in the congregations of the righteous; that so for very shame there might be a casting their idols of silver and their idols of gold, to the moles and to the bats. Isa. ii. 20.

The substance of what is here signified, has doubtless been the fervent travail of many

brethren and sisters, who are deeply affected with the present lethargy which prevails, yet in the midst thereof are comforted in observing a great reviving of concern, in most places, for stirring up and provoking one another to love and to good works; particularly in promoting discipline. If this prospers, as I believe it will, truth and righteousness will prevail thereby, and Sion will enlarge her borders, her cords will be lengthened, and her stakes strengthened; she will yet break forth on the right hand and on the left, and her seed will inherit places which are now desolate. Therefore let the true travailers for her prosperity be encouraged; for I believe some of them will see the fruits of their painful exercise, and be satisfied. May all such keep their habitations in the holy Head, whether in suffering or rejoicing, prosperity or adversity: for, as saith the apostle, If we suffer with Christ, we shall reign with him, or be glorified together.

MEMOIR OF

JOHN CAMM AND JOHN AUDLAND.

The early history of the religious Society of Friends, is replete with instances of faithful and devoted servants of Christ Jesus, who laboured abundantly and with great success in the work of the Gospel, and after enduring a fight of afflictions, growing out of the intolerant and persecuting spirit of the age, finished their course with joy, in the full assurance, that the religion they had embraced and for which they deeply suffered, was not a cunningly devised fable but substantial and ever enduring truth.

In this noble list of worthies we find the names of John Camm and John Audland, two men remarkable for the purity of their lives, for their fervent piety and devotedness, and the meekness and patience with which they endured hardships and imprisonment for righteousness sake. They were closely united by ties of friendship as well as the stronger and higher bond of Christian fellowship; and were companions in travel and in suffering for the cause of their Lord and Master; and although the period of their ministry was short, the former dying about four years after his convincement and the latter in about eleven years, yet, during that brief space, they were unwearied in their endeavours to spread the kingdom of the dear Son of God, and under the leadings of his Spirit, to gather souls unto Him. Many were the seals of their living and powerful ministry, in different parts of the nation; men and women who, through their instrumentality, were gathered to the teachings of Christ Jesus the Shepherd and Bishop of souls; and diligently hearkening to his voice, were at length enabled to say, "Now we believe, not because of your saying, for we have heard him ourselves and know that this is indeed the Christ, the Saviour of the world."

It is at once instructive and cheering to dwell upon the dedicated lives and peaceful deaths of such humble yet zealous followers of the Lamb; to ponder their holy and dignified example; to meditate upon their Christian experience and treasure up for our own improvement the lessons it teaches; to mark well how the religion they *possessed* as well as professed, bore them up in cheerful resignation amid all the trials and sufferings which were permitted to assail them, carried them safely through the vicissitudes and temptations of this troublous life, and furnished them with a well grounded and solid hope of a blessed and glorious immortality beyond the grave. These are fruits which can only be produced by the spiritual, self-denying religion of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; and where we see them brought forth in such fulness and perfection, we may rest assured that there this religion exists.

John Camm, the elder of the two Friends of whom we are speaking, was descended from an ancient and honourable family, in the barony of Kendal and county of Westmoreland in England. He was born about the year 1604, at Camm's gill, a place that had been in possession of the family for several generations, and to which they had given their name. He received a good education, and was early blessed with the visitations of the holy Spirit, by which his heart was contrited and inclined to a life of sobriety and virtue.

As he approached manhood his religious impressions were strengthened, and an earnest inquiry awakened in his mind after the right way of the Lord. He saw the lifelessness and formality of the national priests; and feeling the deadness and dryness of their ministrations, withdrew from their worship; and being sincere in his inquiry after a religion which would bring peace and satisfaction to his soul, he joined company with a select number of persons whose minds were similarly impressed and in the same seeking tender state. They were very strict and upright in the performance of their religious duties, and endeavoured to have their conduct and conversation ordered in the fear of the Lord; frequently meeting together at Firbank Chapel, and other places, to seek the Lord and the revelation of the way of life, which their souls thirsted after.

Among these persons were the two Friends above mentioned, Francis Howgill, Richard Hubberthorn, and some others who afterward became eminent ministers in the religious Society of Friends. That some of them were measureably favoured, previous to their convincement, with divine openings into the spiritual nature of true religion, is apparent; but not coming fully to the Light of Christ Jesus, inwardly revealed, and waiting in that to receive power, they did not obtain the full possession of those things, of which they were permitted in degree to behold the excellency.

But when it pleased the Lord in his loving kindness to cause his Gospel day to spring afresh from on high, and his light to break forth out of the obscurity with which the unfaithfulness and apostacy of professing Christendom had clouded it, and to send his chosen and anointed servants to preach his glorious Gospel in its own authority and ancient purity, these seeking souls were as prepared ground, ready, with gladness and meekness, to receive the Truth in the love of it, and some hundreds of them were convinced in one day.

The great commotions, both religious and civil, which had rent England for some years previous; the sharp and angry controversies on points of doctrine which were daily carried on between the different professions; the shifting and changing of opinions to suit the times, even among those called the dignitaries of the congregations; had greatly shaken the confidence of the people in their teachers, while the calamities of war and the hardships and difficulties which many had to endure, tended to wean them from worldly pursuits and enjoyments, and turn their attention with increased seriousness, toward those concerns which related to another and better world. In the north of England there was a great seeking after religion; and when that eminent and dignified minister of Christ, George Fox, travelled through those parts, his labours in the ministry were crowned with astonishing success.

An early writer among Friends says, "The Lord called and anointed several for his work, to publish his blessed Gospel day; to bring glad tidings to the captives and to proclaim the year of his jubilee—and first and more especially he made choice of and sent forth his faithful servant and messenger to the nations, George Fox, into the north country, particularly into Westmoreland, near Kendal, where the fields were white unto harvest, and a people ripe to be gathered, who were separated from the world's worship, and from many of the dry, empty forms of religion, and met together by themselves. They had several among them who were teachers, the chief of whom were John Audland and Francis Howgill; [and John Camm also at times officiated in that capacity.] Among these the Lord sent George Fox with the message of life, at the publishing whereof, in the demonstration of the spirit and power of Jesus Christ, the aforesaid persons, with Edward Burrough and Richard Hubberthorn, and many hundreds more, were convinced, and their hearts opened by the revelation of the day of God. In the shining of his heavenly light into their souls, they came to see that they wanted the lively possession of that which they had made a great profession of; and though several of them had esteemed this profession as great riches, yet now they came to be spoiled of it all; their wisdom being in words only, was confounded, and they became as fools, and consulted no more therewith, but bowed at the revelation of Jesus Christ. All their former knowledge and acquirements now were as dross, in comparison of the excellency of the knowledge of their Lord, revealed by his spirit, which they felt at work in them, to regenerate their hearts, and sprinkle their consciences from dead works and words, that they might serve the living God. To this great and necessary work they were strangers, notwithstanding their high profession. Then was the day of the Lord terrible upon every thing high and exalted, and many lofty ones, who were even as the tall cedars, were bowed low under the mighty hand of God. Judgment began at the house of God, in the heart of man, which is his temple; and by the spirit of burning he entered there, and carried on his work, in order to redeem from the bondage of sin, to purge out the leaven thereof, and make clean vessels, fit for his service, by whom he might carry on his blessed work among the nations."

The narrative given by George Fox of his

journey through the north of England is very remarkable and full of interest, worthy of a careful perusal, as exhibiting the convincing power and energy which at times attends a divinely authorized Gospel ministry, and the fruits that flow therefrom. It was on a first-day in the early part of the year 1652, that he came to Firbank Chapel, in Westmoreland, where Francis Howgill and John Audland had been preaching in the morning to an audience so large, that the meeting-house would not contain them. Word was soon spread that George was come, and the preachers quickly got through their work. Some of the people went to get dinner, but many staid in and near the meeting place without any. There appears to have been a general opinion that the preachers and hearers at this place, were more religious than many others, for George Fox mentions that some persons came to him, probably anticipating that he would preach, and not fully understanding the nature of a true call to the ministry, and desired he would not reprove them publicly, for they were "pretty tender men." Francis Howgill had been at a meeting in a steeple-house yard near Sedberg, where George preached the day before, and appears to have been very much convinced by what he heard; for a certain captain asking George why he would not go into their church, saying that the yard was not a fit place to preach in; Francis Howgill stood up and so effectually answered the captain, that he soon put him to silence; and then remarked, concerning G. F., "This man speaks with authority, and not as the scribes."

But whatever might be their conditions, G. Fox knew his calling and the source of his ministry too well, to attempt to give them any idea beforehand what he should say; not knowing himself how the Lord would lead him. His own account is nearly as follows, viz;

"I could not tell them whether I should or no, though I had not at that time any drawings to declare publicly against them, but I said they must leave me to the Lord's movings. While others were gone to dinner, I went to a brook, got a little water and then came and sat down on the top of a rock hard by the chapel. In the afternoon the people gathered about me, with several of their preachers. It was judged that there were above a thousand there, to whom I declared God's everlasting truth and word of life, freely and largely, for about the space of three hours; directing all to the spirit of God in themselves, that they might be turned from darkness to light and believe in it, that they might become the children of it, and might be turned from the power of satan unto God. That by the Spirit of Truth they might be led into all truth, and sensibly understand the words of the prophets, of Christ and of the apostles, and might all come to know Christ to be their teacher to instruct them, their counsellor to direct them, their shepherd to feed them, their bishop to oversee them, and their prophet to open divine mysteries to them; and might know their bodies to be prepared, sanctified and made fit temples for God and Christ to dwell in.

"In the openings of heavenly life, I explained to them the prophets, and the figures and shadows, and directed them to Christ the substance. Then I opened the parables and sayings of Christ, and things that had been long hidden, showing the intent and scope of the apostles' writings, and that their epistles were written to the elect. When I had opened that state, I showed also the state of the apostacy since the apostles days; that the priests have gotten the Scriptures but are not in the spirit which gave them forth, but make a trade of the holy mens' words; that the teachers and priests now are found in the steps of the false prophets, chief-priests, scribes and pharisees of old, and are such as the true prophets, Christ and his apostles cried against, and so are judged and condemned by the Spirit of Christ, and none who are in that spirit could own them.

"Many old people went into the chapel and looked out at the windows, thinking it a strange thing to see a man preach on an hill or mountain and not in the church, as they called it. Whereupon I was moved to inform the people, that the steeple-house and the ground whereon it stood, were no more holy than that mountain; and that those temples which they called the dreadful houses of God, were not set up by the command of God and of Christ; nor their priests called as Aaron's priesthood was, nor their tythes appointed by God as those among the Jews were; but that Christ was come, who ended both the temple and its worship, and the priests and their tythes; and that all now should hearken unto him, for he said, 'Learn of me;' and God said of him, 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him.' I declared that the Lord God had sent me to preach the everlasting Gospel and word of life amongst them, and to bring them off from all these temples, tythes, priests and rudiments of the world, which had gotten up since the apostles days, and had been set up by such as had erred from the spirit and power that the apostles were in. Very largely was I opened at this meeting; the Lord's convincing power accompanied my ministry and reached home to the hearts of the people,

whereby many were convinced, and all the teachers of that congregation, who were many, were convinced of God's everlasting Truth."

So fully and effectually did the ministry of George Fox convince those teachers of the unlawfulness of hireling ministry under the Gospel dispensation, that they gave back the money they had received for preaching; and after passing through the necessary baptisms and work of preparation, became zealous and fervent ministers of the Gospel, in the religious Society of Friends; labouring abundantly, both at home and abroad, and scrupulously observing the command of their Lord and Master; "Freely ye have received, freely give."

John Camm was deeply affected at this memorable meeting, and being given to see that the plain practical religion to which George Fox bore so powerful a testimony, was the very thing which his hungry soul had long been seeking in vain, he was bowed under the mighty power of the Lord, and induced to give more diligent heed to the manifestations of the light of Christ in his conscience, to which G. F. recommended his hearers, as the certain and safe guide in the way of life and salvation. As he steadily dwelt under his religious exercises, patiently enduring the dispensation of condemnation and judgment, and attending from day to day to the discoveries of the divine Light, he was strengthened to take up the cross to the friendships and glory of this world, and to become a fool for Christ's sake. He was accounted a wise man in the world's estimation, was in extensive business, which prospered in his hand, and outward things seemed to smile upon him, having great reputation where he was known; but in obedience to the heavenly call, he turned his back upon all these, counting them not worthy to be put in competition, even for a moment, with that everlasting inheritance, incorruptible and undefiled, for which he was in good earnest seeking. He esteemed it a blessed exchange to part with all, so that he might be made an heir in Christ of the durable riches and righteousness which can never fade away, and joyfully became a despised follower of Jesus, through contempt and reproach, and many tribulations.

He endured a season of close conflict and exercise, wherein he felt the old heavens and the old earth, both his former sins and his high profession of religion, to pass away as a scroll; his acquired wisdom and knowledge were stripped off and cast out, and he brought back to the state of a little child, to learn again in the school of Christ, even what he had before gathered in the head, and to receive his instruction immediately from the living and inexhaustible Fountain of all true wisdom and knowledge. All things being thus made new, and all things of God, as a prepared and sanctified vessel, the Lord filled him with his own power and spirit, put his living word in his mouth, and called him away from his temporal concerns and domestic comforts and enjoyments, which were many, to go forth and publish among the people the unsearchable riches of Christ. To this call he yielded a ready and cheerful obedience; and though he had much to leave behind, and was of a very sickly constitution, yet he hesitated not, but freely surrendered himself to the divine requiring. His first journey, which was probably performed early in 1653, was through the northern counties as far as the borders of Scotland, and soon after his return from thence, he felt himself religiously engaged to travel southward. Francis Howgill joining company with him, they proceeded as far as London, and were among the first called Quakers who published the truth, as held by this people, in that great city. A principal object of their visit at this time appears to have been to deliver a message with which John Camm believed he was divinely commissioned, to Oliver Cromwell, then protector of the Commonwealth of England. They not only paid him a visit, but J. C. addressed an epistle to him, from which the following extracts are taken, viz.

"On the last day of the first month, called March, [1654] about two o'clock in the morning, I was moved of the Lord to write these ensuing lines and to lay before thee the cause of our coming to London. Friend; we came not to petition any thing from thee in the outward, but in tender love to exhort thee to mind thy own condition, and how thou standest in relation to the Lord God of heaven and earth, who is powerful, and pure and holy; who will not acquit the wicked, but will wound the hairy scalp of him who goeth on in iniquity. He sees and knows all the secrets of thy heart, thy outgoings and thy incomings, and to Him thou must give an account of all things done in the body, whether they be good or evil. Therefore in love to thy soul are we moved to exhort thee to stand in the fear of the Lord and in his counsel, and to mind the divine Light in thy conscience, which is pure and of God, to guide thee in the great affairs of the nation. To keep in his fear is safe, for dreadful and terrible will the day of the Lord be to all who are found out of his fear, acting in their own wills and limiting the Spirit of God, and walking contrary to his pure law written in the heart by his Spirit. Knowing the terrors of the Lord, we do exhort thee

in love to thy soul, for the righteous Seed's sake, which lies in bondage every where under the oppressing nature, that thou mightest be an instrument in the Lord's hand, to take off oppression from the necks of the people and to remove the yoke. This hath long been promised to them, and now the power is in thy hand to do it, and thou must give an account to the Lord how thou rulest for him.

"For the mighty day of the Lord is come and coming, wherein all faces shall gather blackness. It is a day of darkness, of bitter lamentation and wo, in which the mountains shall melt and the hills fall before Him; and all the tall cedars shall bow, and the strong oaks be broken down, and the rocks rent, yea the earth shall remove out of its place, and the Lord will plead with all flesh by his fire and his sword. Then the lofty shall be brought down and the Lord alone exalted; which day, we witness fulfilled in measure in us—praises—praises, to the Lord God for evermore. Having this testimony made manifest in us by the eternal Spirit of God, we declare this unto thee that thou mayest not be found acting against the truth, for they who are guided by the Spirit of God, will do nothing against the truth but for the truth. By this Spirit we are gathered out of the world up to God and have escaped the pollutions thereof, and are brought into obedience to the pure law of God written in the heart, and know his Spirit to be our teacher. We therefore deny all the teachings of men who have not this Spirit to guide them; and for so doing we suffer by them. My sheep know my voice, saith Christ, and they follow me, and the voice of a stranger they will not follow: we know the voice of Christ and the voice of the stranger; and by the Spirit of the living God we are gathered together, to worship him in Spirit and Truth, and are of one heart and one mind, and have all one teacher and all speak one thing."

It appears that during the personal conference with the protector, Friends had taken occasion to show him how he might be instrumental in the divine hand in spreading and establishing the Gospel, from which he had erroneously inferred that they intended he should exercise his power for that purpose and carry it on by law. To remove this misapprehension, the epistle proceeds.

"That was not our desire, nor did we speak any such thing. We witness that the coming of Christ in his kingdom is not by might or power, nor with outward pomp or glory; nor by any law which is in the will of man; and our desires are, that there should be no law upon religion, for it needs no law to defend it. Pure religion and undefiled is this, to loose the bonds of wickedness, to set the oppressed free and take off every yoke; and where pure religion is exercised, these are the fruits of it; and if thou be guided by the pure light of God shining in thy conscience, and the righteous law of God set up in thy heart, and knowest the Spirit of God to be thy teacher, then none need desire thee to take away these laws which ensnare tender consciences. And they who pretend conscience, and are not guided by the law of God, will be seen and known by those who dwell in the Spirit, to have erroneous consciences, and this divine law will take hold of them: for the righteous law is upon the transgressor and limits the carnal mind and fleshly will, but doth not limit the Spirit, but is at unity with it.

"Therefore, friend, I speak to thy conscience, and witness this to be true in the presence of God, that as thou art guided by this pure light in thy conscience and the law of the Spirit set up in thy heart, thou canst not deny us. We are none of those who despise government and defile the flesh; who pull down others to set up themselves; but we deny all the unfruitful works of darkness and seek to advance the government of Jesus Christ alone, and love and have unity with all who are here, honouring all men in the Lord, and having fellowship with those whose conversation is as becometh the Gospel of Christ.

"And where the Spirit of the Lord sets free and commands obedience, take heed how thou sufferest any law to limit that Spirit; for they who are brought into the obedience thereof, are dear unto the Lord as the apple of his eye, his care is over them and he will free them from their oppressors." This epistle concludes with these words; "Take heed; for he that is in high places is subject to many temptations."

What effect this simple but earnest address produced on the mind of the protector, we are not informed, but it appears to have been relieving to the minds of our Friends. It was not long after his return from this journey, before John Camm again found his mind drawn to travel in the south of England, and set out accompanied by four of his neighbours, viz., John Audland, Francis Howgill, Edward Burrough and Richard Hubberthorn. They did not however continue long together, for he and Edward Burrough went through the midland counties to London, where the others, who had been led by a different route, met them. In this city there was a great convincement; and a large field was opened before them, in which they laboured industriously in the cause of their Lord. After some time John Camm and John Audland believed

themselves called to preach the Gospel in Bristol, and accordingly went thither in the seventh month, 1654.

They were soon joined by Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill; and the Lord who sent them forth, opened a door of entrance in the hearts of the people, many of whom gladly received and embraced the truth and continued stedfast therein, through a long scene of cruel persecution and deep suffering which ensued. Their preaching, like that of the apostles, was in demonstration of the Spirit and with power. Multitudes flocked to hear them, so that the public assemblies, for want of room in the usual meeting-places, were held in the fields, even in the winter season, increasing to the number of two, three and sometimes nearly four thousand, of all ages, sexes and professions. This alarmed the priests, and they stirred up the magistrates, who on the 30th of October, held a council, at which the mayor presided, to consult what should be done in the case. They sent for E. Burrough and F. Howgill, whom they ordered forthwith to leave the city, which they were not free to comply with. John Camm and John Audland were not molested at that time, but on the 19th of December, as they were passing over a bridge toward Brislington, where they had appointed a meeting, they were assaulted by some hundreds of the rabble, whose blind and ignorant zeal had been aroused by one Farmer, a persecuting priest of the neighbourhood. They violently drove back these innocent and unoffending strangers, beating and kicking them cruelly, and crying out, knock them down—kill them; hang them presently, and such like expressions. They attempted to drag them through Wine street out of the city, in order to accomplish their wicked purpose, but at length were dissuaded from it by some of the more moderate. They then dragged them to a building called the Tolzey, where the merchants met to transact business, and where the courts were held, and the infuriated mob would probably have torn them in pieces here, had it not been for the courage and exertions of a friend, who with much personal danger, pulled them into his house and shut the doors. The mob, with hideous noises, threatened to pull down the house, but the Friends quietly awaited the issue, nothing daunted; their trust and confidence being placed in Him who can deliver in the greatest extremity. At length the uproar and tumult became so great, that some officers were despatched from the garrison to quell it, and as soon as the mob perceived their approach, they dispersed.

Next day the Friends held their meeting in quietness at Brislington. Three of the rioters were apprehended and imprisoned, but when their comrades heard it, they gathered about fifteen hundred persons together and compelled their liberation. Word being given out that the Quakers were returning into Bristol toward evening, multitudes assembled on the bridge and on the other side of the river Avon, belching forth dreadful language and threatenings; and the magistrates were so fearful lest there should be bloodshed, that they sent their sword-bearer to acquaint Friends that they had better not return that way, as the officers could not protect them. Thus the Lord preserved them from the wicked fury of their enemies, who sought to shed innocent blood, and whose diabolical conduct had filled the city with terror.

The tumult however did not stop here; the rude multitude saying they should find more protection from the magistrates than the strangers would, were encouraged to be yet more violent, and went so far as to force their way into some of the houses of Friends, under pretence of preventing treasonable plottings. When the priests were admonished that these were the fruits of their ministry, they stirred up the people still more, and induced the magistrates to imprison some Friends. This unrighteous act gave fresh courage to the populace, who now thought they had full license to abuse these unoffending people, and they began beating, pushing, kicking and treading upon them, so that blood was frequently shed; yet all was not sufficient to shake their constancy or induce them to desert their meetings or to cease to publish the gladtidings of salvation.

John Camm and John Audland continuing their labours in Bristol, notwithstanding the heat of the persecution, the magistrates issued an order dated "the 22nd of January, 1654," directed to all and every of the constables of the city, requiring them to apprehend those Friends and bring them up for examination. It so happened however that just before this unjust mandate came out, these two devoted servants, feeling themselves released for the present from further service there, had left Bristol; by which means their persecutors were disappointed of their prey. Irritated by this circumstance, and not disposed to suffer the Quakers to escape so easily from their grasp, they put forth another warrant, requiring the officers to search for them. To show the strange and frivolous pretences under which our primitive Friends were assailed, we shall give a copy of this warrant. It is as follows;

"*City of Bristol:*—

"To all the constables of the peace of the ward of ——— and to every of them.

"Forasmuch as information has been given us upon oath, that certain persons of the Franciscan order in Rome, have of late come over into England, and under the notion of Quakers, drawn together several multitudes of people in London; and whereas certain strangers, going under the names of John Camm, John Audland, George Fox, James Nayler, Francis Howgill, and Edward Burrough, and others unknown, have lately resorted to this city, and in like manner, under the notion of Quakers, drawn multitudes of the people after them, and occasioned very great disturbances amongst us; and forasmuch as by the said information it appeareth to us to be very probable, and much to be suspected, that the said persons so lately come hither are some of those that came from Rome, as aforesaid; these are therefore in the name of his highness, the lord Protector, to will and require you to make diligent search through your ward for the aforesaid strangers, or any of them, and all other suspected persons and to apprehend and bring them before us, or some of us, to be examined and dealt with according to law: hereof fail you not. Given the 25th of January, 1654."

The magistrates affixed their seals to this order, and one of them was so zealous, that lest there should be any doubt of his signature being to it, he wrote it twice. It is worthy of remark, that up to the date of this warrant, George Fox and James Nayler had not been to Bristol, and as the Society of Friends had greatly increased in England, and included among its honourable and well known members, many of the most substantial and reputable people in the kingdom, the pretence that they were persons of the Franciscan order from Rome, can only be viewed as arising from a disposition to render the Quakers odious, in order more effectually to persecute and afflict them.

It does not appear that this attempt to apprehend John Camm and John Audland, was any more successful than the preceding, as no account of the arrest or imprisonment of either of them in consequence of it has come down to us. It seems probable, that they proceeded pretty directly home after leaving Bristol, for we find them at Hereford on the 25th of the seventh month, 1654, and they had left Bristol in the same month.

In 1656, John Camm and John Audland again visited Bristol, but of their journey or service we have no particulars given. For a number of years John Camm's health had been declining, and being naturally of a very delicate constitution, and inclined to consumption, he suffered greatly from debility and a racking cough. It is indeed surprising, that in his very weak and diseased state, he should have been able to leave home at all; yet such was the fervency and devotion of his spirit, that he was ready to spend and be spent for the good of his brethren; and in his zeal for the cause of God his own infirmities seemed to be forgotten.

His son writes thus respecting him. "For several years before his death he was not able to walk half a mile at one time; nay, many times he was not able to go up one pair of stairs, into a meeting place, without help; yet, nevertheless through the enlivening power and Spirit of God, he was borne above the sense of his weakness while the meeting continued; but when it was over was often as one ready to be dissolved.

"In this outward weakness he travelled for several years, through many counties and places in this nation, confirming and strengthening the flock of God; sometimes taking me with him to wait upon him, his weakness becoming so great that he was often unable to get on or off his horse without help. Through all this the Lord brought him, his faith being fixed in his power, and his life and whole delight was in the prosperity of truth and the increase of righteousness in the earth."

"It was his great care in all his travels that the Gospel of Christ which he had to publish, might be without charge; all that he possessed or enjoyed of outward things being freely given up to the Lord, so that he was willing to spend his substance in travelling and for other purposes to promote the spread of truth. His heart and house also were open for the entertainment of Friends who were abroad in the service of the Gospel, in which he took great comfort and satisfaction."

The exertion necessary to make himself heard in those large assemblies convened in the open air, produced a very unfavourable effect on his lungs, and soon after his return from Bristol in 1656, he became unable to leave his house. The decay of nature, and the evident approach of dissolution brought no alarm to his peaceful mind. He knew in whom he had believed, and that he was able to keep that which he had committed unto him. Those religious principles which he had embraced himself and preached to others while in comparative health, proved sufficient to sustain his spirit during the hours of languor and disease, with a lively hope that when his change came, it would be from a world of pain and sorrow to a glorious state, where all

tears and suffering would be forever done away.

The company of faithful friends had been a source of enjoyment to him ever since he knew the Truth, and now that he was confined by sickness it seemed more so than ever. Many came to visit him and he was often remarkably opened in the visions of life and light, and greatly overcome with the Lord's love and peace, to which he would bear a fresh and living testimony with divine power and energy, to the great comfort of his friends and family. He had a clear sight of some things which afterward came to pass, and had to declare that a day of spiritual famine was approaching, in which some who made a great show of religion would be like the seed sown on stony ground, or the broken bow in the day of battle.

As a tender and godly father, he was deeply solicitous for the religious welfare of his beloved family, and would often call them together, and exhort them with much fervency to fear the Lord and walk in holiness of life as became the gospel; and would often pray for them and bless them in the name of the Lord.

His heart was frequently so filled with heavenly joy that he would break forth in a wonderful manner, extolling the great name of the Most High and praising him for his abundant goodness and mercy. He esteemed his bodily weakness a blessing, it being sanctified to him by that eternal Word which had redeemed and sanctified his soul and made him an honourable vessel in the house of his God; even a pillar that should go no more out. On one occasion he said, "How great a benefit do I enjoy beyond many, in having such a large time of preparation for death. I am as it were dying daily, that I may live forever with my God in that kingdom which is unspeakably full of glory. My outward man daily wastes and draws towards its place, but my inward man revives and mounts upwards towards its habitation in the heavens."

On the morning of his death he called his wife and children to him and gave them much excellent counsel; exhorting them to fear the Lord, love his truth and walk in it with upright hearts; charging them to be kind and loving to each other. He then said that his glass was run and the time of his departure at hand, when he should enter into everlasting joy and rest, and desired them to be patient and resigned to the Lord's will. Soon after speaking these words he fainted, and appeared to pass quietly away as one falling into a sweet sleep; at which his family, who surrounded his bed, were much affected and wept aloud. This seemed to rouse him again, and desiring to be raised up, he said, "My dear hearts, you have wronged and disturbed me, for I was sweetly at rest. You should not so passionately sorrow for my departure, for this house of clay must go to its place, but my soul is to be gathered up to the Lord to live with him for ever, where we shall meet with everlasting joy." He then again bade them all farewell, and lying down on the bed, quietly departed this life in the eleventh month, 1656.

One of the early Friends, writing respecting him, says, "He was a man richly furnished with the gifts of the holy Spirit; patient in his great exercises and weakness; of a noble spirit, grave in his carriage and deportment, profound in judgment and of quick discerning; a sharp reprover of the world and of the wickedness therein, as also of all deceitful hypocrites and disorderly walkers, who made a profession of the truth, but walked not according thereto. The unity of the brethren was his soul's joy and delight, and his sword was keen to wound whatever appeared to break the same. His ministry was weighty, deep and very powerful; not pleasant to the itching ears which love smooth words, but reached the witness for God in the conscience, and tended to the refreshment of the Seed of the kingdom in the hearts of God's people. To the weary, tossed and afflicted soul, he often had a word of consolation in season, being very tender over the good in all."

Thus having fulfilled his ministry as a good steward of the grace of God, and adorned the doctrine he preached by a life and conversation answerable thereto, he finished his earthly course with holy joy, and is entered into that inheritance, incorruptible, undefiled and that fadeth not away, which is reserved in heaven for all the Lord's faithful and dedicated servants.

John Audland was born about the year 1630, in the barony of Kendal, about a mile from Camm's gill, the residence of John Camm, his beloved friend and fellow labourer in the Gospel. He was of a good family, and carefully educated, and when quite a child discovered a quickness and maturity of understanding, which were much beyond his age. The natural liveliness of his disposition inclined him to levity and playfulness; yet he was mercifully preserved from vicious practices. As he approached the age of seventeen, the Lord was pleased to visit his soul by the inshinings of his holy light, under the effects whereof, he felt himself drawn into greater sobriety and strictness of deportment. He now became a diligent and at-

tentive reader of the holy Scriptures, and having a large understanding and retentive memory, he stored his mind with the knowledge of those sacred writings, reasoning and drawing his conclusions therefrom, until he became "mighty in the scriptures," as Apollos of old, and could speak abundantly respecting religion and its duties.

Being very strict in his religious observances, according to the degree of light with which he was then favoured, he acquired considerable reputation among the most serious and strict professors, with whom he associated, and at times appeared among them in the character of a preacher.

Not satisfied with the national worship, which he felt to be wanting in life and spirituality, he went among the most zealous sort of Independents, teaching and preaching with much earnestness, the things which he believed to appertain to life and salvation. Sometimes he went to the chapels and parish places of worship, where there were idle or dissolute priests, and though a dissenter, publicly preached to the auditory, which would often be very large; multitudes flocking to hear him, attracted by his youth, the fluency of his speech and the energy and sincerity of his manner. Thus his fame spread abroad, and he soon came to be esteemed one of the greatest and most eloquent dissenting preachers in the North of England. Firbank Chapel, then a meeting place of the Independents, was generally the scene of his labours, and his hearers appear to have been strongly attached to him.

The circumstance of John Audland's going into the public places of worship, and there preaching to the people, before he was convinced of the Christian principles of the religious Society of Friends, is deserving of notice; as it shows that the practice was not uncommon amongst the zealous dissenters, and that Friends were not singular in it. It is difficult for us at the present day fully to understand the peculiar temperament and character of those times, or to have an adequate idea of the corruption and lifelessness which had overspread professing Christendom. It is not at all surprising, that the great Head of the church should have raised up and sent forth instruments, to cry, not only against the prevailing vices of the times, but the specious yet hollow profession of religion which usurped the place of vital piety, and by its arrogant pretensions, deceived many an unsuspecting and careless one. Nor is it to be wondered if these servants of the Lord, viewing this awful delusion, which many of those called the clergy contributed to spread over the minds of the people, and the exceeding preciousness of the souls whose salvation was thus jeopardized, should embrace every opportunity that presented, to cry against the deceitfulness of a carnal profession, and call the people away from their idolatrous dependence on human teaching, to Christ Jesus the shepherd and bishop of their souls; who, by his Spirit in their hearts, would teach them savingly those things which belonged to their everlasting peace. It does not appear that Friends gave any interruption to the usual services, except on some extraordinary occasions; generally waiting until the stated speaker had done, and then in an orderly and becoming manner addressing the assembly, often after they had retired from the house to the yard.

When about twenty years of age he was married to Ann Newby of Kendal, a sober and religious minded woman, who, like himself, had left the established worship and joined with the more strict and serious of the Independents. The Lord was pleased to make them a comfort and blessing to each other, both of them embracing, about the same time, the religion of the despised Quakers, as the life and substance of that for which they had long been seeking in vain, and which they now found to the unspeakable peace and joy of their longing souls. After his death she became the wife of Thomas Camm, son of John Camm before mentioned.

John Audland was one of the many who were convinced at Firbank Chapel, of the truth of the religious principles held by Friends, under the simple and unlearned, but powerfully baptizing ministry of George Fox, as has already been mentioned in the account of John Camm. He was then twenty-two years old, and the practical heart searching doctrine he heard, appears to have struck at the foundation of that lofty superstructure of professional religion which he had been rearing, and to have produced a great struggle in his mind. Standing as he did in the affections and estimation of the people, it is not surprising that he found it hard work to give up all his supposed knowledge and experience in religion, and become in very deed a fool for Christ's sake.

The wise and learned of this world, are apt to sneer at the preaching of those who have never studied in their schools, and who acknowledge no other call or qualification for the awful work of the ministry than those which the Lord Jesus is pleased to dispense to such as he ordains therefor; yet the experience of thousands in the rise of the Society of Friends, and since that day, can bear testimony to the living virtue, the awakening and convincing power, as well as the

enlivening and consoling effects, which flow from such a ministry, even though the instruments appear very weak and contemptible in human estimation; while the elaborate efforts of the most eloquent and learned speakers, however attractive as specimens of elegant composition, only serve to gratify the taste, to delight the imagination or stir up the animal feelings, leaving little or no durable impression on the mind. The ear is pleased, but the heart remains untouched, entrenched as strongly as ever in its own corruptions.

Nor is this at all surprising, when we remember how little even the very best human means can accomplish; and that God is jealous of his honour and will not give his glory to another. Where men are depending on their own powers and acquirements, and displaying them to an admiring auditory, the all-powerful and baptizing energy of the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven, which we are told was the accompaniment of the apostolic ministry, and a degree of which only can give value and effect to preaching now, is not likely to be vouchsafed.

From the notable meeting at Firbank Chapel, George Fox went to John Audland's house, who was fully convinced that George was really in the possession and enjoyment of what he himself knew only in notion, and being brought, through the clear manifestations of the light of Christ Jesus, to see the emptiness of his high profession, which had been too much in the head, while the great work of regeneration in the heart was but little known, and that all his righteousness was as filthy rags, he sat down silent and astonished, in great humiliation and abasement of self. Very deep indeed and weighty was the work of the Lord in his soul, whereby all his former experience and wisdom were confounded and brought to naught.

His wife thus speaks of it, in her testimony concerning him—"Great was the warfare and inward exercise which my dear husband underwent under the chastizing hand of the Lord, and the spirit of judgment and burning which was at work in him, in order to sanctify him for the Lord's use and service. For when the Lord's blessed day broke upon him, he was high in notion and profession, imagining himself filled with durable riches and wisdom; but in the light of this day, he saw the emptiness of it all, while he wanted the substance, the life of the eternal Word, and to be thereby sanctified throughout. Under the sense of this want, many were his sighs and groans, and his tears were not few. He underwent days and nights of sorrow, the power of the Lord being as a fire revealed in him, to burn the great building he had been setting up: and in great lamentation, I have heard him say, 'Ah! what have we been doing? What have we been labouring for, and what availeth our great profession? All our building tumbles down—the day of the Lord is upon it, his Word as a fire consumes it as dry stubble, and puts an end to all empty professions and high notions, without life or substance, and to all the wisdom of fallen man. We must forsake the world and all its glory; it is all but vanity and vexation of spirit. It is a Saviour I long for—He it is whom my soul pants after. O that I may be comprehended into his life and overshadowed with his glory; sanctified throughout by his Word, and raised up by his eternal power.'"

As he patiently endured this season of refinement and purging, he experienced the old man and his deeds to be crucified, with the lusts and affections thereof; and through divine condescension, the prayer of his soul was granted, the Lord giving him a new heart and that peace which surpasses the comprehension of unregenerate men. Thus, as a vessel sanctified and prepared for the Master's use, he received a call from on high to publish the way of salvation through a crucified and risen Saviour, and to call sinners to repentance; that they might receive pardon for their past sins through the atoning blood of Jesus, and power through his Spirit, to walk in newness of life and to serve the Lord in reverence and godly fear. He no longer preached under the benumbing influence of barren speculation and mere human acquirements, but from the constraining love of Christ, and with the animating energy of living heartfelt experience; and the Lord blessed his labours with great success.

It was about the twenty-third year of his age that he thus came forth as a minister of the Gospel in the Society of Friends; and not long after, he believed himself called to leave his beloved wife and domestic comforts, and travel abroad in the service of his Lord and Master. His first journey appears to have been undertaken in 1654; when in company with Thomas Airey, he visited the city of Bristol, and found an opportunity to preach the Gospel in the meetings of the Independents and Baptists, as well as to some others. A number of persons were so well satisfied with the plain and practical doctrine which he delivered, that they cordially embraced it and became united to the Society of Friends. The travellers proceeded to Plymouth in Devonshire, and thence to London, delivering the Gospel message with which they were entrusted, where and as the Lord moved them. John Audland did not remain long in

London, feeling himself called to further labour in the city of Bristol, where he believed the Lord had many seeking souls; and in company with his intimate friend John Camm, he proceeded thither.

In the preceding memoir, mention has been made of the great multitudes who flocked to hear them, and the extraordinary convincement which took place—no meeting-house being sufficient to hold the auditory, they held the meetings in the fields, and John Audland having a clear and strong voice, exerted himself greatly, so that all might hear, sometimes for the space of several hours, by which his natural strength was much exhausted and his lungs injured.

Of this visit, Charles Marshall remarks, "These two faithful ministers of Christ Jesus, came to the city of Bristol in the fifth month, 1654, and first went among a seeking people who kept one day in the week in fasting and praying, waiting for and breathing after the visitation of God and his day of redemption. They spoke the powerful word of life among us, in the dread of His name who lives for ever, and we were smitten even to the heart. That day, and the visitation of it overtook us, which we had longed and waited for; and we were turned from darkness to the marvellous light of the Lord. We had some meetings before the more general gathering, in and about that city; which began on this wise. On a first-day morning, I went with these two servants of God about a mile and a half from the city, to a little spring of water, where I had spent many solitary hours in my tender years, seeking the Lord. We sat down and drunk of the spring, and after some hours of the morning were spent, I perceived that they were under a great travail of spirit, and John Audland said with trembling, Let us be going into the city. We came to a house in Broad Mead street, where several people were met together, inquiring for these two men. John Audland asked if any one there had an interest in a field; and an ancient man saying he had a field pretty near, notice was given to the people in the house; and as we went along, people in the street went also to the field, called Earl's Mead. There were a pretty number came, and John Camm began to speak tenderly and in great zeal, directing to the heavenly grace of God, and testifying against sin and iniquity, to which some were attentive. I perceived a great exercise of spirit in my dear friend and father in Christ Jesus, J. Audland, who trembled very much. After dear J. Camm had done, he stood up, full of dread and with a shining brightness on his countenance, and lifting up his voice as a trumpet, said, 'I proclaim spiritual war with the inhabitants of the earth who are in the fall and separation from God.' Then he went on in the mighty power of God, opening the way of life. O the seizings of soul and prickings at heart, which attended that season! Some fell on the ground, and others cried out under the sense of their states as opened by him. Indeed it was a notable day, worthy to be left on record, that our children may read and tell to their children the worthy and noble acts of our God."

Sewel, in his History of Friends, makes mention of this meeting as an occasion in which the Lord's power was eminently manifested for the awakening and convincement of the people.

After this he several times visited Bristol, and travelled through the western counties of England, accompanied by his beloved friend, J. Camm, where many were convinced and remained stedfast and upright in their attachment to the principles of truth. He deeply felt the loss he sustained in the decease of J. Camm; their hearts being knit together in Christian love, and united in concern, above all other considerations, for the glory of God and the gathering of souls unto Christ; in which blessed service they freely spent their time and strength.

Such were the entire dedication and noble fortitude of many of the early Friends, that neither the endearments nor the comforts of domestic life, nor the perils and privations which awaited them, when beating, stoning, scoffing and abuse were their portion, and often a filthy dungeon their prison house; could deter them from yielding a ready and cheerful obedience, when they apprehended their gracious Lord was calling them forth in his service. Their works abundantly proved that they were actuated by the same spirit which shone forth so conspicuously in the example of the primitive believers. Remembering that the time was short and souls exceedingly precious, they that had wives were as though they had none; they that bought were as though they possessed not, and they that used the world, did it as not abusing it. This description is justly applicable to John Audland and his wife. Though closely united by the bonds of natural affection as well as Christian love, and enjoying even more than ordinary happiness in each others society, yet he hesitated not to obey the call of duty, nor she to surrender him freely thereto. Thus it happened that during the greater part of their married life, they were deprived of the society of each other, but their hopes of happiness being built upon the life that is to come, they were willing to deny themselves even this greatest earthly satisfaction, in the

blessed hope of a glorious reward in that state of being where sorrow and separation cannot come.

In 1662 we find John Audland again at Bristol, where he was arrested at a meeting, and with another Friend taken before the mayor. During the examination which ensued, the oath of allegiance was tendered to them, and the following discourse occurred.

Mayor.—Will you take the oath or no?

Ans.—We are not satisfied that it is lawful for us to swear because it is against Christ's doctrine, who saith, Swear not at all. But if you will satisfy us, according to the truth, that it is lawful for us to swear, we will give you a further answer.

Mayor.—We will not dispute the case with you, but if you would be satisfied, it must be by some ministers or the bishop of the diocese.

Ans.—We shall be very willing to hear the ministers or the bishop, what they will say to us in this matter—let them come that we may hear them.

Mayor.—That is not like to be done now. Will you take the oath or not?

Ans.—We are Christians, and account ourselves bound to abide in Christ's doctrine, who absolutely forbids all swearing; therefore we desired to be answered by any of you concerning it; for we have no intention of harm in the least against the king; neither do we refuse to swear because of any guilt, for we are innocent in our hearts and consciences; neither have we given any occasion wherefore the oath should be offered to us, for we have walked in all good conscience peaceably.

Mayor.—You must obey the king's laws, and go to church, and hear divine service.

Ans.—We do go to church, and hear divine service.

Mayor.—What church, an house or a barn?

Ans.—Nay, we do not call an house or a barn a church.

Mayor.—What is a church then?

Ans.—The household of faith, who are sanctified in Christ Jesus, that meet together in the name and fear of the Lord, and worship him in spirit and in truth.

Mayor.—So: well, you are required here to take the oath, and if you will do it, answer us, or deny us, which if you refuse we must commit you.

Ans.—We are not resolved that it is lawful for us to swear, and therefore if you do commit us, we shall willingly suffer, and keep our consciences clear in the will of the Lord, rather than sin against God.

Mayor.—Well, hold them the book.

A man brought the book, and said, Here, will you lay your hands on the book?

Ans.—When we have occasion: but that book forbids all swearing.

Then one of them taking the book in his hand, would have turned to a place in it.

Mayor.—Take the book from him: he will bring a place against swearing.

Ans.—Do you not profess yourselves Christians? Will you not own the doctrine of Christ and his apostles?

Mayor.—We have a law that you must swear, and therefore you refusing, must go to jail. Clerk, make a mittimus.

Ans.—Well, but hear us, will you commit us for owning the doctrine of Christ? You had no occasion to offer us the oath, for we are peaceable men, and were not seen in any tumultuous meeting, neither have we absolutely refused, but only desired you to answer the thing, because we fear the Lord, and an oath to us is matter of conscience. Therefore you should be tender in such cases, and take heed of acting any thing against your knowledge, or to the hurt of the innocent; for we desire the good of you all, that you may do justly and fear the Lord, that when you come to give your account to him, it may not be with grief.

One of the magistrates.—Don't hear them, Mr. Mayor; they would have all such as themselves.

Ans.—Paul, when he was before the king and rulers, desired they had been altogether such as he was, except his bonds.

Mayor.—Ay, but Paul was no Quaker.

Ans.—Paul was a Christian, and he said himself, that he was with the Corinthians in fear and much trembling.

Mayor.—No, Paul was no Quaker: the pharisees were Quakers.

Ans.—The pharisees were persecutors, and haled the servants of God before rulers, and resisted the holy One and the Just, and persecuted them that met in the name of Jesus.

Mayor.—Don't hear them: take them away, jailer.

Ans.—Well, we are willing to suffer for the testimony of a good conscisnce, and we desire nothing but well to you all; that you may do justly, and act nothing against the Lord or his people.

So the jailer took them away.

They were accordingly committed to prison; but how long J. Audland was detained, we are not informed. He also suffered imprisonment for his testimony to the truth, at New-Castle, and on other occasions, and was often in great jeopardy of his life, being cruelly beaten and abused by the rude rabble, as well as the persecuting professors; but through all the Lord preserved him from se-

rious harm and kept him faithful and upright to the end.

His unwearied and arduous labours in the Gospel, together with the hardships and exposures he endured, produced considerable effect upon a constitution which was naturally not robust, and he began to show some symptoms of the pulmonary affection, which in 1663 confined him to the house, and eventually terminated his life. He was afflicted with a very severe cough, and often complained of a soreness in his chest, his lungs appearing to be gradually wasting. He would often say, "Ah, those great meetings in the orchard at Bristol! I may not forget them. I would so gladly have spread my net over all, and gathered all, that I forgot myself; never considering the inability of my body. But it is well—my reward is with me, and I am content to give up and be with the Lord, for that my soul values above all things else."

About three weeks before his decease, a hectic fever came on, which occasioned him to be very restless, his sleep being taken from him, yet he was preserved in patience and quietude of mind. His symptoms becoming worse and indicating the approach of death, many of his friends came to see him, and it pleased the Lord to open his mouth in testimony to the truth, with great strength and clearness, as though he had been without any sense of his sickness, to the comfort and refreshment of his hearers. Often he would be raised upon his knees in bed, and pour out his supplications to the Lord in behalf of his heritage, beseeching him to prosper his work in the earth, and especially in that nation.

Sometime before his decease, he had a remarkable dream or vision concerning John Wilkinson and John Story, who had been fellow-labourers with him in the Gospel, but after his death fell away and became a source of much trouble and distress to their faithful brethren. This vision having since been fulfilled in a very extraordinary manner, it seems proper to notice it here. He saw a large mine, wherein was much precious ore to be digged out, though it required hard labour to accomplish it; and the Lord of the mine had called him with many more, to labour in it, giving them liberty to work in any part of it, but enjoining that all should bring what they collected into one place, to be deposited in the same heap. For a time the work prospered greatly: the Lord of the mine was well pleased and his labourers had much comfort and joy. At length he thought he looked behind him on some of his fellow-labourers, and amongst them he perceived two, who began to slacken their diligence and would only work where it was most easy, and in their own time and will, not regarding the commandment of their Lord. And not only so, but when these two found a piece of ore more rich and good than usual, whether it was of their own digging or not, they would gather it into a private heap of their own, for themselves and their benefit, and not for their Lord's. Upon seeing this, he cried out in great grief and bitterness of spirit; O Lord, it was thy command that we should all work at thy appointment and gather to one heap, and for a time it was so and thy heap increased and the work prospered. But now, alas! there are two who have begun to gather to themselves and to their own heap, and not unto thee. Here the exercise of his spirit was so great that he awoke; and being fully satisfied that the dream or vision was of the Lord, it produced a great effect upon his mind, bowing him under deep sorrow and mourning for these two, whom he had esteemed as ancients among the people, so that his body trembled greatly, and he sighed and wept on their behalf. His wife inquiring what was the occasion of his trouble, he told her weeping, and expressed his belief that it would be fulfilled in a few years, which accordingly came to pass.

He continued during the remainder of his time, in a heavenly and gathered state of mind, often saying there was nothing for which he could desire to live, but the comfortable enjoyment of his friends in the fellowship and life of truth, and that he might be helpful to his dear wife, for whose situation, in the prospect of his removal, he felt a very near and tender sympathy. Yet in this he said his will was in true subjection to the will of the Lord, whether for life or death, and he committed her and the whole flock and heritage unto God and his holy care and keeping, saying that He would be a husband to his desolate widow and a tender Father to his fatherless children. He often entreated his wife to give him up freely to the disposal of the Almighty, "whose," said he, "I am, being made acceptable in his beloved Son."

Thus with calm and dignified composure, did this devoted servant of the Lord finish his short but useful life, on the 24th of the first month, 1663, in the 33d of his age, and was intered the following day at Birkrigg Park, where the remains of his beloved friend John Camm, had been buried about six years before.